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LIEUT GEN. SIR COLIN CAMPBELL, G.C.B.

*From a Photograph taken for Her Majesty by Mayall.*

THE HISTORY OF  
THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA  
ILLUSTRATED.



*Fall of Sebastopol.*



THE  
ILLUSTRATED HISTORY  
OF  
THE WAR AGAINST RUSSIA.

*Edward Henry*  
BY  
E. H. NOLAN, Ph.D., LL.D.

---

"Now all the youth of England are on fire,  
And silken dalliance in the wardrobe lies;  
Now thrive the armourers; and honour's thought  
Reigns solely in the breast of every man.

\* \* \* \* \*

O, England! model to thy inward greatness,  
Like little body with a mighty heart,  
What mightst thou do, that honour would thee do?"

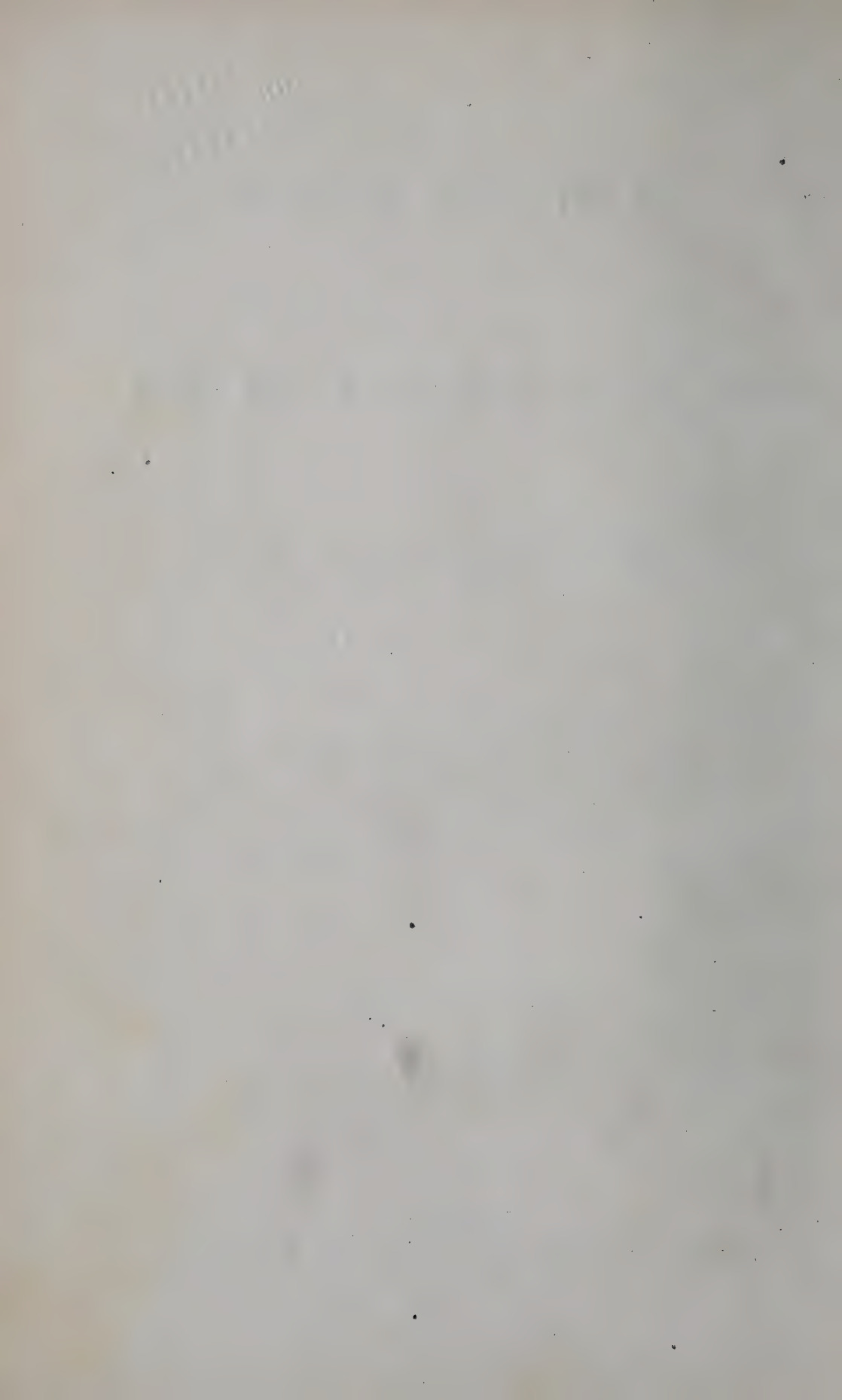
SHAKSPERE. *Henry V.*

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

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# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF

## THE PRINCIPAL INCIDENTS OF THE WAR.

1853.

- MAR. 2. Prince Menschikoff opened up his demands upon the Sultan.
- MAY 21. Prince Menschikoff left Constantinople.
- " 28. Sultan's diplomatic declaration addressed to the governments of Europe.
- " 31. Count Nesselrode's demand for material guarantees.
- JUNE 8. British fleet approached the Dardanelles.
- JULY 2. Russian army entered Moldavia.
- OCT. 5. Declaration of war by Turkey against Russia.
- " 23. Conflict between Turkish and Russian forces at Isaktcha.
- " 28. The Turks crossed the Danube at Kalafat.
- " 30. British fleet entered the Bosphorus.
- NOV. 4. Battle of Oltenitza—terrible defeat and slaughter of the Russians by Omar Pasha's forces.
- " 30. Naval Massacre at Sinope.

1854.

- JAN. 2. Treaty of neutrality between the Western and Scandinavian powers.
- " 4. The fleets of the allies entered the Euxine.
- " 5. Splendid victory of Citate gained by the Turks over the Russians.
- " 8. Luders forced his way into the Dobrudscha.
- " 29. The Emperor Napoleon sent an autograph letter to the czar.
- FEB. 9. Emperor Nicholas replied by autograph letter to Napoleon III.
- " 10. Interview of a deputation from the English Peace Society with the czar.
- " 23. Departure of the Guards from England.
- MAR. 11. Departure of the Baltic fleet from Spithead.
- " 19. Embarkation of French troops for Turkey.
- " 20. French fleet for the Baltic set sail from Brest.
- " 28. Declaration of war against Russia by the Western sovereigns.
- APR. 14. Russians lay siege to Silistria.
- " 15. Convention between England, France, and Turkey.
- " 18. Turkish victory at Rassova.
- " 20. Austrian and Prussian convention of neutrality.
- " 22. Bombardment of the batteries of Odessa.
- MAY 28. Allies advanced to Varna.
- JUNE 14. Treaty of Boyadji-Keny between Turkey and Austria.
- " 16. Defeat of the Turks at Orzughetti.
- " 23. The Russians raised the siege of Silistria.
- JULY 7. Desperate battle at Giurgevo, in which the Turks gained a signal victory over the Russians.

- JULY 21. Naval squadrons of the allies off the Crimea.
- " 28. The Russians driven from the province of Wallachia.—Utter defeat of the Turkish army of Asia by the Russians, at Bayazid.
- " 30. Arrival in the Baltic of French troops, in English ships.
- AUG. 6. Signal defeat and slaughter of the Turkish army of Asia by the Russians, at Kuyukdere.
- " 13. Commencement of the siege of Bomarsund.
- " 16. Surrender of Bomarsund, and of the general and garrison, as prisoners of war.
- " 20. An Austrian Army entered the Rouman provinces of Turkey, by virtue of an especial convention.
- " 21. Bombardment of Kola, in the White Sea, by British ships of war.
- " 30. Suicide of Admiral Price off Petropaulovski.
- SEPT. 4. Defeat of the allies by the Russian garrison of Petropaulovski.
- " 5. Embarkation of the allied armies at Varna for the Crimean expedition.
- " 9. French troops returned home from the expedition to Bomarsund.
- " 14. Landing of the allies in the Crimea.
- " 15. The Russians evacuated their only remaining post in Moldavia.
- " 19. Skirmish at the Bulganak between the Russians and the British horse artillery and cavalry.
- " 20. Battle of the Alma; total rout of the Russians by the allies.
- " 23. Russians sank their fleet across the harbour of Sebastopol.
- " 24. Arrival of General Williams at Kars.
- " 26. Capture of Balaklava by the British.
- " 29. Death of Marshal St. Arnaud.
- " 30. Todleben began to fortify Sebastopol.
- OCT. 12. Fund for the sick and wounded established by the *Times* newspaper.
- " 13. Patriotic Fund originated.
- " 17. First bombardment of Sebastopol.
- " 23. Departure of Miss Nightingale and other benevolent ladies for Scutari.
- " 25. Battle and grand cavalry charges at Balaklava. Slaughter in the light cavalry brigade. Death of Captain Nolan.
- " 26. First battle of Inkerman. An inferior British force, under command of Lieutenant-general Sir de Lacy Evans, defeated a large Russian force, driving them back with great slaughter.
- NOV. 5. Second battle of Inkerman. Total defeat of the Russians. Dreadful losses of the British army.

# CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

- NOV. 14. Hurricane in the Crimea. Much loss of shipping and of life. Cruel conduct of the Russians to the shipwrecked.
- " 20. Battle of the Ovens, before Sebastopol.
- DEC. 2. Conclusion of the tripartite treaty between England, France, and Austria.
- " 22. Sir Edmund Lyons assumed the command of the British fleets in the Mediterranean and Black Seas.
- " 24. Admiral Bruat took command of the French Black Sea fleet.

1855.

- JAN. 7. Prince Gortschakoff signifies to the cabinet of Vienna the czar's unconditional acceptance of the Four Points, as preliminaries for peace negotiations.
- " 23. Lord John Russell left the Aberdeen ministry.
- " 26. Sardinia joined the alliance against Russia.
- " 29. Appointment of the Sebastopol committee in the British House of Commons.
- " 31. The Aberdeen Ministry driven from power, by the indignant voice of the British people and parliament.
- FEB. 5. Lord Palmerston at the head of a new British ministry.
- " 20. Night expedition of Sir Colin Campbell against the Russians on the Tchernaya overtaken by a terrible snow-storm.
- " 22. The "Pecletes" left the Palmerston ministry; great satisfaction of the English people, and increased confidence in the government.
- " 24. Repulse of the French attack upon the White Works at Sebastopol.
- MAR. 2. Death of the czar.
- " 4. Lord John Russell arrived at Vienna.
- " 15. Opening of the Vienna conference.
- " 22. Formidable sortie of the Russians from Sebastopol repulsed.
- APR. 4. Second expedition to the Baltic left Spithead.
- " 9. Second bombardment of Sebastopol.
- " 19. Gallant capture of rifle pits before Sebastopol by the British.
- " 24. Embarkation of the Sardinian army for the East.
- " 26. Close of the Vienna conference without deciding upon terms of peace.
- MAY 1. Rifle-pits before Sebastopol captured by the French.
- " 16. Superecession of General Canrobert, and appointment of General Pelissier to the command of the French army.
- " 22. Conflicts between the French and Russians at the Cemetery, Sebastopol.
- " 23. Allied expedition to Kertch.
- " 25. Capture of Kertch and Yenikale by the allies.
- " 26. Allied squadrons steamed into the Sea of Azoff.
- JUNE 3. Attack by the allied squadrons upon Taganrog.
- " 5. Russians massacred an English boat's crew under a flag of truce at Hango.
- " 6. Third bombardment of Sebastopol.
- " 8. The Mamelon, Quarries, and White Works captured by the allies.
- " 9. Unpopular speech by Prince Albert at the Trinity Corporation dinner.

- JUNE 17. Fourth bombardment of Sebastopol.
- " 18. Grand assault upon Sebastopol by the allies. The French signally defeated at the Malakoff. The British signally defeated at the Redan.—Report of the Sebastopol Committee. Great sensation in England caused by the official and military mismanagement it revealed. Popular indignation against the former (the Aberdeen) administration.
- " 28. Death of Lord Raglan by cholera.
- JULY 16. Lord John Russell compelled to resign his post in the Palmerston ministry, in consequence of his conduct in the Vienna conference.
- " 29. Public funeral at Bristol of the remains of Lord Raglan.
- AUG. 9. Bombardment of Sweaborg.
- " 16. Battle of the Tchernaya. Destructive defeat of the Russians by the allies.
- " 17. Fifth bombardment of Sebastopol.
- SEPT. 5. Sixth bombardment of Sebastopol.
- " 8. Storm of Sebastopol.—Terrible defeats of the French by the Russians at the Curtain, the Little Redan, and the left attack. Surprise and capture of the Malakoff, the key of Sebastopol, by the French. Defeat of the British at the Redan.
- " 9. Allies entered the ruins of Southern Sebastopol.
- " 24. Expedition to Taman by the allies.
- " 29. Cavalry action at Eupatoria between the allies and Russians.—The Russian army of the Caucasus, under the command of General Mouravieff, storm Kars, and were defeated by the garrison under General Williams with extraordinary slaughter.
- OCT. 3. Omar Pasha landed at Souchoum Kaleh in command of a Turkish army for the relief of Kars.
- " 17. Capture of Kinburn by the allies.
- NOV. 6. Battle of the Ingour. Defeat of the Russians by Omar Pasha.
- " 10. The Czar Alexander II. visited Sebastopol.
- " 15. Explosion of a French magazine at Sebastopol—great loss of human life and matériel of war.
- " 21. Treaty between Sweden and the Western powers negotiated by General Canrobert.
- " 25. The garrison of Kars, constrained by famine, surrendered with all the honours of war.
- DEC. 8. Retreat and disorganisation of Omar Pasha's expeditionary army of Asia.

1856.

- JAN. 16. Russia accepted the Austrian terms for a treaty of peace.
- " 29. The sultan issued a declaration of religious liberty for his empire.
- FEB. 25. Opening of the Paris Peace Congress.
- " 29. Armistice in the Crimea.
- MAR. 30. Treaty of peace executed at Paris.
- APR. 15. A separate tripartite treaty signed by England, France, and Austria, having for its object the execution of the terms of the treaty of March 30.
- " 27. Ratification of the treaty of peace, and formal termination of the war.

# THE ILLUSTRATED HISTORY

## OF THE

# WAR AGAINST RUSSIA.

### CHAPTER LIX.

PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE.—CHARACTERISTICS OF THE OPPOSING ARMIES.—DESPATCHES, SORTIES, COMBATS.

*Alençon.*  
Lean raw-boned rascals. Who would e'er suppose  
They had such courage and audacity?"

"One to ten.

SHAKESPEARE. *Henry V.*

HAVING shown the state of the armies before Sebastopol—the manly endurance of “the raw-boned English”—the neglect to which, in the severe winter which opened 1855, they were exposed, and conducted our readers a second time to the hospitals and their dire scenes, we now proceed to relate the progress of the siege, its obstacles, successes, and the havoc which it made on all who shared its perils. Before entering upon any of the incidents of combat, we present to our readers an admirable paper, published in the *Constitutionnel*, upon the characteristics of the Russian army, and a comparative view of it and the armies of the allies. The paper was written about the middle of January, and was suggested by the aspect of affairs at the period of our narrative:—“The battles of the Alma and Inkerman, and the siege of Sebastopol, have enabled us to study the Russian army employed in the Crimea. Although this army is partly composed of troops from the Danube and the Caucasus, it is clumsy, not easily handled, and manœuvres badly in presence of an enterprising enemy. Its generals always place it for bivouac, as in the field of battle, in great masses, and they do not know how to deploy it after an attack, nor when to make it resist in a thin line. The Russian infantry is very badly armed. Some companies only have carbines made at Liege; the muskets—but recently transformed—badly kept, and with but-ends in white wood, do not last long in a campaign. This infantry will never attain the level of the French infantry, which is really the first in the world for making war in woody or hilly countries, where the general-in-chief leaves a great deal to the initiative of the soldiers and to the chiefs of corps and battalions. In the defensive, the preference must

be given to the English infantry, who, under the fire of the enemy, rest immovable as a rampart. In a level and exposed country our infantry will have to modify its manner of combatting, and to resume its old one. This consists in employing compact or thin order (*épais ou mince*), but it can only be employed with intelligent and experienced troops. Its superiority in arms and intelligence will, however, always give to our infantry the advantage over the Russian infantry, which will always lose half its value when obliged to change its place rapidly. On the Alma, entire Russian battalions took to flight in surprise at the Zouaves way of fighting, they having advanced on them in large bodies, deployed, having taken advantage of all the accidents of the ground to shelter themselves and to rally, and having made against the masses a terrible use of the peculiar arms confided to their skill. At Inkerman, in the upper part of the battle field, and on the line of the English, the Russian infantry bravely attacked the enemy, but did not know how to deploy its masses so as to bring more muskets into play, and when the French attacked their left flank entire battalions did not know how to change their position. The first ranks bravely resisted, but the following ranks fired in presenting arms. Surprised afterwards by the sharp attack of the Chasseurs d’Afrique, masses of men, instead of effecting their retreat by the crests of the hills, descended slowly to the lower parts of the ground and the ravines, where they allowed themselves to be crushed almost without defence by from 1000 to 1200 French. The English have so well understood the advantages which troops would have in attacking either artillery or masses of infantry in woody or hilly countries,

whilst preserving the order deployed by the first line, that at Inkerman they did not employ the order in columns, which caused them to lose so great a number of men on the Alma. On the Alma the Russian cavalry was worse than timid, not a charge did it attempt. At Inkerman the nature of the ground prevented it from taking part in the affair. At Balaklava, it did not dare to await the charge of two squadrons of Chasseurs d'Afrique. The famous Cossacks have, in fact, never attempted, even in the plain, to carry off our advanced posts, or the marauders who pass our lines; but it is said that this cavalry is but little esteemed even in Russia. As a set off to this, the Russians really possess great superiority, both over the French and the English, and especially over the French, in their artillery. The Emperor Nicholas, in, no doubt, the expectation of a war against all the nations of the south of Europe, occupied himself a good deal with that arm, which has made great progress since the wars at the beginning of the century. The cannon are of a large calibre, the carriages and caissons well made and easily moved; the artillerymen are brave and accustomed to their service; the officers know perfectly well how to choose offensive and defensive positions; they occupy them with boldness, hold them a long time, and know how to leave them without leaving their guns. You will now understand why we are still before the walls of Sebastopol, and why that place would cost us so much blood if we were to make an assault before its unextinguished batteries. But we hope that the town will surrender in consequence of the difficulty it is under of obtaining supplies of provisions, or that we shall obtain its keys by giving a grand battle to the army in the field. The stores of ammunition in Sebastopol are inexhaustible, and as the investment is not complete, the garrison can be relieved and increased every day. Without being initiated in the secrets of the generals-in-chief, everything causes us to believe that they are waiting the arrival of the reinforcements which are on their way, in order to resume the attacks which, so to speak, have been suspended since the day of the battle at Inkerman. We shall have in the French and English trenches at least 300 pieces, which will open their fire, and it is more than probable that in the meantime the army of observation will destroy in a battle the Russian army in the field."

At this juncture the condition of the army was an all important consideration. Its state, and the state of the harbour and of the camp, we shall therefore present to our readers from a source upon which they may rely. A relative of the late, and of the present, Sir Andrew Agnew visited the Crimea in January, 1855, and addressed the following letter to some

friends at home. It may be well matter of astonishment to the reader how, in the condition of harbour, camp, hospital-tents, trenches, and troops, the siege could be conducted at all, so far as the English were concerned. The explanation consists in their indomitable self-reliance and heroic courage:—"Now for a description, if possible, though I fear I shall fail in the attempt. Until you almost touch the rocks you can hardly perceive an opening, and, when you at last reach the mouth of the harbour of Balaklava, it is not above sixty yards wide; and, after passing several men-of-war, transports, &c., all with the ends of their bowsprits nearly touching you, you get into rank, and add another to the number; and now the scene changes, about forty yards from our stern is the landing-place. The town—'did you say town?'—no, I mean a scattered number of wretched hovels—say 150. In the rear and in the front high precipitous rocks; on the face of the latter several tents with marines and a body of Highlanders; in fact, suppose a basin one quarter full of water placed on the table, and drop a wafer into it, and then you have a good idea of the position of a ship in the harbour of Balaklava. Yesterday being a beautiful day, I thought it a good opportunity to pay a visit to the camp, and as I had understood that the light division of the army occupied, together with the French, the nearest point to Sebastopol, to that place I determined to set out. An officer of the 19th, belonging to the division, who had come on board amongst a host of others 'foraging,' purchasing geese and turkeys, a guinea a-piece, and fowls 12s. 6d. a couple, kindly offered to put me in the right road, and invited me to dine with him in his tent. Now for it—I landed—my first step up to the very knees in mud; French, Turks, English, and camp-sutlers in glorious confusion; such swearing, shouting, and row you never heard in your life; artillery waggons, six and twelve horses attached to each; others with half-starved camels; cavalry horses whose riders and hard-worked steeds have probably not seen a comb or a brush for a month together; with Turks every here and there bearing the dead upon stretchers, all wading through a sea of mud, complete this picture until you emerge from the town. The crowd appears then to deploy over an interminable space. In the distance, on the right, are the mountains of the Crimea, covered with snow; at the foot several Russian encampments; nearer to us, the Balaklava battle-ground; on one of the slopes you see the remains of our light cavalry and their horse-hospital, not 100 effective animals left. The Scots Greys nearly as bad. How can it be otherwise? The poor creatures are worked all day with the artillery in dragging heavy loads to the trenches and camps, fastened up

to posts driven into the ground, and scarcely a morning breaks but the troopers drag out fourteen or fifteen out of the 'slush,' as they term it. On the left you see Lord Raglan's quarters, though all agree in saying they have not seen him for the last month; and, having proceeded over destroyed vineyards, every here and there dotted with dead horses emitting a most delightful perfume, you at last get upon higher ground and approach the French camp, extending miles on the left, having the Turks between them, and the British skirting the latter. I thought I would have a look at the French, so having paid a visit to several of the huts, and been very hospitably invited to partake of their contents, I passed on towards the light division. A little on the left of the French is the Picket-house, about a mile and a half from Sebastopol, into which a shell often drops, to the danger of all who are in it—and being a good look-out place, is seldom unoccupied by the curious endeavouring to get a glimpse at what is going on in the far-famed fortress in the distance. Being determined on exploring I still proceeded, and presently I heard firing right below me. The French were pitching their shot into the town, and the Russians returning three to one. Within 300 yards is the 40-gun battery, and directly opposite is the Russian, mounting much heavier metal. From this spot I first saw what they call the 'trenches'—I mean the actual working trenches. Now, suppose a soldier six feet high in the trench, in some places, if he stands upright, he gets shot at—his head appearing over the parapet, and then he is obliged to kneel down, with the mud and water up to his middle, to avoid the danger. This state of the trenches and laborious work that the poor soldiers undergo, being sometimes thirty hours thus employed, badly fed, badly clothed, and, I fear, much dispirited, tends to engender disease. We are losing on an average 160 men a-day, not including those who fall from the enemy's guns. I now had an opportunity of a good view into Sebastopol. Its appearance is both picturesque and beautiful, and, though I was within half a mile of it, and had a capital seven-guinea glass, I could not perceive any damage that had as yet occurred. On the contrary, I could see no marks of the cannonade that has now been going on for upwards of two months, though I believe that the portion directly opposite the French batteries is much cut up. After satisfying my curiosity, I returned to the light division camp; and now for a description of Mr. Gorham's tent (19th regiment). The tent inside is eight feet diameter, round the circumferences were a medley of boots, caps, kettles, empty bottles, and many other things of general daily utility; next was a soldier's bayonet stuck into the

ground for the purpose of a candlestick; next two beds, or rather hard-stuffed straw mattresses with a scanty coverlid, each on the bare ground. Dinner at length was brought in—two tin panikins with *soupe-maigre* that would frighten S—, followed by two pieces of hard salt beef of about half a pound each, a little rice (this was good), and a very, very hard biscuit. However, exercise sharpens appetite, so I set to, and having as a finale taken a glass of bad rum with my entertainers, I bid good-by to the officers of the light division, and taking a building in the distance as my landmark, I started for Balaklava. The sun had melted the hitherto execrable roads, and, together with the traffic, I shall never, to the longest day of my life, forget the walk back; suffice it to say that, having passed several fellows who were endeavouring to urge their worn-out horses to get up out of the mud where they had dropped down for the last time, I reached the *Charity*."

The numerical force of the troops in the British army actually able to serve at this time was variously computed; perhaps the estimate of Colonel, afterwards Major-general Windham, is as likely to receive credit as any other. In a speech delivered by him after the termination of his services in the Crimea, he made the following reference to the muster-roll at this period:—"Look too at what the troops had to go through. In the middle of the winter—and I see many officers here who can confirm what I say—we had not more than 12,000 bayonets to do duty, which would properly have required 36,000. Why, gentlemen, you might as well try in Norfolk to farm 1000 acres with capital for 300. Throughout the whole of the winter, however, notwithstanding the hardships to which they were exposed, the men discharged their duties without grumbling, and with a cheerful readiness which has justly elicited the admiration of the country."

Small as their numbers were, they were not all adequately armed, the Minié musket not having been universally distributed to the infantry; the fourth division, to some extent, still carrying the old "brown bess." Not only were they inadequately armed, but they were often obliged to turn out hungry, and literally tottering from weakness. The men sought death from the enemy as a relief.

The early despatches of Lord Raglan were at this time mere records of the weather, so that his lordship was sneeringly called at home the "weather-glass of the army." But there could be scarcely any subject of deeper interest to the commander or the troops committed to his care than the state of the weather; for on it not only depended the health of his ill-clad soldiers, but also the state of the road or rather rut from Balaklava, and the prospect of getting up food, ammunition, or, in fact, any-

thing that was wanting in the camp. On the 2nd of January, his lordship's despatch referred to *the weather*; on the 6th, a similar communication was made to the British war minister. Everything looked more gloomy as the overwhelmingly severe weather of January set in. The state, opinion, and feeling of the English soldiery may be gathered from the following letter from a non-commissioned officer to his friends in Glasgow:—"To tell you the truth, the beggar that wanders about the streets is better off than the British soldier in the Crimea. Winter has set in, the snow is about four feet deep, and we have received none of the winter clothing the papers say we have got, except four extra greatcoats for a company, instead of one to each man; and as for rations, we are on half—that is, half a pound of meat and biscuit, and half a gill of rum, *per diem*, and a little raw coffee. That is the British soldier's fare for a day, and even that we can't get cooked—no wood to be got. I cannot describe our miseries. When we are off duty we have nothing to shelter us but the tent, which lets in everything—wind, rain, and snow—often knee deep in mud, in which to lie down and rest our weary bones, after doing duty in the trenches, with only twelve hours off at a time. Our regiment left Dublin 800 strong, and, with deaths and sickness, we are now only 230. Other regiments are worse. Still, those who are left of us bear up bravely; we try to keep our spirits up, hoping for better days to come. Our neighbours, the French, are much better off than we are; they get their pay, and have canteens in all their camps, where they sell brandy, tea, sugar, bread, tobacco, &c. We could purchase of them too, but, unfortunately, we have no money, so we are done. The battle of Inkerman was fought on our side of the Tchernaya, about two miles from where our regiment is encamped. There are a number of dead Russians still lying about, but nobody takes notice of them. As for Lord Raglan, I have certainly seen him since I came here; but I suppose if you were to ask some of the soldiers how they liked him, they would ask you who he was. Sebastopol stands as strong as ever, and will do till we take it by storm, which ought to be done long ago. We have got scarcely a battery. On our 21-gun battery there are only three available guns. I must stop, as I have no more paper." Thus, ill-fed, ill-clothed, without fire-wood or coals, which we could have easily sent them—without good tents, or with roofless huts—with three endemic diseases, and great liability to dysentery, the brave soldiers of our army were pining and dying before Sebastopol, the victims of official inefficiency at home and in the camp, when called on to meet the various combats now about to ensue. It was of no avail for the government at home

to plead inexperience on their own behalf, or that of the officials; for, in the first place, it was not true as to the officials in all cases—many of them having, during other campaigns, served in the commissariat, or in the government offices at home; and the very men then at the helm of affairs were those who had composed, in greater or less proportions, most cabinets since the peace of 1815. When they pretended that the commons was the culprit, the reply was, that they held office knowing the commons were enfeebling the country by refusing such supplies as were adequate to the effective material of the army. The mere threat of a resignation or a dissolution would, on scores of occasions during that long period, have caused the commons to vote any supplies necessary for the full efficiency of the fleet and army.

Under these circumstances, many at home were in favour of raising the siege; and though personally fearing no danger, and quailing before no difficulty, there were officers in the Crimea who felt that, unless larger reinforcements arrived, and the army was immediately and amply supplied with the instrumentalities of warfare, the enterprise must be abandoned. The general feeling, however, in the camp was hopeful; and all were ardent to meet the enemy, despite sickness and neglect. In this feeling the French partook; they were full of confidence; many reinforcements were on the way, and, flushed with high hope, there existed throughout the French host the utmost eagerness for a bombardment which should prove the certain preliminary to an assault. The impression in the French camp was, that no good would come of delay; that Russia would only grow stronger by the arrival of new succours; and that as soon as the next cannonade should partially disable the batteries, they should be led to the assault. They addressed one another in the spirit of the language of Brutus to Cassius:—

"Our legions are brimful, our cause is ripe.  
There is a tide in the affairs of men,  
Which, taken at the flood, leads on to fortune;  
Omitted, all the voyage of our life  
Is bound in shallows and in miseries.  
On such a full sea are we now afloat,  
And we must take the current as it serves,  
Or lose our ventures."

The French troops were much gratified with the acknowledgment of their services by their allies generally, but especially with that of the British queen, government, and people for their aid at Inkerman. General Canrobert opened the new year by the following "general order:—

*Head-quarters before Sebastopol, Dec. 28.*

The commander-in-chief is happy to have to communicate to the troops the expressions, most honourable for our arms, in which her Majesty the Queen of England appreciates their conduct at the battle of Inkerman.

The queen has remarked, with grateful satisfaction, on the vigour with which the troops of her ally, the Emperor of the French, came to the assistance of the divisions of the English army engaged in so unequal combat. Her majesty is profoundly sensible of the cordial co-operation of the commander-in-chief, General Canrobert, and of the valiant conduct of that distinguished officer, General Bosquet. She beholds in the cheers with which the soldiers of the two nations mutually encourage each other during the action proofs of the reciprocal esteem which this campaign, and the traits of bravery it has produced, have given rise to on both sides.

Her Majesty the Queen of England could not praise in a more flattering manner the attitude of the army at the battle of Inkerman. In marching to the aid of our brave allies, we fulfilled a duty which they themselves would fulfil towards us with that valour we know they possess, and so many proofs of which we have witnessed with our own eyes.

The Commander-in-chief,  
CANROBERT.

His excellency signalised the opening of the year by another order less to his credit and to the interest of the army. All the correspondents of the French press were ordered out of the Crimea; even one gentleman, who was said to have an introduction from the emperor himself, was compelled to leave by a ship departing to Marseilles.

The Turkish army in the Crimea began now also to assume some importance; the name of Omar Pasha had a magic effect upon the drooping Osmanli, and the allied army regarded his arrival with the old army of the Danube as an element of speedy success. It had been rumoured that he was deposed, but the sultan took suitable opportunity of publicly proving that the great muschir was restored to favour, if ever he had been deprived of the light of the imperial countenance. By way of Constantinople, Paris, and London, in rapid succession, the following imposing documents arrived, and showed, beyond all doubt, that the sirdar was not only a great man, but a great power in the Ottoman empire:—

(HATTI HUMAYOUN).

TO MY SUPREME GENERAL AND ZEALOUS  
MUSCHIR, OMAR PASHA.

As you will see by the annexed imperial firman, the laudable efforts you have made hitherto deserve the greatest praise and general approbation, and have raised you in my favour, as also the faithful and courageous conduct of the generals, officers, and soldiers of the imperial armies which have been placed under your command—conduct which gives proof of the zeal, fidelity, and valour which is natural to them, and which has given us unlimited satisfaction, and met with our approval. On this occasion also make every effort in the Crimea, as your zeal and fidelity require you to do, and placing full faith in the mercy and aid of the Lord Almighty of the universe to render great services, in order doubly to strengthen our favour towards you, endeavouring with great care to entertain a friendly intercourse with the generals, officers, and soldiers of the high powers my allies in this question, in which the good rights of my empire have by all been acknowledged, so that I may have fresh proofs of your inborn valour, and of your constant attention to the execution, under all circumstances, of the fundamental military laws, and of your sincere sentiments towards us.

[Translation of the Firman.]

TO THE MUSCHIR OF THE IMPERIAL ARMY OF  
ROUMELIA, TO MY GENERAL-IN-CHIEF OMAR  
PASHA, &c.

As soon as my high imperial signet will have reached thee, know that the principal and most respectable thing for me, and for every sage and intelligent person who faithfully loves his government, is to defend the power and independence of my empire, of my trusty subjects, and to maintain their prosperity and tranquillity; and in like way, that the laudable care that ever since the commencement of this war, of happy issue, which has been undertaken with that good intention, thou hast given, by thy intelligence, to the high administration of the army which thou commandest, having merited my praise and approval, have increased my imperial favour towards thee. In like manner, my victorious imperial troops, which are under thy orders, having displayed before the whole world a faithful conduct, and that abnegation which is part of the zeal, fidelity, and valour which are natural to them, and have again proved before friend and foe that they are the valorous descendants of those brave men, who, in the times of our glorious ancestors, and in their service, spilt their blood and sacrificed their lives in order to strengthen the foundations of the empire, and cause the country to prosper, equally shows that the confidence which we place in them with regard to the privations and fatigues of every kind, which they will bear with pride for the defence of the independence and glory of our empire and our fatherland, is based upon the truth of existing facts, and as they have completely and afresh regained the country high military glory, that conduct has obtained our extreme satisfaction, our goodwill, and our praise.

It is certain that, in our prayers, we constantly remember thy intelligent person, as also all the generals, officers, and soldiers, high and low, of our imperial army; that we never for a moment cease personally to occupy ourselves with solicitude, with what can solace the pains and increase the felicity and welfare of them all; and, finally, that wherever my imperial army may be, my favour and high attention for its welfare will accompany it.

It now happens that the service of my empire indispensably requires that a sufficient portion of the troops belonging to my imperial army of Roumelia should proceed with thee to the Crimea, rejoin thy victorious troops which have preceded them and the armies of the high powers, sincere and intimate allies of my empire, in order to combat the enemy. My eyes rest upon you. Place confidence in the help and mercy of the Lord Almighty of the universe, and add to your glorious precedents, by worthily serving the cause of the honour of the empire and nation. Take the greatest care to behave amicably and in harmony with the generals, officers, and the soldiers of the two high powers above-mentioned, my allies in the cause in which the good right of my empire is recognised by the whole world. Fortify thus doubly my imperial favour towards you. Give fresh proof of your inborn valour, of your well-known respect for the fundamental military laws, and of your sincere devotion to my imperial person.

My present all mighty firman has been expressly given by my imperial Divan, and graciously headed by my Hatti Humayoun, to command what precedes, and to honour thee and my imperial troops under thy command.

To convey to you, and also verbally to declare to you my lively satisfaction and my high imperial will, one of the high functionaries of my empire, Mahmoud Bey, mustichar of the ministry of foreign affairs, has been sent to you.

On his arrival, hasten to make known to, and proclaim my high will and my lively imperial satisfaction to all the generals, officers, and soldiers who stand under thy orders, and take care, day and night, as hitherto, of their welfare in every respect.

Know it thus, and believe in my noble sign.

Given in the 1st decade of the month of Rebiul Akhir, 1271.

In pursuance of the above, the dispatch of the redoubtable Omar and his gallant followers, as auxiliaries to the Western allies, was ef-

fect. In a previous chapter the departure of this expedition was noticed; in a future page its efficiency will be recorded.

On the arrival of Omar at Varna, he requested the British commissioner to forward to the commander-in-chief the following handsome acknowledgment of the services rendered to the sultan by various British officers. This politic and just measure bespoke for the Turkish commander a greater measure of popularity with the English.

*Varna, January 8th, 1855.*

"MY LORD,—His Highness Omar Pasha has requested me to write to your lordship to return his best thanks for the services rendered to his army by Major Bent, of the Royal Engineers, and the detachment of sappers under his command.

"His highness desires me to express his regret at the losses which have been sustained by this small detachment, who, under the direction of Major Bent, have well sustained the character of the British army.

"His highness has already expressed to your lordship his regret at the loss of Lieutenant Burke, of the Royal Engineers, whom his highness considers to have been an officer of much merit.

"His highness desires me to inform your lordship that he has done himself the honour to write to the Turkish ambassador at the court of St. James's, expressing the desire of his majesty the sultan that Private Andrew Anderson, of the Royal Sappers and Miners, may receive and wear the decoration of the fourth class of the order of Medjidié, in commemoration of his gallantry in recovering the body of Lieutenant Burke, after he was killed at the passing of the Danube, on the 12th of July last. In the meantime he has presented Private Anderson with the decoration, and trusts your lordship will allow him to wear it until the commands of her majesty may be received.

"His highness further desires me to express to your lordship his entire approbation of the manner in which Major Bent has conducted his duties. He desires me to inform your lordship that this officer showed great energy in his endeavours to enter Silistria before the siege was raised, and that he subsequently showed great gallantry."

The Russians were not less confident than their rivals; yet with their usual caution, despite the sternness of winter, they made preparations for the defence not only of Sebastopol but of the whole Crimea, believing that the arrival of reinforcements early in the spring would enable the allies to take the offensive, for the especial purpose of cutting off the supplies. The Russians were also

eognisant of the appointment of Omar, and the landing of the Turks at Eupatoria:—"In order to prevent a *coup de main* against Perekop, the division of General Pauloff, the brigade of General Wrangel, and four regiments of dragoons, were detached on the 18th ult. towards Armgansk, and took up a position on the road which commands the isthmus. The light division of Hulans, under General Korff, was still holding its winter-quarters near Eupatoria, its head-quarters being at Saki. The 51st regiment of Cossacks of the Don had joined it, and these troops will in the early part of January, it is said, commence an offensive movement against Eupatoria. In the meantime, in order to secure the communications with Perekop, reinforcements are being brought up from Odessa. The total force now at Perekop, in cavalry and infantry, amounts to 50,000 men. The eighth division, which arrived at Bagtché Serai on the 28th of December, was immediately after reviewed by General Osten-Sacken, who complimented it on its fine appearance, and said, 'You have come by order of your august sovereign to maintain the glory of your ancestors and the honour of Russia, our sacred country, my children! It is unnecessary for me to tell you that the eyes of your sovereign, as well as those of your fellow-countrymen, are on you, as the defenders of the word of Jesus Christ, our Saviour. There are among you many whom I have already commanded on fields of battle in Persia, Poland, and Hungary: remember the past, and continue to behave as becomes brave Russians. The moment will soon arrive when you will leave no other choice to the enemy than death or captivity. Until that time, adieu.'"

A letter from Vienna to London gives the following brief sketch of Russian activity at this period:—"We have to-day no late news from the seat of war in the Crimea, beyond the usual despatch from Prince Menschikoff, stating that, except two trifling sorties attempted by the garrison, nothing important had happened before Sebastopol up to the 8th of January. The *New Prussian Gazette*, in a communication coming from an acknowledged Russian source, states that Prince Menschikoff has profited by the respite to fortify the exterior *enceinte* of Sebastopol with new works of fortification, and has transformed into redoubts 28 of the 350 houses of the town, in addition to the batteries erected on the barricades, and in the principal streets, and on the bastions, the 460 guns of which answer the fire of the allies. The Prussian paper supposes that there will be no assault till the place is completely invested."

On New-year's day our French allies effected a reconnaissance towards the village of Tchor-

goum, and returned with only a loss of nine men. On the 6th the Russians showed great activity in the neighbourhood of the Tchernaya, towards the north side of which, and near Inkerman, there were three or four strong divisions of infantry, whose movements were unaccountable. The Russian general dispatched a considerable force of cavalry by the gorges to the east of Balaklava, and a strong body of infantry moved off northwards by the Inkerman tunnel. Silent movements on the part of the Muscovites, and silent vigilance on the part of the allies, were not destined to fill up the history of the day; the former opened fire from their new earthworks opposite the French right attack, and were replied to with spirit—the brawling guns kept up the noise of battle for hours. The English were not permitted to be mere spectators of this artillery practice, for a masked battery was opened against their advanced posts. Every night the French and Russians exchanged some cannon shots, and the riflemen on both sides did some execution. The camps of the allies were much annoyed with spies, who assumed every disguise with dexterity and success: sometimes that of a rifle officer was chosen, and one Russian officer actually imposed upon a party of the Rifle Brigade as an officer of their own corps. Another, as an officer of Zouaves, rode about Balaklava, escaping in the evening in the direction of Tchorgoum. Another personated a British officer of engineers, and escaped over the parapets of the trenches through a musketry fire from the men in the trenches. Those Russians showed skill, courage, and a perfect mastership of dissimulation and self-possession. Desertions became very common, from both French and English; those from the former chiefly belonged to their foreign legion. On the 10th a private soldier of the Connaught Rangers, who had been captured in one of the sorties of December, made his escape; he arrived in the camp in a wretched condition—his feet and legs, hands and arms, all much lacerated by broken glass, which he represented as strewn thickly for a great distance around the enemy's works. His description of the woe-begone plight of the Russians encouraged his fellow-soldiers.

The French worked hard by day in assisting to make a road to the English camp. By night, their mortar batteries (which were much more numerous armed than those of the English, although the latter had mortars of much greater calibre) flung shells with much effect—it was afterwards heard from deserters—into the works of the enemy. On the 10th and 11th the French mortar fire was especially animated. The navies, although so lately arrived, were engaged in earnest work. By the 10th of January the railway had been brought up a

considerable distance in the main street of Balaklava. The Turks were greatly surprised at this operation; they could not maintain their accustomed *sang froid* when they beheld the railway engine snorting and fuming along. The main street of Balaklava was not improved, however, by the presence of “the line”—as nearly its whole breadth was thus occupied, and the ordinary current of passengers was obliged to find vent in other directions still more encumbered than the old route had been.

Several British deserters were shot in their efforts to reach the enemy. These men were generally hard drinkers, and had deserved punishment, or were dishonest, and feared that their practices would be brought to light. Some, when caught, pleaded an unconquerable desire to see Sebastopol; this curiosity was found in the ranks of the Zouaves more than among the British. Shot, shell, and provisions, were brought up during the early days of January in considerable quantities, but at a very heavy cost to the poor soldiery. But for the assistance of the French, in men, mules, and ambulances, neither food nor ammunition could have been brought up to the camp, nor invalids brought down to Balaklava. Tea was served in the hospital tents in the latter place, and to the sick on board ship.

During the desultory cannonade, officers and men, especially among the French, experienced the most wonderful escapes. A correspondent of the *United Service Gazette* communicated the following adventure in the British trenches:—“The covering parties in the trenches who are not actually on sentry have excavated large holes in the bank, inside of the guns, to screen themselves from the cold wind. Two men had ensconced themselves in one of these holes, and were comfortably rolled in their blankets, when a large shell fell exactly between them without injuring either; one of the men, who happened to be awake, got out as quickly as he could, but the other poor fellow, who was sound asleep, remained quietly ‘taking his rest,’ wrapped up in his blankets, unconscious of his danger. Most fortunately the fusee had been extinguished in its flight, or had burnt out without reaching the inside, and the shell did not explode. Had it not been for this fortunate circumstance, the two men and some officers standing near, would in all probability have been killed or maimed on the spot. Our first impulse was to throw ourselves flat on the ground, as the only chance of escape, and we remained there some time before being satisfied that the fusee was not burning. We then awoke the man who had remained in the hole from his sleep, which was nearly proving his last, but who for some time did not appear to comprehend the danger

he had escaped, and after a little time, and rubbing his eyes, he said, 'I'll knock over a few more Russians for this trick that they have played me.' "

The general neglect which the staff-officers of the British army had hitherto exhibited was not now so apparent. Lord Raglan having started into life, his "aids," also became more animated. Indeed, if the general officers had done their duty, the divisional and general staff of the army—however incompetent many of the officers undoubtedly were—would at all events have shown more alacrity and more concern for the welfare of the men. "The Queen's Rules and Regulations for the Army" are very positive as to the duty of the chief officers on this head:—"General officers in command are to be very circumspect in their recommendation of officers for staff appointments of any kind, and are responsible that the officers on whose behalf they interest themselves are, by their previous personal services, as well as by their acquirements and character, qualified to discharge with advantage to the service the duties attached to the situation for which they are recommended."

There was some discontent shown about this time, arising from what was considered partial conduct on the part of Admiral Lyons. When the troops entered Balaklava, there were five mortars found in the old fort there. These were removed on board the *Agamemnon*, Admiral Lyons' ship, and ultimately on board the *Firebrand*, with the inscription on a brass plate, "Agamemnon, Balaklava, 1854." As the *Agamemnon* had shelled the heights, that circumstance was made a pretext for taking the credit of capturing the mortars. The Rifle Brigade were the real captors, for it was to them that the fort surrendered.

On the 12th of January (the Russian New Year's-day) the frost gave way, and a south wind setting in, the weather became unseasonably mild, and the plateau was once more a vast area of mud. This was the new year of the Russians, and they ushered it in with ostentatious gaiety. They lighted huge bonfires on the north side, and placed long rows of lights on the heights over the Tchernaya. The windows of Sebastopol were illuminated, and the light flashed over the heights occupied by the allies. At midnight, the bells of all the churches were rung in the manner the Russians are accustomed to perform that preliminary to a grand religious rite. At one o'clock a shout arose along the whole line of the Russian works and throughout the city. It was a loud cry, as of a host inspired by some joyous intelligence, or by some project of fanaticism. Soon after a tremendous cannonade burst forth from the whole of the Russian works, perhaps the heaviest experienced by

the allies since the bombardment of the 17th of October. The French and English replied, but not with the same violence and power; indeed, the French gunners had to take shelter in the trenches from the shells, shot, carcasses, and rockets, that flew in fiery crowds among them. Their riflemen, and especially those who, being in the advanced positions, were commonly called *enfants perdus*, kept up an incessant fire; and as few of the enemy's missiles fell among them, they were able to take very deliberate aim, and bring down the Russian gunners as they "showed" in the embrasures. A strong sortie was made against our allies; the Russians forced their way within the parapets of one of the mortar batteries, and succeeded in spiking several of the pieces with wooden plugs. The French rallied, took them in flank and front within the trench with a quick discharge of musketry, followed by a rushing bayonet charge and a cheer; the Russians recoiled; a fresh body of French pressed them with the bayonet, the retreating Russians fled in disorder; and so rapid and bold was the pursuit that many of the French entered with them within their lines. The French soldiers were with the greatest difficulty prevented by their commanders from penetrating beyond the advanced works of the enemy; and for many a day after they murmured, complaining that if their officers had only given the word, they would have captured Sebastopol. It does not appear, however, that they were the best judges in this case: they would have soon learned that the discretion of their officers was at least as useful as their own forward valour.

While the contest was yet raging in the lines of the French, a similar attack was made on the front and flank of the British left. As the Russians always take occasions of great festivals for their enterprises, both of the allied armies might have expected that the bell-ringing and illuminations would be followed by a sortie. It appeared that neither exercised sufficient vigilance. Mr. Russell represents the British authorities as taking every precaution. A steady sergeant, "one of the steadiest in the service," and twelve men, were posted on the point of probable attack, but "somehow or other, the enemy crept up upon the little party, surprised, and took them prisoners." The result of this was of course an unexpected advance upon the covering parties, compelling the detachments of the 68th and 21st regiments there on duty to retire, almost without firing a shot. These parties, forming upon the supports, opened fire rather slowly upon the assailants, and then advancing with the bayonet, drove them back, and continued the pursuit to the Russian advanced works, but lost six men who were shot dead, and nine men and an officer who were wounded. A

letter from the camp strongly contradicts Mr. Russell as to the precautionary vigilance of the English superior officers. The writer of the letter was a non-commissioned officer.

*Camp above Sebastopol, Jan. 15.*

"There was rather an unfortunate affair on the night of the 12th. The 68th found the guard for the advanced works, and gave 170 men for it. There ought not to have been less than 300 there. It was pitch dark. The Russians in large numbers made a sortie at about one o'clock in the morning, took the guard by surprise, wounded an officer and six men, and took a sergeant and thirteen men prisoners. After the Russians retired, a most tremendous fire was opened on the trenches, of round-shot, shell, and grape; but, as usual, though it sounds very awful, that sort of firing does little or no damage at night.

"Simultaneously with the attack on our advanced works, an attack was made on the French on our left, but, to show you how differently the French authorities act from ours, it appears that the 12th is the Russian New Year's-day, and it was perfectly well known by the authorities, both French and English, that an attack would most likely be made to usher in the new year. The French gave their people a hint to be on the alert, and to show that they were in earnest, doubled all their advanced guards. Our bright people, having just the same opportunity of learning as the French, never took the trouble even to remind us that it was the Russian New Year's-eve—a fact of which we were totally ignorant. I merely mention this little instance to let you see the sort of stupid, quiet, confident way in which some people go on."

This affair was followed by a despatch from Lord Raglan, in which he communicates an error as to the casualties; the correct account was given above.

*Before Sebastopol, Jan. 13.*

MY LORD DUKE,—The weather continues very severe, and to-day it blows a gale of wind, with drifting snow.

Although I have not received the official report from the officer commanding the fourth division, the officer of the quartermaster-general's department, whose duty it is to visit the advanced posts at daylight, has brought in an account of a sortie made by the Russians in the course of last night upon our right and left attack, the enemy advancing, under protection of a heavy cannonade, along the Woronzoff Road and the ravine on our extreme left.

The enemy succeeded in driving in the troops in the advanced trench, which was not re-occupied until the reserves were brought forward from the second parallel.

A party in pits on the right of the advanced trench, consisting of one sergeant and thirteen rank and file, are missing, and one officer and thirty-six privates are stated to be wounded. The time for the dispatch of the mail being at hand, I am very sorry that I shall not be able to send your grace to-day a more accurate statement of this affair. I inclose a return of casualties between the 8th and 14th. Great progress is making in disembarking and issuing to the troops vast quantities of warm clothing of all descriptions, and I believe I may assert that every man in this army has received a second blanket, a jersey

frock, flannel drawers, and socks, and some kind of winter coat, in addition to the ordinary greatcoat. The provision of fuel is still a great difficulty. Every effort is making, and with tolerable success, in landing and putting up the huts; their great weight (2½ tons each) is a serious obstacle to their conveyance to the camp with our limited transport. Each hut requires three stripped artillery waggons, with from eight to ten horses each, or 180 men. Much sickness continues to prevail.

I have, &c,  
RAGLAN.

*His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, &c. &c.*

It will be seen from this despatch that the warm clothing was beginning to afford some comfort to the shivering troops. His lordship was, however, misinformed as to the extent of the distribution; until more than a week after the day he wrote but little progress was made in this respect. The reader will observe that the statement of his lordship about the difficulty of obtaining fuel is at variance with the facts, that masses of timber were floating or frozen up in the harbour of Balaklava (according to the weather), and that vast piles of portable patent fuel were stowed carelessly away in Balaklava, under piles of dirt and rubbish, which had been allowed to accumulate above them. Difficulty indeed there was, but that difficulty was created by the neglect and want of capacity for organisation at headquarters.

His lordship manifested considerable activity at this juncture, and began to show something of the old alacrity and spirit which characterised him when on the staff of the Duke of Wellington in the Iberian peninsula, and in France. The *Moniteur de l'Armée* published a letter from the French camp, dated the 19th of January, exemplifying this, and giving a very correct account of the habits of the English troops:—"Lord Raglan came this morning to our headquarters. He is a good rider, and does not appear to feel the want of the arm which he left at Waterloo. He looks well, has a good colour, with a beard a little grey. He came without any ceremony, wearing a cap covered with oilskin. The English are the most free and easy men we know. The following, which occur under our eyes, will appear, perhaps, scarcely credible. In the trenches they light a fire, make their tea, and then, sitting down on the back of the trench, quietly smoke. The sentinel now and then goes and looks over the parapet, and, if he sees nothing, he comes down again amongst his comrades. A shell falls, but no one takes any notice of it. If one of the party should be hit, two of his comrades raise him up and carry him away with the greatest coolness; the others do not stir. With us we are careful not to make any fire. We suffer more in the trenches from this circumstance, but we have less casualties, as the smoke of a fire forms a good mark for the enemy's batteries. The engineers continue to surround Sebastopol with

their trenches, which are now at ninety metres from the place. It is at this distance that the third parallel is placed. We are prepared to establish ourselves by main force in the Flagstaff Bastion as soon as the English artillery shall be ready to support ours in silencing the cross fire of the enemy."

Our allies were very free, yet on the whole very generous, in their critiques upon the ways of the English soldiery and officers; but the private letters both of officers and men among the French found much fault with the general constitution of the British army, and expressed very much admiration of its regimental system. That which seems most to have fixed itself upon the attention of our allies was the want of encouragement to the private soldiers and non-commissioned officers, and the promotion of commissioned officers by purchase, which seemed to them utterly irreconcilable with justice, sound sense, or military efficiency. The following document arriving in the camps pleased both our men and their allies:—

COPY FOR THE INFORMATION OF REGIMENTS  
AND DEPOTS, ETC.

SIR,—Her majesty having been graciously pleased to extend her previous royal warrants for the special purpose of granting rewards for distinguished and meritorious service, and gallant conduct in the field, I am directed to transmit herewith a copy of a warrant which has been issued for that purpose, and to request that you will immediately make it known to the regiment under your command.

The sergeant to be selected for the annuity of £20 is to be the individual whom you may consider to be most deserving of such a reward, and which, when granted, is at once to be at his own disposal, though he may be still serving.

I am further directed to observe that, in selecting individuals for the gratuities to be awarded for distinguished service or gallant conduct in the field, you are not to be fettered in your selection by any consideration as to length of service—the general good conduct of the individual (and especially in the late operations) being alone the qualification to entitle him to this reward.

I have, &c.,  
B. HAWES.

To Officers commanding Regiments, &c., under  
Field-marshal Lord Raglan.

Mr. Russell relates an anecdote which shows how much the men required both assistance and encouragement:—"As a newly-arrived and freshly-mounted officer was riding along one of the narrow paths to the camp he called out to a man who was toiling along with a sack of biscuit on his shoulders, the last of a long file similarly engaged, 'Now, then, soldier, out of the way, if you please.' The man turned his head round, and, with an expression I never shall forget, exclaimed, 'Sojer, indeed! Faix, we're no sojers! we're only poor broken down commissariat mules!'"

At last the central depots for provisions were established, and some slight symptoms of decrease in the sickness which prevailed appeared; it continued, however, very heavy—the rate of

mortality through many dreary weeks being still frightful. The establishment of the provision depots near the camp had a very salutary effect.

About this date 800 Croats left Constantinople for the Crimea to work as labourers; they proved to be strong burly men, rude and barbarous in the extreme, slow and slovenly, but having a good deal of "wear and tear" in them. They, however, fell before the climate rather fast on their arrival. Attempts to engage the Tartars as labourers were not successful; they could not endure the cold. They would give up the labour assigned to them, and sit down, huddled together in the mud or snow, until the sleep of death crept over them, and left them in groups, as if slain by the bursting shell or close encounter. Generally they were removed in a state of torpidity or extreme exhaustion to the hospital tents, to die there.

On the 14th, the 39th regiment was landed, marched up to the head of the creek at Balaklava, and placed on ground previously occupied by the Royal Irish regiment of the line. They suffered severely, encamped beneath the cold sky of a Crimean January day. They had one hut among them all! there were many fragments, but the whole came up in a confused way, and such wretched progress was made in the arrangements for their shelter that many sickened and died.

The French lent waggons, which were as much required as freely and generously accorded. Shot and powder were in this way brought up to the lines. Our own artillery waggons were horsed by French mules (if the Hibernicism may be pardoned), and brought up by French commissariat drivers, laden with useful material of all sorts. The drifting snow impeded these auxiliary agencies; but our allies bravely worked on, and their mules seemed animated also by the *entente cordiale*, for they exerted themselves vigorously to pull up the heavy loads which our needy camp demanded. Several of the men of the French commissariat and waggon train fell, stricken with the prevailing sickness, or exhausted with fatigue, or paralysed with cold, while rendering us these invaluable services.

The weather now became truly formidable; snow fell in large quantities, and the cold tried the troops to the uttermost. The preparations for a renewed bombardment did not intermit, except as heavy falls of snow impeded the track for transport, and rendered all trench-work impossible. Fifty-three new 32-pound guns, thirteen of the largest mortars, and a number of siege-guns of the largest calibre, were by this date placed in the camp depot, ready for mounting; and all who were cognisant of these awful preparations for a cannonade

began to feel sanguine as to the result. Vast stores of ammunition for these engines of destruction were also brought up.

The arrival of the *Trent*, with a cargo of Spanish mules from Barcelona, was an important event, affording hope that we should be less dependent upon our allies for the means of transport.

The despatches of Lord Raglan were very meagre, and afforded to the British public no true conception of the state of things. Many important incidents in the progress of the siege are to be learned from the despatches of General Canrobert, concerning which Lord Raglan was silent; and some of these incidents nearly affected the honour of England and her army, and the relation of both to France and to the army of France before Sebastopol. The following were the despatches of the British commander at this juncture:—

*Before Sebastopol, Jan. 16, 1855.*

MY LORD DUKE,—I have the honour to lay before your grace the copy of a despatch\* from Lieutenant-colonel Simmons, which he wrote by desire of Omar Pasha, expressing his highness's approbation of the services of Major Bent, of the Royal Engineers, and the detachment of sappers which I lent him in the summer; his regret at the loss of Lieutenant Burke, of the Royal Engineers, and his high sense of the conduct and exertions of Lieutenant Glyn, of the Royal Navy, and His Serene Highness Prince Ernest, of Saxe Leiningen, and of the detachment of seamen of her majesty's fleet, employed in the construction of the bridge across the Danube, the success of which he attributes in a great measure to their well-planned dispositions. Colonel Simmons, your grace will perceive, has further been desired by Omar Pasha to say, that it would be very gratifying to him if her majesty should be graciously pleased to reward these officers for the able services they have rendered to the Ottoman army and the common cause. I think it right to mention that the Hon. Major Gage, of the Royal Horse Artillery, was the officer who conducted these detachments to Rustchuk from Varna. I appointed him to this duty, having previously sent him to examine the armament at the former place, and being satisfied that the employment of his services on the occasion would be advantageous. I beg your grace will be so good as to obtain her majesty's permission for Private Andrew Anderson, of the Royal Sappers and Miners, to accept and wear the decoration of the fourth class of the Order of Medjidie, in consideration of his gallantry.

I have, &c.,  
RAGLAN.

*His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, &c. &c.*

*Before Sebastopol, Jan. 23, 1855.*

MY LORD DUKE,—Nothing has occurred of importance in our front; but the enemy has occasionally opened a fire upon our left attack, and Mr. Spalding, a fine young man, an acting mate of her majesty's ship *London*, and in charge of the battery, was unfortunately killed by a round-shot the day before yesterday. The weather has become milder, but the country is still in a dreadful state from melted snow. The army is well supplied with warm clothing, and if the commissariat were adequately provided with transport, and the huts could be at once brought up, there would be no other cause of suffering than the severity of a Crimean winter, and the duties imposed of carrying on a siege in such a climate at this season of the year.

I have, &c.,  
RAGLAN.

*His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, &c. &c.*

From the despatches of General Canrobert, and the official communications made to him by his staff, we perceive that the most serious correspondence was going on through the whole of January between the French and English commanders, as to the unpreparedness of the latter to undertake any important operation against the enemy, and between the French chief and the war minister of his emperor, on the same subject:—"I do everything to assist our brave allies, who are far from being ready," writes General Canrobert, in a despatch dated in December; "while all our batteries await only the signal for opening their fire. This situation is painful, and even dangerous, if the enemy, becoming aware of it, should shower his projectiles upon our batteries, thus forced to be silent." He adds, subsequently:—"Our excavations towards the town having been necessarily suspended, I have directed the general of engineers to prolong them towards our left, in a course parallel to the defences of the enemy; and we have already reached the bottom of the Quarantine Bay, and occupy the lazaretto upon its southern shore."

The Baron de Bazancourt, the emperor's commissioner to his own army, makes this observation upon the correspondence then going on between the allied commanders in the Crimea:—"It was already to be foreseen, that in order to effect the completion of the plan of attack, the French, whose troops were the most numerous and their means of transport the most considerable, would be obliged to assume a part of the works comprised in the English lines. This was a serious matter; and the chief of the English army, far from declaring plainly his inability to complete the portion of the siege allotted to him, gave no reply which could lead to any new decision; but allowed these precious days thus to elapse."

Ultimately Lord Raglan was obliged to do what he incurred delay, and danger to the cause, and entailed suffering upon his army, by not doing earlier. In the meantime, the despatches of Canrobert to his master are—with perfect courtesy and kindness on his part—chapters of humiliation for England:—"The English army," writes the general-in-chief, "undergoes privations and sufferings, which, unhappily, it is not in my power to relieve. Its effective strength diminishes to such a degree, its draught and saddle horses are so enfeebled, their numbers are so reduced,—that it has great difficulty in transporting to its camp even the necessary supplies of food: it cannot therefore,—even with the addition of the assistance which we are so happy to give it,—arm and man its batteries as should be done, in order to act efficaciously in concert with our army." "In answer to my pressing requests,"

\* For the despatch referred to see p. 6.

writes General Canrobert, in a private despatch dated the 9th of January, "Lord Raglan and the lieutenant-general commanding the English engineers have just addressed to me some very detailed documents, from which it appears necessary for our army to undertake a part of the siege which had been originally allotted to our allies. Strong arms and hearty goodwill will not be wanting on our part; and, from the time that the state of the roads will permit it, I shall occupy myself directly with this new attack, and shall neglect nothing to enable it to give assistance to our own, without which the latter are paralysed." In another despatch the general again wrote:—"The assault to be made by the French upon that part of the town situated in front of them, to the west of the southern harbour, cannot be crowned with success, but upon the condition of having previously silenced the fire of the enormous batteries, called the Arsenal and Redan, situated to the east of the southern harbour, in front of the English; and this part of the harbour is disposed in such a manner, that even admitting the success of our columns of assault and the capture of the town (properly so called), we could not retain it but upon the condition of the capture of this eastern part also. Everything requires me, in the interest of the common cause, to occupy myself directly (by the consent of Lord Raglan) with the English works. But until the return of the fine weather, this will be difficult, and even impossible."

Another of these despatches of the French general will show still more plainly the light in which he regarded the position of his allies. This feeling was well known to Lord Raglan, and was not unconnected with the ultimate resignation, by General Canrobert, of the command of the French army:—"My general plan is the taking of Sebastopol. This is not a result of calculation, it is a result of necessity. Since we have accumulated an immense *matériel* before the place; since we want means of transport, and the soil absolutely refuses to admit of long-continued movement; while the existence of our army depends for supplies upon the presence of the fleet; while this army has to operate in the depth of winter; and its allies, from whom it cannot, and ought not to separate, are not in a condition to undertake anything;—the force of circumstances binds it down to the definite object in the way of which it meets this host of difficulties. This definite object is the stronghold of Sebastopol. We must capture it; for circumstances render it impossible for us to attack the relieving army, at the risk of abandoning the fleet, the harbour, and the means of subsistence."

During the whole month of January the combats of the French were incessant. The

correspondents of the English press from the Crimea represent the month as one of inaction. Colonel Hamley passes over lightly all the sorties and conflicts before the lines, which the French repelled and maintained; but the colonel spent most of the time on the shores of the Bosphorus, in the discharge of other duties, and trusted to hearsay—a very uncertain guide at that time; for, as one of the correspondents of the London daily papers observed, "the troops are worked so hard that no one has time to learn anything that transpires out of his own regiment, and sometimes not even out of his own company; the camp is a bad place in which to look for news." Mr. Woods, as well as Colonel Hamley, underrates the combats of January; he also having been absent from the Crimea, could not have personal knowledge of what occurred. Mr. Russell's account is more full; but his notices of the skirmishes and sorties between the French and Russians are imperfect, some of the most "stirring affairs" being omitted. The fighting between the "French rifles," as Mr. Russell calls them, and the Russians was incessant during the whole month. The men designated "rifles" by the English correspondents were from various corps of the most different constitutions, and were all volunteers; they received in the French army the name of "scouts." Their position was dangerous, being kept in front, yet the only difficulty the French chiefs had in obtaining them depended upon selection—so much more numerous were the volunteers than the men required. The following is the constitution of this corps (for such it may be termed) according to French documents:—

#### SERVICE OF VOLUNTEER SCOUTS.

The object of this organisation is:—

1st. To know all that passes in front of the intrenchments of the enemy; 2nd, to be warned of the sorties, and to harass them; 3rd, to take possession of any posts, parties of men, &c., who are outside of the place; 4th, to destroy all the hiding-places of the Russian marksmen, and the obstacles which might oppose themselves to the march of our columns; to attack the fougades and to spike the guns, &c.

For that purpose, the companies will be subdivided into thirty brigades of five men each; each officer of this company will have ten brigades, of which five are to be in reserve and five placed in advance on the most favourable points to observe the enemy's movements.

When there will be occasion to make a *coup de main* of small importance, but which will require promptitude, the officers must make use of the brigades which they will have in reserve, under their hands, without however disturbing the small posts already placed in front of the trenches.

For an operation of any importance, the engineer commanding the trenches will seek instructions.

The service of Scouts is divided into two very distinct parts, which it is necessary not to confound. The first, invariable; that of the small posts placed here and there in advance of the trenches which it is necessary always to maintain there. This is the service of every night which must have no interruption. The second, intended for *coups de main*, composed of several brigades, can act according to circumstances. The commander of engineers on duty may command its services.

The French commissioner, writing of the month of January, observes that "it was fertile in *partial combats*, and sudden but *sanguinary and obstinate struggle*." How irreconcilable such a statement with Mr. Woods' remarks—"At the commencement of the severe weather hostilities almost ceased. English and French soldiers showed themselves without hesitation outside the parallels and beyond the batteries, and were seldom molested while they searched about for little sticks with which to make a fire. The French, well fed, well housed, and with an army twice too numerous for the duties it had to perform, were enabled to continue their siege works, and to strengthen the parapets and replace the ordnance in the batteries they had already constructed. Little skirmishes took place each night between parties of their riflemen and the enemy's, but without any permanent advantage to either side."

According to M. Bazancourt, there was very great disadvantage to the French in these "sanguinary and obstinate combats," for the French troops were harassed, and their works impeded. Neither were they able to inflict that punishment upon the enemy which might compensate for the injury; for, although the Muscovite loss was numerically more severe, yet they so managed, by signal, that generally when the French pursued in force, they were exposed to showers of grape from the Russians. The latter lost very heavily in brave and intelligent officers in these skirmishes and sorties. Undoubtedly the French would have paid a more extensive penalty had it not been for their excellent arrangements. Colonel Raoult, major of the trenches, much distinguished himself in carrying out the organisation of defence there. All the French trenches converged from what was called the Clock Tower, which was night and day the centre of most active scenes. At that spot the battalions going on guard mustered each morning. There the soldiers and workmen received supplies and directions. When night arrived, the large beacon of this tower was lighted, and served as a guide to the files sent to the depot of the trenches, and to the litters which all passed by when removing the sick and wounded—and, alas! not unfrequently the dead—to the rear. From that spot a vigilant look out was always kept, lest in any part of the trenches a surprise was being attempted, when immediately the detection was followed by the alarm trumpet, and that was followed by rockets signalling the point of attack. These rocket signals were so organised as that misapprehension was next to impossible. *Stars* indicated a left attack, *squibs* a centre attack, and *serpents* directed attention to the right. Two of these rockets were fixed for the *garde à vous*; three for the *rappel*;

four for the *assemblée*. In an instant, upon sound of the trumpet, some of these pyrotechnic signals ensued; and these, according to the directions intimated, brought forth the picket battalion, followed by other battalions, according to the supposed extent of the danger. The *garde à vous* gave the alarm; the *rappel* declared a real attack; the *assemblée*, that the attack was serious.

The following is a copy of the French order of the "Service in the Trenches," as organised by Colonel Raoult. In January, 1855, this was the mode in which the trench service of our allies was conducted:—

#### SERVICE IN THE TRENCHES.

Every twenty-four hours, night and day, there is a picket battalion in its camp, taken from the corps the nearest to the Clock Tower (the quarters of the major of the trenches), and always ready to march at the first signal. The battalion sends, at from eight to nine o'clock in the evening, two companies to form the picket of the Clock Tower itself. (Up to the month of January there was only one battalion of reserve at the Clock Tower; in the month of January this battalion of reserve gave place to a picket battalion.) There is besides a battalion of reserve, placed on the left, in the rear of the batteries 1 and 2, forming an effective strength of 450 to 500 men.

Every day there are seven battalions on guard in the trenches, in addition to a battalion of Foot Chasseurs, employed as sharpshooters, and placed along the whole extent of the most advanced parallel, in order to maintain a fire of musketry. Besides which, a company of marksmen, of about 150 men, is generally scattered upon different points, favourable for their purpose. A post of 200 men is placed in the English ravine in order to unite our right attacks to the English left attacks.

Every day workmen are ordered,—in the divers corps,—for the work of the trenches, to the number of about 300, and are equally distributed upon different points, either to make new lateral trenches for intercommunication, or to construct the site of new batteries, or repair the parapets damaged by the enemy's fire. The whole number varies according to the urgency of the need, and, at a certain time, often exceeded 4000.

It may be easily imagined how necessary it was to employ a considerable number of workmen, if we reflect upon the results obtained, and the gigantic extent of our trenches from the first to the third parallels; that is to say from the Quarantine, which forms the extreme left, to the English battery, forming the extreme right.

Two companies of the volunteer battalion (composed of six companies) are on duty every night in the quality of scouts. They have no fixed post, and their position varies according to circumstances.

We do not pretend to give here any but the principal arrangements. The general of the trenches modified these arrangements according to the apprehension of attack upon such or such a point, or any unexpected necessity, but without altering their basis.

The guard of the trenches is divided into three commands: the right, the centre, and the left; devolving upon colonels or lieutenant-colonels.

Each day a general of the trenches is named from among the brigades of the siege corps.

The siege works on the side of the French include two attacks—the right and the left. This last extends very nearly from the Quarantine to the Central Bastion. The right attack extends from the Central Bastion to the Barrack Battery. In the interior of this line is the Flagstaff Battery.

In view of the extreme care taken for every thing, and the steady and generous supplies afforded to the French soldier, well might a high authority on the French staff boast—

"The soldier feels his courage and resolution redoubled, in seeing his chiefs at all hours partaking of his perils, inquiring after his wants, and saying to him, in passing, a few kind words, while the bullets whistle around him and the projectiles are bounding over the parapets."

As specimens of the French contests in the front during the bitter nights of January, the following will be sufficient to narrate—all would neither be practicable nor necessary:—

On the 7th a Russian detachment, or as the French reports rather pompously style it, "column" of more than 300 men dashed with sudden impetuosity against the French trenches. There was no warning given from the Clock Tower, no symptom of their approach was observed. A number of the assailants were within the trench works before their occupants could make any resistance. The Commandant Julien, at the head of three companies of the 46th regiment of the line, in a desperate hand to hand encounter, killed, captured, or expelled the intruders. Fresh assailants soon overwhelmed the brave 46th; their Voltigeur company was in reserve, and took the assailants in flank; a young sub-lieutenant, Kerdudo, scarcely twenty-one years of age, was the first to fall upon this section of the enemy, and, sword in hand, he performed prodigies of bravery; he was followed by his little Voltigeurs so promptly and well, that the Russians retreated with precipitation, but not without giving to their gunners the usual signal, who opened a fire of grape upon the pursuing Voltigeurs, compelling them, with severe loss, to re-enter the trenches. Had this feat been performed by a young English ensign, he would be praised and taken no further notice of—as in the case of the gallant young Massey, who, some months later, displayed far more heroism at the storming of the Redan; but not so in the French service—heroism is sought for and fostered. Three days after the exploit of the young French subaltern, the commander-in-chief published an order of the day, thanking the regiment, and appended to it the following:—"In the name of the Emperor, I confer the Cross of the Legion of Honour upon Sub-lieutenant Kerdudo, who, still very young, has shown on this occasion the self-possession and energy of an old soldier, in conducting his Voltigeurs."

On the night of the 11th and 12th a similar attack was defeated in a similar manner by the bravery and presence of mind of Lieutenant Espanet, of the 80th regiment of the line (5th light); and he also, and his brave men, were noticed in the order of the day, and rewards conferred upon him, and Sub-lieutenant de la Jallet, his second in command—both were named Chevaliers of the Legion of Honour.

La Jallet had, on the 8th, rushed to the relief of the pickets on the extreme left of the English in the ravine, or, as the Russians call it, "valley." He had only forty men, but, anticipating the Russians, who were creeping up upon the English, he attacked them with the bayonet; the enemy were three to one, and a furious fight ensued, the French, *à l'Anglais*, using the but-end of their muskets until the foe was precipitated to the bottom of the ravine, where some fell under the random fire of the French, and the rest skulked back to their lines as best they could.

On the night of the 14th and 15th a very sanguinary combat was maintained by the 74th French regiment of the line. Some noises were heard before midnight of the 14th, and the picket was on the alert; these noises continued to advance and recede until about two o'clock on the morning of the 15th, when the pickets of both armies were scarcely able to hold their muskets, so severe was the cold. The wind was north, and blew one of those cutting gales which in January sweep along from the Arctic regions over Southern Russia. The snow descended in thick broad flakes, as though it would soon wrap city and camp, invaders and invaded, in one white burial. At two o'clock the noises which had puzzled and disturbed the pickets ceased, and all was silent except the artillery, which reverberated among the glens and rocks in a manner to which the hour and the season lent a peculiar awe. The wind now rose higher and blew in gusts, sweeping with a shrill noise down from the plateau over the French trenches. The Russians, taking advantage of this new chance of approaching without being heard, crept along in a crouching posture, and came in front in an imposing column, as their dark figures appeared, looming and gigantic, amidst the whiteness which covered the earth, and partly covered, and for a time concealed, the column. Two more columns (as our French neighbours style large detachments) issued forth from the ravine where the extreme of the second French parallel rested. Fortunately the "scouts" who, bad as the weather was, were lying upon the ground in front and amidst the stunted brushwood of the ravine, discovered the approach of the enemy in time to raise the alarm. As the scouts fell back upon the trenches the enemy were close upon them, and ascended the parapets with them. The French were well on the watch, every one musket in hand and the trigger already touched, so that the first line of assailants fell under a fire murderously close, but the Russians pressed on, bayoneting the defenders of a small lateral trench which they entered in great force. Every Frenchman fell there, except three grenadiers and a corporal who

headed them, named Guillemin. The corporal and his three men fought with desperate tenacity against a host; but this side trench was so narrow that a few men could hold it against the attempts of many, and on this spot the gallant Guillemin made a miniature Thermopylæ. The strongest portion of the column threw itself into another branch of the trench, defended by Captain Castleman (an Irish officer in the French service), who fell pierced with thirteen bayonet wounds; having killed with his own hand a number of the Russians, he literally fell dead upon a pile of enemies sacrificed to his swordsmanship and valour. He was a great favourite with his company, who, made furious by his loss, precipitated themselves on the enemy led by Lieutenant Regaud, who cried, "Avenge our captain!" and setting the example, seconded by Commandant Roumé-Joux, in ten minutes cleared the trench. Poor Roumé-Joux fell mortally wounded by a bayonet thrust below the heart. The trench and the glacis were literally piled with dead. The French, as customary, pursued the foe too hotly; the Russians, as usual, left nothing to chance, but had a grand reserve of nearly 1200 men—a force with which they might have speedily recaptured the trench, and done innumerable mischief. This reserve opened a well-directed fire of musketry upon the pursuers, by which many fell, and which completely covered the retreat of the vanquished. Several brave officers fell on both sides. Of almost the first shots fired by the assaulting force two entered the heart of Captain Bouton, who had the honour of being the first officer to receive the enemy and the first to fall. One Russian officer showed great courage and capacity to handle his sword; he encountered Sub-lieutenant Brochet in a narrow trench, wounding him in the sword-arm and bringing him to his knee, but recovering himself speedily, Brochet gave point, and pierced his enemy's heart. The loss on both sides was heavy, especially in officers and non-commissioned officers. One Russian officer carried no weapon but a hammer, he had the other hand filled with nails; his object was to spike the cannon; he fell dead into the trench under the first fire from its defenders, and the next morning his hands were stiffened upon the hammer and nails he had carried with so eager a purpose. The loss inflicted upon our allies by the cannonade on the works and by these nightly sorties and combats was very heavy. In three months 23 officers were killed, 171 wounded, 3 were missing; 464 men were killed, 128 missing, and 3392 wounded. This was independent of contusions, accidents from tools, magazines, and shells, and exclusive of all cases of sickness. Thus, on an average, every night two or three officers and about 50 men were put *hors de combat*.

It was observed that the column which attacked the works on the 14th was attended by platoons of sailors and workmen, who carried boat-hooks and drag-hooks. These men literally harpooned many of the French soldiers, sometimes dragging away only their knapsacks or caps, sometimes lacerating them, and in several instances making them prisoners. Long ropes were ingeniously stretched across in certain directions, to trip up the French soldiers in pursuit. These means of offence had been employed before on a very limited scale, but on the night of the 14th and 15th they were extensively and effectually used. A curious correspondence arose out of this circumstance between Generals Canrobert and Osten-Sacken:—

"Permit me, Monsieur le Gouverneur, to direct your attention to a fact of which you are doubtless not aware. It has been reported to me that in the combats which have taken place before our trenches, officers and soldiers have been dragged down by means of ropes or hooked poles. Our soldiers have no other arms than the musket, the bayonet, and the sword; and without wishing to affirm that the employment of these means is contrary to the rules of war, I may be allowed to say, in the words of an old French expression, 'that those are certainly not the arms of courtesy.' It is for you to judge of this. "CANROBERT."

To this rather puerile effusion the Russian made the following artful rejoinder:—

"Our soldiers are recommended to make prisoners rather than to kill unnecessarily. As to the instruments which you mention, it is very possible that the labourers who usually accompany the sorties have employed their tools to defend themselves. Beyond this, the letters which I have forwarded to the staff of the French army, from your own officers who are now prisoners with us, must sufficiently attest the manner in which they are treated in their captivity. It is for *you*, in turn, to judge of this. "OSTEN SACKEN."

On the 19th and 20th the French parallels were attacked on two different points. One of these attacks was on the left of the most advanced trench of circumvallation, which descended to the Quarantine Bay; the other on that part of the left of the French works called the "T" from its shape. On both points the enemy, in spite of "scouts," reached the trenches, and on both points were at once driven out by the bayonet with considerable slaughter, pursued hotly by the French, who, as in other combats, fell fast under the fire of the Russian guns and of the musketry of their reserve infantry detachments. These hot pursuits, although causing sacrifices to the French,

compelled the enemy to send out strong reserves to support the assailing parties, and thus increased the harassing effect of service upon their own troops. On occasion of the attack of the 19th and 20th the snow was very heavy in the front; the Russians, who lay on the ground a long time watching for a favourable moment of attack, suffered intensely—some never rose again, the cold sleep of the benumbed crept over them, and they answered the bugle-call no more; many could not fire off their muskets, their hands were rendered incapable by the frost—hence the attack was one of bayonets. The loss of the Muscovites was sore. Although hardier than either the French or the English, they did not bear the cold as well as might be expected from the severity of the climate in which they were born, and to which it was expected they would have been sufficiently inured. Notwithstanding the frigid weather, night after night the “Muscovs” crouched like leopards waiting for the spring. On one occasion they entered the French works so stealthily that not a shot was fired—the bayonet decided the contest against them after a short and decisive trial of battle at its point; the traverse of the trench assailed was choked with the slain. Generally the “volunteer scouts” descried the couchant enemy before they came on to the assault, the eyes of these watchers became preternaturally capable of seeing objects in deep shadow. Their painful vigilance through long dark nights gave them an experience which the Russians found it difficult to elude.

On the 21st the troops in front observed many demonstrations of some unusual excitement in the city. The bells were rung, guns were fired—not this time at the allies, but on the northern heights; musketry repeatedly gave a *feu de joie*; blue lights were burned; and rockets startled the quiet and sullen air. A deserter coming in before daylight circulated a report that the czar had arrived, which, however, was soon found to have no foundation; another of the same class diffused the joyful intelligence that a treaty of peace was signed, and Sebastopol was to be delivered up to the allies—news too good to be so soon true. The excitement in the city remained unaccounted for. On the 22nd the correspondent of the *Daily News* gave the following sketch of affairs:—

*Balaklava, January 22nd.*

“On the evening of Friday, the 19th inst., we had another intimation that we are not in the midst of peace. For a newcomer might imagine we were at peace, if he landed at Balaklava in the dark, on one of the usual nights, when nothing is heard but the occasional ‘All’s well,’ or the challenge of a sentinel. On Friday evening the inhabitants

of Balaklava, and the early sleepers in the camps around, were alarmed by what appeared to be a heavy cannonade, and a near one too, followed by loud, frequent, and heavy volleys of musketry. The day had been mild and muddy beyond all imaginings; and so peculiar was the state of the air that even old soldiers, grown grey in the wars of India, believed that the firing was from our Marine Battery, which commands the plain close to Balaklava. Each shot was heard with a distinctness which made the most experienced campaigners swear that the piece must have gone off within a mile or two from the place where they stood. Windows rattled, and the motion of the air was plainly felt by all who, in hot haste, rushed to the stables and picketing grounds to saddle their nags and be off to the scene of the contest. But those who rode out in the darkest night I ever saw, or rather in which I could not see, got nothing but a few ugly tumbles and splashes for their pains,—for the firing, though seemingly so near, was far off, and the whole affair was in fact a sortie against the French lines, which some time ago were so frequent that one hardly thought of mentioning them. And the more so as, thanks to the vigilance and gallantry of our allies, the Russians have always to go back fewer in numbers and in worse condition than when they came out. In all the attacks upon the French lines, it always comes to the same result. The Russians, rather the worse for liquor, come out and meet with a very hot reception; and, not liking this, and thoroughly sobered down, they go back.

“Our allies, who have long felt that our numbers are too small for the extent of ground we occupy, and that our men are overworked, have for the last few days come to relieve us in part of our lines. The edge of Sebastopol plateau overlooking the plain has been occupied by them, and they now furnish the pickets which guard the rear of our Sebastopol front. In this manner they relieve a considerable number of our men, whom we were hitherto obliged to lay out in our rear. French troops are also preparing to occupy the Inkerman position on our extreme right, thus relieving the second division, who are to remove their camp to the rear of the third division. This relief too will do much to lighten the work of our troops in the trenches, for the second division, instead of guarding the extreme right, will now assist the third and fourth divisions in furnishing guards for the trenches. The whole of our army will benefit by the change, and the greatest satisfaction is felt at this very timely and friendly relief. The French, too, are again making strenuous efforts to improve the condition of the roads between Balaklava and the front. For the last two or

three days large fatigue parties have been at work, and the roads, which were out of all condition, are soon likely to be, if not good, at least tolerable. General Bosquet mustered our light division on the 19th inst. Both men and officers were highly elated with the interest the French general took in their condition and prospects.

"On the 20th a council of war was held at Lord Raglan's quarters, in consequence, it was said, of important despatches which had arrived from home. Nothing whatever is known of the subject of the despatches, or the result of the council of war, but, as usual, the camp is full of the wildest rumours. A change in the chief command of the army, an armistice, a resumption of active operations, and the donation of a year's pay to the troops, have been successively mentioned—and all, I make bold to say, with equal truth and reason. Dark whispers fly about the camp, that Sir Edmund Lyons is going to attempt something wonderful and unheard-of, and general officers have been known to say that marvels will come to light in the next few days. In short, curiosity is on the alert—invention is active, and begets the most monstrous reports. In the meantime the mild weather is reviving our troops, who suffered severely from the late frosts. Now that their work is lighter, if they could be but properly rationed, even the 'seedy' among them might possibly pull through. But what with the heaviness of the roads, and the want of sufficient transport, and the disorder in Balaklava harbour, provisions in camp are still scarce, nor is their quality of such a kind as to restore and strengthen the suffering. A ration of tea has however, with some corps, been substituted for that of coffee, which, in the green berry, is almost useless to the troops in front. Another supply of fresh vegetables too came lately in the *Albatross*, to be given away to such of the troops as could manage to send down for them. Great was the joy in the camp when the good news became known. There is really no reason why every vessel sent down to Constantinople should not bring up a supply of vegetables for our men. They want them, and as they can be got, they should have them.

"Among the goods lately unshipped from the harbour is an enormous wooden house, the property of Mr. Oppenheim, a merchant from Paris, who for a long time past has conferred a great boon on the army, and who, between October and December, cleared a sum of about £10,000 by keeping a store of necessities and luxuries in Balaklava. Mr. Oppenheim's wooden house is to be put up in Kadikoi, and the rumour goes that it will contain a store, a hotel, and a coffee and reading-room for officers. Mr. Oppenheim deserves public thanks for his well-timed enterprise.

"Some days ago an incident came to my notice which strongly illustrates the difficulty of gaining information in a camp where, as in ours, each corps is very hard worked, while there is but very little communication between the various branches of the service. Captain Mitchell, of the Grenadier Guards, and some brother officers, saw one day in the commencement of last week a Russian steamer leaving the harbour and standing out for the open sea. One of the allied ships—whether French or English Captain Mitchell could not tell—went in chase, and after some hard steaming came within range of the Russian. A cannonade ensued, the Russian all the while endeavouring to escape. The chase was watched with intense interest, but the result remained a mystery, for the two ships, steaming hard and exchanging shots, disappeared at last on the verge of the horizon. The officers who saw the affair made all inquiries as to the facts and the final result of the engagement, but to no purpose. I too have since endeavoured to learn the particulars of the matter, but I too could gain no positive information. The fact is, we have all got so accustomed to hard knocks, that a partial affair makes no impression and usually excites no curiosity whatever, and it is only by chancing to fall in with one of the men actually engaged that a vague account of particulars can be obtained. The fact is, our troops are precociously *blasé* as to the general incidents of the campaign, and the final result alone is what is steadily and hopefully looked for. Whether that final result be the capture of Sebastopol, or the very doubtful adhesion of the German powers to the alliance against Russia, it is sure to excite interest, and to be canvassed with all the warmth and the smashing phrases natural to people who do the roughest of work in the roughest of weathers. But all minor details are looked upon with profound indifference."

It will be seen from the above that the coffee was still distributed to the troops in the green berry. It was generally believed that Mr. Commissary Filder was responsible for this; but the Chelsea Commission (referred to in a previous page), in its decision or report published after the war terminated, exonerated Mr. Filder, and most justly; for on the evidence it was palpable that the pedantic meddling of certain officials at home connected with the Treasury caused that mischievous error. The secretary of one office, the clerk of another, *et id genus omne*, interfered perpetually in matters beyond their proper cognisance, while the strict business of their departments was neglected or inadequately performed.

Deserters from the enemy came in pretty numerously the remainder of January, and although these men were generally very igno-

rant, their information was occasionally available. Some of these men made their way from the army in the rear, scrambling along the cliffs from Baidar; they generally arrived cut, bruised, and exhausted, and had to be sent to hospital. They for the most part professed to be Poles, but nearly all Russian soldiers, whether deserters or prisoners, did so, under the impression that they would receive better treatment. The deserters informed our engineers and artillery that the part of Sebastopol built on the ground sloping to the sea had suffered but little from our projectiles, which did not reach the top of the hill whence the slope descended to the water. The houses and works upon the slope descending towards the allies was battered and burned in every direction. The ships found shelter close in, under the former slope, and the sailors and part of the troops found security in the fine strong houses and public edifices by which it was covered.

Mr. Russell for several days successively at this period made what he calls "reconnaissances of the siege," by ascending the heights most convenient for that purpose, and using an excellent glass: the following are extracts from his descriptions of what he saw:—

"The Flagstaff Fort was knocked to atoms long ago, and the large buildings around it are all in ruins; but, on looking towards the ridge behind it, from which the streets of the town descend rapidly towards Fort Nicholas, and which shelters that part of the place from our fire, I could see but little difference between its present appearance and that which it presented on the 26th of September last year. People were walking about the streets, and relief parties were coming up from the sea-side towards the front carrying baskets of provisions. Between the rear of the Flagstaff Battery and this ridge, the presence of earthworks, covered ways, and various defensive works could be detected in the openings along the lines of streets; and immediately behind the first Russian intrenchment is a formidable work armed with guns, which at two o'clock convinced us they had pretty good range and were very well laid, by thundering forth an astounding broadside in answer to some insulting fire from the French lines. The balls tore up the ground in piles of earth and dust, and dashed into the parapets, or, ploughing over their top, went roaring across the works in the rear. In an instant there was a rattling fire of rifles from the French *enfants perdus* directed at the embrasures, and the Russians slackened their fire in a few minutes, and replied to the sharpshooters only. When the smoke cleared away, I could see the enemy and the French carrying away a few bodies on each side to the rear. The Russians not only

use 'cohorns' against the advanced French line, but they annoy our allies very considerably by a constant fire of grenades—a projectile which seems rather neglected in our service, though there are great authorities in favour of its use when the enemy has approached very closely.

"Our own batteries were silent. The Redoubt and Garden Batteries, our old enemies, were silent also. The houses near them, as well as those in front of the right attack and in the rear of the Malakoff, are in ruins. The part of the city beyond them seems untouched. To the rear of the Round Tower of Malakoff, which is still split up and rent from top to bottom, as it was the first day of our fire, there is a perfect miracle of engineering. It is impossible to speak too highly of the apparent solidity, workmanship, and finish of the lines of formidable earthworks, armed with about eighty heavy guns, which the Russians have thrown up to enfilade our attack and to defend this position, which is, indeed, the key of their works in front of us. One line of battery is neatly revetted with tin boxes, supposed to be empty powder-cases. This is mere wantonness and surplusage of abundant labour. Behind this work I could see about 2000 soldiers and workmen labouring with the greatest zeal at a new line of batteries, and labouring undisturbedly.

"There is a camp at the rear of Malakoff, and another camp is visible at the other side of the creek, close to the citadel, on the north side. Most of the men-of-war and steamers were lying with topgallantmasts and yards down, under the spot of land inside Fort Constantine. Our third parallel, which is within a few hundred yards of the enemy's advanced works, seems unoccupied, except by riflemen and sharpshooters, who keep up a constant fire in the place, but from my position over the British lines, I could not see so well into our approaches as I could look upon those of the French from the mounds in front of their picket-house. On the whole the suburbs are destroyed, though still susceptible of being used by the enemy to check our advance."

On the 22nd and 24th, General Canrobert directed despatches to Marshal Vaillant, informing him of the repulse given to the enemy's sortie on the 19th, and expressing his hope in the future. The first of these shows how particular the commander-in-chief of our ally was, to record every action of the brave:—

*Head-quarters before Sebastopol, Jan. 22, 1855.*

During the night of the 19th the enemy assailed our parallels on two different points. On the left the attack was received by the 2nd battalion of the 2nd regiment of the Foreign Legion, vigorously commanded by the Chef de Bataillon l'Herillier. The impetuosity of the attack, favoured by the bad weather, was broken by the energy displayed by the Grenadiers of the 1st company, the Voltigeurs, and the 5th company. Captain Arnoux and Rousseau, Lieutenants Chare and Saussier, Sergeant Devallo,

Grenadiers Hogelucht and Seigmund, Voltigeur Rischard, Fusilier Deglin, conducted themselves very valiantly, and the colours of the 2nd regiment of the Foreign Legion figured with honour in this lively and brilliant combat. On the right was the 46th, which I found facing the enemy with its accustomed energy. At the call of its commander, Captain Thomas, the 2nd battalion of the 46th cast itself impetuously on the enemy, and repulsed them to a considerable distance. Captain Dufour, the Sub-lieutenant Comboud, the Voltigeurs Antexier, Commel, and Bruscan, the Fusiliers Monnés, Bénzet, and Boyer, gave the most honourable proof of their valour.

The general commanding-in-chief,  
CANROBERT.

*Before Sebastopol, Jan. 24.*

The weather has become much milder and finer. The troops have supported the trying days we have just gone through with admirable courage. Their confidence was never shaken for one moment by the extreme severity of the temperature. We have reason to hope that the depth of winter in the Crimea is passed. We resume our work before the town with renewed activity.

CANROBERT.

The *Courier de Marseille* (which often contained important and early intelligence from the East), published a letter from a French officer in the Crimea, dated the 25th, who thus narrates events then passing:—"I have only one fact worth communicating to you: General Canrobert is going to lend our friends, the English, two of our divisions to strengthen them in their positions. It is an excellent measure, which will have the double effect of reinforcing our allies and augmenting the general security. Our regiments of Chasseurs d'Afrique are already installed on the right of the English intrenchments. I have not yet heard where the regiments of infantry are to be stationed. On the morning of the 21st the weather was so mild that the bands of the Chasseurs played several French airs, which seemed greatly to please the English, who had been a long time deprived of that recreation. The sound of our instruments must have been heard in Sebastopol. The Russians were, no doubt, surprised to find us so merry, and replying to their infernal uproar by melodious symphonies. Our regiment has suffered little. We are lodged in subterranean excavations, from which we contrive to keep out the cold. We sleep little, but smoke a great deal. Our cookery fills with its vapours our uncivilised and primitive abode, and our physical appearance is quite in keeping with it. Our beards have grown freely, and acquired a development calculated to excite the envy of the oldest *capour*. As for our accoutrements, thanks to the distribution of furs, they have become as comfortable as possible. Cleanliness, however, is out of the question. One of our sergeants, who had received the military medal for his first exploits in the Crimea, has been named Chevalier of the Legion of Honour. This brave soldier has been wounded thirteen times, and is as ready as ever to meet the Cossacks. He will soon have that satisfaction, for we occupy

the most advanced position. The plan of our generals evidently tends to invest the city as completely as possible. It is indispensable, if we wish to obtain at last a result, to isolate the garrison, which has hitherto been able to renew its *personnel* and supplies of every description."

To the same source we are indebted for a letter written from the French camp a day later:—"General Canrobert visited yesterday the works thrown up by the navy along the coast. He appeared greatly satisfied with the promptitude and skill with which those works were constructed, and addressed to our men his warmest congratulations for the devotedness and activity they displayed there, and on every other point where their services were required. Our seamen were electrified by the soul-stirring language of the general-in-chief, and loudly cheered him. I must do Canrobert the justice to say that he takes every opportunity of rendering justice to our navy, whose immense services he duly appreciates. On that account, whenever he gives an order it is immediately executed by our sailors with inconceivable alacrity. I have just returned from a visit to the camps, where I felt quite overpowered by the inexpressible feeling of pride and emotion excited in me by the manner in which our soldiers supported their sufferings. At the first ray of the magnificent sun we have enjoyed during the last day, all seemed to have forgotten the past misery, and, like the swans shaking off the rain that has fallen on their feathers, our brave fellows shook off the cold, the rain, and the snow, and they now laugh, sing, and await with eagerness an opportunity to cross bayonets with the enemy. Everybody will tell you also that if Admiral Bruat watches day and night with the utmost solicitude over the welfare of his seamen, General Canrobert exercises the same vigilance, and attends with equal care to the health and comfort of his soldiers. Those two men wish to see everything with their own eyes, and nothing escapes them. Thus, General Canrobert issued an order on the 23rd, expelling from the coast of Kamiesch, and sending back to France, the sutlers who had the infamy to sell to our men adulterated and unwholesome beverages. Everybody lauded that wise measure, which was instantly carried into effect."

The extreme concern for his troops, and the active personal superintendence of everything by the French general, is borne out by the testimony of the imperial agent in attendance upon his army, who describes General Canrobert and his lieutenants as often distributing apparel and various comforts with their own hands. He thus writes of the French commander-in-chief assembling his soldiers to bestow upon them the rewards and honours

decreed by the emperor for their good conduct and valour:—"It was a grand and noble solemnity. The troops in their dress of every day, stained and sullied, but not unworthily, by their life in the trenches, were assembled upon that soil, torn up by balls, amid the wrecks of battle, and close beside the ground where those whom death had struck down slept their last sleep. General Canrobert passed them in review, to the roar of cannon and of musketry; pausing frequently before the soldiers, speaking with them, and smiling upon them gratefully and kindly. The review ended, the officers formed in circle, and the general addressed them with that manly energy and sincere feeling which are proper to his character. He told them, that which was his belief and hope—that success would soon crown courage so noble and so persistent. He spoke of their absent country, of the justifiable pride of their return, of the grand spectacle presented by the army of the Crimea to the world; and, raising his voice that his words might reach the listening soldiers, he said—"I thank you all, in the name of France and of the emperor!"

It will be perceived that a great change took place in the weather towards the latter end of January, which was favourable to the troops in every way, and to the progress of the siege. The enemy also profited by the change; they had been greatly impeded by the frost, snow, and all-penetrating north winds, but as soon as the sun exercised some genial power, they set to work with their accustomed industry and promptitude upon the defence. It was a singular circumstance, that deserters to the enemy rather increased in number when the weather improved. On the 20th, one of these showed singular hardihood. Leading a bāt-horse, he coolly went over to the Russian lines. He was perceived by the men in No. 4 battery, who fired several musket shots at him without effect. At last a gun was "laid on," and a ball bounding near him drove the earth about his person. He then altered his slow pace to a trot; another shot went equally near to him, but he escaped, amidst the cheers of the enemy who looked on. Among the grievances of the army, the irregularities of the post-office were very harassing. The passion of the men to hear from home was intense, but the disgraceful neglect of the letters by the post-office officials tried the officers and men, as well as their relations at home, to the quick. Remonstrances were useless; the most respectable persons were subjected to the coarsest insult, as is so commonly the case at home, by these post-office magnates. Mr. M'Cormick, Mr. Russell, Mr. Woods, and many other civilians then in the Crimea, bear a bitter testimony against the whole post-office

management. Remonstrances to the home authorities were as useless as to those on the spot.

The warm weather which characterised the close of January, not only revived the exertions of the besiegers and besieged, but infused activity also into the Russian field force, and the troops of Bosquet and Sir Colin Campbell, by whom they were so vigilantly watched and skilfully thwarted. The Russians brought vast quantities of stores into the beleaguered place. Lord Raglan thus described the efforts of the English:—

*Before Sebastopol, Jan. 27, 1855.*

MY LORD DUKE,—I have the satisfaction to acquaint your grace that the weather continues fine. There are severe frosts at night; but the sun shines brightly through the day, and there is an absence of wind, which, whilst it continued, added considerably to the sufferings of the troops.

Every exertion is making by public transport, and individually, in getting huts up; but this is a most difficult operation, and the ground is still so rotten that it is a most arduous labour to pass along it.

The extremely confined space of Balaklava, and the vast accumulation of stores, has obliged me to erect huts at some distance outside the town for their reception.

I enclose the list of casualties to the 25th instant inclusive.

I have, &c.,  
RAGLAN.

*His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, &c., &c.*

At the same date Admiral Lyons sent home a despatch, which, relating to the state of the army, is appropriate here:—

*Agamemnon, off Sebastopol, Jan. 27, 1855.*

SIR,—I have the honour to report, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that since my last general letter of the 23rd inst. (No. 60) the weather has been particularly fine. The health of the army has been much benefited by the change. A good deal of progress has been made in hutting the troops and distributing the clothing which has been so liberally sent out from England—so that the men express themselves as being comfortable.

2. The health of the Fleet and of the Naval Brigade is excellent. The men are well supplied with fresh meat and vegetables, and also with oranges sent from Malta by Rear-admiral Stewart.

3. The fire from the batteries of the allies has increased during the last week, and that of the enemy has not slackened. New guns have been mounted in our batteries during the last four days.

4. On the 24th instant I passed the day at Balaklava, to make inquiries and examine into matters connected with the duties of the port and the transport service. I met Lord Raglan there, by appointment, and we made some arrangements which will, I trust, have a beneficial effect.

I have, &c.,  
E. C. LYONS,

*Rear-Admiral and Commander-in-Chief.*

*To the Secretary of the Admiralty.*

In the renewed toil of the trenches, the English, always labouring under some impediment which the least order or foresight might have prevented, were much hindered by want of tools, and by the inferior quality of those they possessed. In one company, Mr. Russell declares there were but three "pick heads," no handles; two spades, "one broken in two;" no bill-hooks; and that requisitions for these essential matters were returned scratched

out! No wonder that slow progress was made in the English trenches. It was a joyful announcement to the men at this time that the coffee would be served to them roasted—how much greater the boon had they received it in this condition during the cold weather, which for a time had passed away! The following curious story was related by Mr. Russell, as illustrating the tales current in the camp at this period:—"Some time ago an English officer, who is now a prisoner at Simpheropol, received letters from his friends in England, who were at that time ignorant of his fate. It is a rule to forward all letters to prisoners after they have been opened and read. One of those sent to the gentleman in question was from a young lady. She requested the officer to take Sebastopol as soon as possible, and to be sure and capture Prince Menschikoff in person, adding that she expected to receive a button off the prince's coat, as a proof of the young gentleman's prowess. When this letter was delivered to the officer, it was accompanied by another from the prince, enclosing a button, and stating that he had read the young lady's letter, and regretted he could not accede to her views as regarded the taking of Sebastopol or himself, but that he was happy to be enabled to meet her wishes on a third point, and that he begged to enclose a button from his coat, which he requested the gentleman to forward to the lady who was so anxious to possess it."

Although the British authorities discouraged the presence of the soldiers' wives, some of them had been of great service not only to their husbands, but to the corps with which their husbands were connected. In the Crimea they had a better opportunity of rendering useful aid, which was not afforded them when the troops were quartered at Scutari, and they were free from the temptations which abounded in the latter place. There were very few who went to the Crimea, but their good conduct justified the predictions which under such circumstances were written concerning them in a smart little book by the wife of a field-officer:—"Mrs. Wilding, wife of a corporal of the Royal Artillery, was one of three women who were allowed to land with her husband's corps at Old Fort, in the Crimea. She was present with her husband at the battle of the Alma, marched by his side across the country to Balaklava, and was present at the battle of Balaklava, where she took a horse from a Russian officer. During her residence in the camp she earned by washing an average amount of 20s. per diem, and saved a considerable sum. Her invariable companion during the war was an excellent revolver, which she much prizes. Corporal Wilding, with his brave wife, survived the chances of disease and battle, and after the war were in

garrison together in England." The lady of an officer of cavalry showed equal spirit and as devoted affection. Alas! how often is the devotion of woman, even by the gallant soldier, too little prized! Fidelity and affection under all circumstances, however adverse, are expected from her as a matter of course, and her virtues and her endurance receive not the honour and reverence they deserve. The virtues of man are paraded forth before the world, and the trumpet summons its attention to his glory; but woman, unnoticed, offers her little strength a willing sacrifice, and lives and dies, stricken at home by disconsolate loss, or falling in the brave attempt—beyond her powers—to share the loved one's bitterest fortunes. She too often suffers unknown, unnoticed, and almost forgot.

On the 28th there was another desperate sortie against the French works. The fighting in the trenches was long and furious, but too much like the encounters previously recorded to require a particular account. Among the dead was an officer of the Russian navy, splendidly attired, and his breast glittering with many orders. His body was sent back to the town. A deserter announced that the ringing of bells, and firing of rockets, which took place some nights before, was caused by the return of the grand dukes.

On the heights of the Tchernaya the increasing numbers of watchfires which lit up the whole heavens, proved that reinforcements had arrived to the enemy, and that fresh operations in the field might be expected if the weather allowed. No one who knew the climate of the Crimea hoped for a continuance of the mild season. "General February" was regarded by the czar as one of his most reliable auxiliaries; and he might have considered March as no enemy, if characterised by his usual roughness in that climate.

The last day of January was signalled by a desperate attempt to spike the French cannon. A body of men volunteered for this service to the amount of 400. They were all men of many combats, and their leader, Captain Birulleff, of the navy, was a bold and enterprising man. They came along a track which had been recently opened by their engineers close to the third French parallel. A body of "volunteer scouts" had taken possession of an ambuscade which the Russians had abandoned a few nights before, and this spot gave an excellent opportunity to its occupants for firing upon the attacking party by surprise. Accordingly, as the men of the assault came on, a prompt and galling fire met them when they least expected it; reinforced from their reserves, they pushed boldly on at the charge—the scouts fell back, the French trumpets brayed the alarm, the signal rockets shot up

in columns of fire, and fell in sparkling showers over the dark camp, and the tramp of men hurrying to the defence shook the earth. On came the Russians again and again, supported by fresh troops, the intrepid Biruleff at their head; he knew every inch of the ground, having repeatedly stolen up alone to reconnoitre the French lines. His influence over the men, many of whom were sailors, was great; he urged them on with eloquent words, and his own sword waved in the van. Before they reached the trenches the French, shoulder to shoulder, were drawn up to receive them, their muskets double-cartridged, and shot and slugs shaken in upon the double charge. The volley from their muskets was terrible; the enemy went down in crowds before it. The parapet, however, was low, and Biruleff, unharmed, cleared it sword in hand, bravely followed by his volunteers—those who could not get in hurled heavy pieces of rock upon the French, for they came on with unloaded muskets, trusting to the bayonet for their work. Biruleff and his immediate followers drove back the defenders. Captain Fourcade, of the French engineers, had by this time collected his workmen, and led them on, sword in hand, against the flank of the assailants; but at that moment his thigh was broken by a ball from his retreating friends. The major of the night attack, Sarlat, of the engineers, placed himself at the head of the workmen, and shouting "*Vive l'Empereur!*"—the cry which had so often rallied Frenchmen to victory—he hurled his party upon the enemy. He was fortunately sup-

ported by several companies of the first battalion of the 42nd, and the foe was swept from the trenches upon their reserves. Instead of pursuing them in the usual way, and being decimated by grape from the Russian batteries, they fell back upon the trenches firing, while two fieldpieces coming up, opened upon the Russian reserves, scattering death among the column, and changing the retreat into precipitate flight. A stray shot from the retreating foe entered the brain of the gallant Sarlat, who fell dead across the parapet of the trench he had so skilfully and bravely won. Many French officers fell that night, but none more regretted than Fourcade. He was a veteran in experience, although but thirty-five years of age. He had distinguished himself at the Polytechnic as a student, and in Africa as a warrior, especially under "*Chef de bataillon*" Pelissier, at the caves of Héah. His thigh was amputated on the night he was wounded, but the blow was mortal.

Thus terminated the first month of 1855 before Sebastopol. The men of the British army rejoiced in returning sunshine, but they did not then know that fickle climate. February was at hand with its cold, snows, sudden penetrating thaws, and bleak winds sweeping over steppe and hill to the desolated plateau. Before the brave invading armies there yet remained an herculean task—labours, perils, privations, still awaited them; there was work for the most vigorous to conquer, and dangers for the bravest to dare. In the gallant armies of the allies were found the men for all that was to be endured or attempted.

## CHAPTER LX.

HOME EVENTS IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE BEARING UPON THE WAR DURING THE EARLIEST MONTHS OF 1855.—RUMOURS OF NEGOTIATIONS, AND JEALOUSY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE IN REGARD TO THEM.—PUBLIC INDIGNATION IN ENGLAND AGAINST THE ABERDEEN MINISTRY.—ITS FALL.—INQUIRIES CONCERNING THE SUFFERING OF THE TROOPS IN THE CRIMEA.

"On all sides, from innumerable tongues,  
A dismal, universal hiss, the sound  
Of public scorn."

MILTON.

THE year 1855 opened upon the Western nations gloomily. A deep distrust of their government had sunk into the heart of the English people, and the expressions of discontent were loud and universal. Rumours of negotiations about to be opened at Vienna filled the public mind; and it was suspected that the government was about to make peace at any price. Everything published concerning the peace and the designs of Russia was eagerly bought up by the multitude; and a desire to prosecute the war, despite the government, animated all ranks, except perhaps the very highest. Negotiations were indeed about to

open in Vienna, superior in gravity to any that had yet taken place in that capital of protocols and procrastination; and, notwithstanding ministerial revolutions at home, and treaties of warlike alliance all over Europe, speculation upon the prospects of peace were naturally rife in London, Paris, Vienna, and Berlin. There were formidable obstacles in the way of such a hope; but still peace was more likely in the existing conjuncture of affairs than it had been at any past period of diplomatic labour, since the haughty demands of Prince Menschikoff led the Turk to stroke his beard and touch his scimitar, and call on Allah to

aid him in the conflict. Looking at other signs of the times, War seemed still likely to stand proudly in his chariot, and cast his bolt, and wing the arrow of his vengeance around the confines of that strange empire which had invoked the demon from his sleep of years. The czar had summoned the whole population to arms; he was erecting fortifications of great strength upon the Volga, along the shores of the Baltic, and in certain other positions judiciously selected for the obstruction of invading forces from Southern and Western Europe. Wherever an assailing army might push its way, either from the Austrian frontier, across the Turkish line of the Danube, or through Prussia, in case of a Western alliance with that kingdom, or even in spite of its resistance, every point was made as secure as engineering skill and vast military means could effect.

Whatever might be the naval preparations of England and France for the Baltic, Russia was also preparing for defence. From Tornea to Abo, around the Gulf of Finland to Revel, and to the Prussian frontier, fortifications bristled; new works were also erected to meet our gunboats in the shallow waters, where their effect, during the last naval expedition, would have been decisive, but where they would now be met by well adapted and formidable means of resistance.

Watchful of what might be expected from our Austrian alliance, Russia was well prepared to resist an invasion from that frontier, from Cracow to Galatz and Reni on the Danube; while from Galatz to the mouth of the Danube no Turkish force, such as the sultan was able to send, could penetrate to that line of attack; and as long as Odessa remained a *point d'appui* for the defence of her frontier upon the principalities, she could resist any aggression which it was possible for the allies to direct against her in that quarter. From Tornea, in the Gulf of Bothnia, to the entrance to the Sea of Azoff, her whole European frontier was in a condition of defence; and on the line of the Caucasus, and on her entire Asiatic frontier, she was protected by well-provisioned forts and garrisons, or by partizan tribes attached to her by pay or fanaticism. Add to all this that her people were as one man: not indeed the newly-conquered provinces, but all Russia proper, comprising a population of fifty millions of persons, was as one body, of which the czar was the vigorous and directing head. The decision which the English press helped to propagate at the beginning of the war, and against which we have protested in this History, that the Russian people were dissatisfied with their condition, and would revolt, had been dispelled, and England at last knew that she had to fight against an empire of zealots, by whom the czar himself was

quickened to the energy he displayed. It had often been said "the finance of Russia will not hold out, it is not to be compared to that of the allies." This is true, but the resources of Russia had been husbanded during forty years, for such an occasion as at length offered for their employment. While England had been spending in works of peace and the extravagance of bad government—while Austria had been wasting herself in financial folly and provincial oppression—while France had been squandering her supplies upon revolutions, and a false commercial policy,—Russia had gathered all her disposable productions for this struggle. We had to contend against all her ordinary resources, such as they were, and forty years of her accumulated military strength, aided by that of every nation that she had within that time conquered and drained of its wealth. Mr. Cobden was not so far wrong in saying that we could "crumple up" Russia, in the sense in which he used the expression; but it was not the Russia of one year's growth, nor of two, with which we waged this contest—but one having the treasures of forty years stored up in the forms most available for her purpose. Even with all these advantages, it was plain to the thinking public she could be repelled, unless some great revolution took place in Europe, or a disagreement among the allies, or some other unaccountable disaster, should give her a chance, by a sudden swoop, to strike Eastern Europe down before help could be mustered by her disconcerted and temporarily defeated allies. Upon some such chance the emperor calculated; he thought not at that time of making the conquest of Europe, but he did think, ere the vast stores of so many laborious years were expended, to seize a great prey, give up some portion as the price of peace, and hold the rest until fresh stores of material and strength of men enabled him to play over again the same game. Russia cannot expend men so freely as other powers; she can call out a greater number for an emergency, but at a heavier ultimate expense. In the recent ukase for embodying a militia of the whole population, the emperor declared that he had no desire for bloodshed! Likely enough, unless it be as at Sinope, that of a defenceless fleet, or of some vanquished province overrun by his savage hordes. Such bloodshed as that of Alma, Inkerman, and Balaklava, and within Sebastopol itself, was not welcome to him: neither had he a desire to see his forces carried off captives by thousands, as at Bomarsund, or as they would be if Sebastopol should be invested or stormed. Spring too was approaching, when he must cover with troops his whole frontier, which, strong as it was, if attacked on all points by the covenanted nations, would

require such an amount of men, munitions, and provisions, as would speedily draw out the heart of Russian strength and resources.

Prussia had not wholly slipped through the fingers of the diplomatist. Brought more immediately into negotiations with the Western powers, she soon found it a different thing from playing fast and loose with Austria at rival German capitals. If Prussia failed to fulfil her newly-incurred obligations, she would incur the risk of having to stand to her arms on the Rhine—and she knew well that her whole Rhenish provinces would declare for France; while in the Baltic she must suffer, whether Riga, Revel, or Cronstadt stood or fell. It was the hope of sanguine politicians, that by engaging the alliance of Prussia and the minor German states, the allies would menace the Russian frontier, from Memel on the Baltic to the southern point of Silesia, and thus complete the circle of steel and fire by which vengeance would flash upon the robber of neighbouring nations, and the disturber of the world.

If recruits were slowly obtained at home, England could get men—Turks, Sardinians, and Swiss, recruited on the French and Sardinian frontiers, in spite of government prohibitions in Switzerland; and ultimately Portuguese, if she insisted upon them, and all, under her auspices, equal at least to Russian soldiers. France, Austria, and Prussia, could pour upon the Russian confines swarming legions, to which she might indeed offer a protracted resistance, because everywhere so well prepared; but the more protracted that resistance, the more prostrated must be her power in the inevitable result. Thus numbers reasoned in England, and the whole people felt that if this war should foster a public opinion that to invade the territories of other nations is not glory but plunder—that conquest has no prerogatives, and is a crime—that every nation has a right to arrange its own government, and the relations of its sects and citizens, as it pleases,—there would be a great achievement wrought for the cause of human liberty, of which national independence is an important element. The war was regarded throughout Great Britain as a war of freedom, even though despots waged it, or professed alliance with the powers actually in the contest. The French and Austrian despotic governments were, by a mysterious providential force, constrained to give expression to this great first principle of national relationship, and free nations hailed the sign. It was as plainly a war of national independence, founded in necessity and right, as if it were so written upon the clouds, and the awakened nations, looking up to heaven, beheld it and rejoiced. Hence every diplomatic movement was closely watched by

the people, and the mind of the nation was prepared to insist upon the firm policy pursued in reference to the Vienna conferences. These hopes and views, and the jealousy excited by the rumours of a disposition on the part of the Western governments to make peace too cheaply, entered with other elements into the force of public opinion, which was so soon to overwhelm the Aberdeen government.

Such was the state of feeling in England, when, on the 23rd of January, the parliament reassembled after the Christmas recess. Mr. Layard questioned the government as to the state of the peace negotiations, about which the mind of the nation was so much disturbed. Lord John Russell replied in the name of the cabinet, referring to the conduct of Austria in very peculiar terms, which were quoted in our last chapter on diplomacy. Mr. Roebuck gave notice of a motion for inquiry into the number and condition of the army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of government which were responsible for the efficiency of that army. This notice produced the gravest consequences; the house was thrown into a high state of excitement, and the treasury benches especially partook of it. It is marvellous that the government did not prepare itself for some such occurrence, but, as in the management of the war, so in the management of the house, they were always “too late”—so that the nickname of “the late ministry” was bestowed upon them while yet they held, with whatever firmness they at any time possessed, the reins of power.

On Monday evening, the 25th of January, it was announced in both houses that Lord John Russell had resigned his connection with the ministry. Both houses adjourned to the next evening, in order to learn the grounds upon which Lord John had come to that determination. Rumours on Thursday evening prevailed extensively that Lord John Russell had resigned his connection with the ministry, and on grounds of the most startling and alarming nature. The evening papers came out earlier than usual, acknowledging the fact, and commenting upon it according to the spirit of their respective party bias. Having the *entrée* of the houses, the author of this History hurried to the Palace at Westminster. Vast crowds surrounded it, and public excitement and expectation were at a very high pitch. It will no doubt interest the distant readers of this History to have a peep, as it were, into both houses, as far as a sketch of what the author saw and heard on those two eventful evenings can afford it. Even the mannerisms of the place, and its frequenters, must to those remote from the metropolis have a certain interest, especially as they are brought out by remarkable occasions. It will not therefore be con-

sidered beneath the dignity of history to glance at what we witnessed, and the mode in which the events passed off, while we record the grave issues of the scene. The first notability that caught our eye on the Monday evening was the Earl of Shaftesbury. He sauntered carelessly in front of the reporters' entrance, and seemed, from the expression of his countenance, to be more busied with some theological or moral reflection than with the fate of empires, the conduct of war, and the downfall of a ministry. Upon entering the House of Commons, we observed that Mr. Brotherton, the member for Salford, was by far the most fussey gentleman on the ministerial benches, although many members were fidgetty and restless. Mr. Brotherton's rubicund face was whirling about like a globe on fire, as if all his wonted placidity was turned into inextinguishable excitement. He popped up and down between the Speaker and the secretary of the Treasury; now whispering to the one, and anon to the other, as though he were the connecting medium between them, and between the ministry and the house. Be it known to our readers, that no member of the House of Commons out of the ministry—we had almost said out of the cabinet—has more influence with the secretary of the Treasury than Mr. Brotherton; his influence with the Speaker too is very potent. With all his apparent plainness of mind and manners he is, like the rest of human nature, a little vain. To be seen dodging about the Speaker's chair, and in familiar converse with "Hayter," is his great ambition, and he is very useful to both; he assists in arranging private bills—proposes them in a sort of offhand wholesale way; and as his enunciation has a muffled sound, and he speaks in a somewhat broad Lancashire accent, few can hear what bill it is that is on the tapis, which is often a great convenience to the ministry, to the managers of private bills, and to quiet transactions in general. Mr. Brotherton is less indisposed to a little manoeuvring than is generally thought. "Honest Joe," as his constituents very sincerely and very justly call him, has with an assumption of directness which is rather bluntly maintained, a cautious, knowing look, which is a true index to his inner man—for he is up to every little scrap of ministerial management which in a small way may be required. Not that the idea of government patronising him ever occurs to the honourable member—he patronises them. On the memorable evening of our visit he was in his glory; he fussed as if the business of the country was left to him, while all the rest of the house was engaged in the mere work of looking after the fragments of a broken cabinet. Mr. Hayter, the repository of so much substantial patronage, looked most rueful, especially when he rose and made

the announcement of Lord John's resignation. The muster of members was not as great as was expected; and not maintaining their usual strictness in the order of sitting, some droll juxtapositions took place. Amongst these was one in the gallery on the opposition side of the house. Mr. Wilson Patten, of Warrington, the respected conservative member for North Lancashire, got somehow seated alone by the side of "King Hudson," who looked as jolly and simple as if he had never learned anything but the old song,—

"I prythee begone dull care,  
I prythee begone from me."

He was in this respect a great contrast to his neighbour, Mr. Patten. One would think that Wilson Patten had managed all the railway boards, and cooked all the railway accounts, and that such things lay heavy upon his conscience; while his neighbour appeared as if an angel—one of those chubby cherubs in the pictures, grown old—had been sent down to keep watch over him, lest he should commit suicide. The house was soon "up," and the M.P.'s crowded to the Lords, but the chancellor not having taken his place upon the woolsack, the lobby was a lounge for awhile, and many eager and animated discussions took place there, under the influence of the general excitement. Here a reporter and an M.P. were engaged in confidential converse, the senator evidently making a request which he did not want to be overheard. There Colonel Forrester is resisting the hopeless appeals of a clerical-looking gentleman for a pass to enter the House of Lords. In that corner, Captain Gossett assures somebody that Lord Charles Russell, the sergeant-at-arms, will do no such thing. Close by the passage leading to one of the rooms for the reporters, a notable member of the press is laying down matters in a vein of fun and wit, which greatly delights an old conservative member, and a judge of an insolvent debtors' court. He leaves that group, and tells an ex-editor of the *Leader* some news, which the other communicates to a barrister, and an honourable Mr.—we could not catch either names. There by the door leading to "the house" is Mr. Knox, the editor of the *Herald*, standing with the chief reporter of the *Times*, who has lately succeeded Mr. Dodd, the leader of the reporters' gallery, and the author of *Dodd's Peerage*, &c.; they converse very eagerly, and Mr. Knox, with a grave and gentlemanly air, disposes of the matter. That large man, evidently from Yorkshire, says its the "hoit of impudence for their member to do it," and the member's friend is using his best persuasives to appease the indignant Yorkshireman; the member's friend is an occupant himself of the liberal benches, and

has a fellow-feeling. Amongst all the excited throng who crowded the lobby, there was one very conspicuous for his uneasy bearing; he moved to and fro, as if eager to force an entrance to the lords. This unhappy wight was her majesty's solicitor-general. He afforded some amusement to a commoner, the most gentlemanly-looking man we observed amongst the wanderers of the lobby, Fitzstephen French, the member for Roscommon. While observing some young men from Westminster School, apparently bent upon mischief, and who were fluttering their caps and gowns about, the deputy sergeant-at-arms keeping an eye on them, our time came for entering the House of Lords. The chancellor took his place on the woolsack, and the House of Lords, with a dull gravity, began its business. The proceedings were important, from the announcement made and the explanation given by the Duke of Newcastle, the minister of war. His bearing was gentlemanly, and there was an air of conciliation about it which bespoke the thoroughbred gentleman. His voice was low, and his manner in speaking ungainly; an awkward and finicking gesture with the right hand below the table, to which he advanced when speaking, gave an idea of pettiness of thought, which his manner in other respects aided. The Earls of Winchelsea and Fitzwilliam seemed very desirous to have something to say; no one seemed willing to listen, and at last, by Lord Derby's interposition, they were "quieted down." Lord Ellenborough manifested most activity on the opposition side of the house, and what he said was spoken with energy, self-confidence, and commanding manner. Lord Lansdowne was the most active person on the ministerial benches, he moved about with a grace and affability which account for his great popularity in the house. His mode of putting down the pertinacity of Lord Fitzwilliam and Lord Winchelsea was authoritative, yet courteous, and in a few epigrammatic sentences he disposed of them. The most interesting sight was, however, old Lord Lyndhurst, who rose to give notice of his already famous motion concerning the conduct of the war. The house was very full of spectators. When his lordship rose, the silence was profound, and his venerable years, the magnitude of the question which his notice involved, his vast reputation, and his dignified and judicial manner, inspired a respect which manifestly pervaded every part of the house. The crowd around the throne seemed especially solicitous to observe his lordship when he rose. We could not avoid contrasting the intellectual features of the old ex-chancellor with the contracted expression of the present occupant of the woolsack, and wondering what the latter would be like at the age of eighty-four, to

which Lord Lyndhurst has arrived. The important event of Lord John Russell's resignation, announced by the Duke of Newcastle, prevented the discussion of Lord Lyndhurst's motion, and caused the house to break up early.

On the next evening, Lord Aberdeen's statement in the peers was almost as eagerly looked for as Lord John Russell's statement in the commons. The earl declared that he hardly knew why the noble president of the council retired from his colleagues, on the eve of a discussion concerning events in connection with which he fully shared their responsibility. He read to the house a letter which he had received a few days before from the noble lord:—

*Chesham Place, Jan. 23, 1855.*

"MY DEAR LORD ABERDEEN,—Mr. Roebuck has given notice of a motion for a committee to inquire into the conduct of the war. I do not see how this motion is to be resisted; but, as it involves a censure upon the war departments conducted by my colleagues, my only course is to tender my resignation. I have therefore to request that you will lay my humble resignation of the office which I have the honour to hold before the queen, with the expression of my gratitude for her majesty's kindness for many years past.

"I remain, my dear Lord Aberdeen,

"Yours very truly,

"J. RUSSELL."

The premier admitted that he had been aware that the noble president of the council had been dissatisfied with the conduct of the war; that he had expressed that dissatisfaction, and had made certain proposals concerning the occupation of the War-office, with which he (Lord Aberdeen) did not think it his duty to comply; that he, and the government of which he was the head, would resist Mr. Roebuck's motion, which he considered a vote of censure upon the ministry. The premier's address was cold, stiff, haughty, and quietly defiant, but did not appear to make the least impression upon the peers, who were, like the rest of the public, burning with impatience to know the terms and result of Lord John's explanation in the commons. We did not remain in the House of Peers, being more anxious, like their lordships, about what was announced to occur in the other house. A chance business gave us an opportunity of speaking with Lord William Russell, "the sergeant," and his deputy, Colonel Forrester. The former is a thorough gentleman, with many years upon his head, and a quiet but rather aristocratic manner. Colonel Forrester is the *beau idéal* of an off-hand, gentlemanly, agreeable man, and does his part of deputy to admiration. There was a great crowd assembled, so as to almost obstruct the Speaker's passage—the mace-bearer was certainly interrupted in

his course. The Speaker is a fine specimen of a man, and of the chairman of a popular assembly. His personal appearance, his urbane manner, and his apparent interest in all that goes on, are much to his advantage. After the preliminary business of Mr. Brotherton's attentions to the Speaker, and Mr. Hayter's routine, Lord John Russell made his famous statement. Perhaps no statement was ever made in parliament which excited so profound an interest. Every nook in the house was full, except a small portion of the ministerial gallery. The most conspicuous persons were two Parsee merchants, dressed in a showy oriental costume, who occupied the first bench in the Speaker's gallery, and who, the previous evening, were admitted behind the throne in the lords. Lord John was nearly inaudible at first, his elocution throughout the speech was inferior, and utterly unworthy of his great name as a speaker. He was listened to with evident partiality, and every period which told at all against the conduct of the war elicited cheers from the opposition, and the ministerial benches were far from silent on these occasions. After his lordship sat down, Lord Palmerston arose, on behalf of the government, amidst breathless expectations. His adroitness was extraordinary, and his intellectual superiority to his notable compeer obvious; but it was equally obvious that Lord John's moral influence was in the ascendant, and the latter part of Lord Palmerston's statement was heard with impatience, which extended to the galleries, although the order of the house was more than once invaded by expressions of approbation to the anti-ministerial remarks of Lord John. It became evident from Lord Palmerston's address, that his lordship would be installed in the War-office, if the motion of Mr. Roebuck failed. Mr. Roebuck did not speak with his usual energy, but although illness incapacitated him, his voice rang out as clear as a bell, and every tone told upon the whole house. His speech was devoid of that acrimony which pervades so generally the matter and the manner of the honourable member for Sheffield. The government seemed indisposed to reply; but loud calls from all sides for Sidney Herbert, provoked the right honourable secretary to one of his best elocutionary efforts. We were certainly most unfavourably impressed with his deportment all through the evening. There was a bitterness of expression in his countenance while Lord John was speaking, and a sneer and a whisper to his colleagues whenever Lord John made a good hit, which argued a consciousness of error, and a bad spirit with it. His speech was mere clap-trap, and was torn to shreds by Mr. Drummond, who, with that strange mixture of common sense, apt repartee, classical taste, sound argument, and irresistible fun, for which the

speeches of this gentleman have obtained celebrity, confuted and ridiculed, by turns, all that Sidney Herbert, with so much self-sufficiency and red-tapist mannerism, advanced. But Mr. Layard utterly demolished the case of Mr. Herbert, and with a gravity of purpose, fulness of information, discreet distribution of subject, and logical cogency, which mark that gentleman as one of the most rising men in the commons, and in the country. The government were literally overwhelmed with his speech. The impressions of the oldest observers of parliamentary proceedings whom we met, declared that they had never witnessed such a moral defeat.

Of course, the first interest of the proceedings in the House of Commons turned upon the validity of Lord John Russell's explanations. A few passages from his speech are essential to a proper understanding of the gist of his lordship's conduct, and of the character of the impression produced upon the house and the country. "On Tuesday last," said the noble lord, "when I was present in this house, the honourable and learned gentleman, the member for Sheffield, gave notice of a motion for 'a select committee to inquire into the condition of our army before Sebastopol, and into the conduct of those departments of the government whose duty it has been to minister to the wants of that army.' Sir, I of course thought that it would be probable some member might move for an inquiry of this kind. I had not, however, fully made up my mind what course to pursue." His lordship then entered into an examination and statement of the various kinds of procedure open under such circumstances to a person in his situation. He thought that either the government should be prepared with a bold and honest denial of the allegations concerning the sufferings of the army, or admitting them, they should be prepared to account for them in a way honourable to the administration. His lordship, being unable to do either of these things, had only the alternative of resigning his office of president of the council. He then used the following remarkable words:—"No one can deny the melancholy condition of our army before Sebastopol. The accounts which arrive from that quarter every week are not only painful, but horrible and heart-rending; and I am sure no one would oppose for a moment any measure that would be likely not only to cure, but to do anything to mitigate those evils. Sir, I must say that there is something, with all the official knowledge to which I have had access, that to me is inexplicable in the state of our army. If I had been told as a reason against the expedition to the Crimea last year that your troops would be seven miles from the sea, seven miles from a secure port—which at that time, when we had

in contemplation the expedition, we hardly hoped to possess—and that at that seven miles' distance they would be in want of food, of clothes, and of shelter, to such a degree that they would perish at the rate of from ninety to a hundred a day, I should have considered such a prediction as utterly preposterous, and such a picture of the expedition as entirely fanciful and absurd. We are all, however, free to confess the notoriety of that melancholy state of things. It was not, therefore, by denying the existence of the evils that I could hope to induce this house to reject the proposition of the honourable and learned gentleman; but I had further to reflect that I was in a position not to give a faint 'No' to the proposal, not to express in vague and equivocal language a wish that the motion should not be carried, or to use any evasion with respect to the letter of its terms with a view to defeat it."

The two sentences printed in italics in the foregoing extract produced an extraordinary sensation in the house. The elocution and delivery of his lordship were very inferior, but there was a tone of seriousness and deep emotion in his enunciation of the words "horrible and heart-rending" which thrilled through the house. But when with obvious sincerity, and in a manner expressive of his own surprise and indignation, he added the other sentence given in italic letters, a murmur of amazement and sympathy with the speaker floated around the benches, both ministerial and opposition. His lordship, after dwelling upon various matters more interesting to himself personally, and to the party concerns of the hour, than to history, gave the following account of the cabinet movements and discussions which, step by step, placed him at last in the position which he then occupied:—"When the office of secretary of state for war was separated from the office of secretary of state for the colonies, Lord Aberdeen thought it right to propose to the Duke of Newcastle to keep which of the two offices he should most desire. The Duke of Newcastle, with a commendable ambition, as I think, replied that having exerted himself in fitting out a very large expedition, he should, of course, like to remain at the head of the department which should have the direction of the orders for that expedition and the general management of the war. Lord Aberdeen consented to that arrangement, and I was a consenting party to the appointment. At the end of the session the various members of the government, especially those who are members of this house, dispersed, as they usually do; and it appears to me that that dispersion, after the excessive labours of this house, is necessary to the due performance of their duties; and no one, unless he has to discharge very urgent duties,

is to blame for resorting, for purposes of health, to distant parts of the country. I was not in any office which obliged me to take any part in the conduct of the war; but, during my absence, there was scarcely a day in which I did not both receive from and write a letter to my noble friend the secretary of state for foreign affairs with respect to the occurrences that were daily taking place."

Having digressed to explain various matters, personal to himself as to the way his time had been occupied while holding the presidency of the council, he resumed his narrative of cabinet transactions, from which it appeared that during the parliamentary recess the whole cabinet was dispersed throughout the country (excepting the minister of war), and that Lord John Russell urged their reassembling to consider the affairs of the campaign, the premier interposing some delay. On the 17th of October, however, a cabinet meeting was at last held. During October misgiving gradually crept over the mind of the noble lord as to the war management, and from the beginning of November he was apprehensive and uneasy. A correspondence ensued between the premier and the president as to whether the Duke of Newcastle was suitable for the office of secretary of war. In this correspondence the noble commoner urged upon the premier the appointment of a person with the rank of a privy councillor, upon whom should devolve the duty of proposing the war estimates, and who should be an authority when difficult questions should be put in the commons as to the expenditure, and as to the supplies of all the materials of war to the army in the field. The noble lord then addressed the house as follows, reading the correspondence which took place between him and the Earl of Aberdeen, which is essential to a clear comprehension by the reader of the state of the cabinet, and their utter incompetency to conduct the vast undertaking upon which they had entered, and to which they had committed the country:—

"In a letter addressed to the Earl of Aberdeen on the 17th of November, 1854, I said, 'From the other point of view the prospect is equally clear. We are in the midst of a great war. In order to carry on that war with efficiency, either the prime-minister must be constantly urging, hastening, completing the military preparations, or the minister of war must be strong enough to control other departments. Every objection of other ministers—the plea of foreign interests to be attended to, of naval preparations not yet complete, and a thousand others, justifiable in the separate heads of departments, must be forced to yield to the paramount necessity of carrying on the war with efficiency of each service, and completeness of means to the end in view. . . .

If, therefore, the first considerations here presented lead to the conclusion that the secretary of state for the war department must be in the House of Commons, the latter considerations point to the necessity of having in that office a man who, from experience of military details, from inherent vigour of mind, and from weight with the House of Commons, can be expected to guide the great operations of war with authority and success. There is only one person belonging to the government who combines these advantages—my conclusion is, that before parliament meets Lord Palmerston should be intrusted with the seals of the war department.' That is the opinion I gave, confidentially, to the Earl of Aberdeen. Before I read the Earl of Aberdeen's answer, I have to say that, the Earl of Aberdeen having requested some days to consider a matter of such importance, I wrote to him again on the 18th of November, stating that I concurred in that delay, adding—I wish however that, before you decide, you would show my letter to the Duke of Newcastle. It was my intention in writing the letter to avoid throwing any blame upon him. Indeed, I think he deserves very great credit for the exertions he has made. But he has not had the authority requisite for so great a sphere, and has not been able to do all that might have been done with larger powers of control.' To my letter Lord Aberdeen replied—misstating my proposition I must say—that he could not acquiesce in the proposal I had made. On the 21st of November he writes thus:—'Your proposal being founded on the supposed impropriety of Herbert moving the estimates, and the consequent necessity of the secretary of state for war being in the House of Commons, renders the removal of the Duke of Newcastle from his present office unavoidable. But, although you would regard this as the inevitable result of an official arrangement, it is not to be supposed that it would be considered in this light by the public, or indeed by any impartial person. The dislocation of the government would be so great, and the reason assigned for it apparently so inadequate, that it could only be considered as a mode of substituting one man for another. Although you may be far from entertaining any such desire, the transaction could receive no other interpretation. In justice to the duke, I do not think that his colleagues, without very strong grounds, would wish to place him in such a position.' In the other parts of his letter, Lord Aberdeen stated that he did not think any man would undertake the duties which I proposed should be undertaken by one person—viz., those of secretary of state for the war department, and, at the same time, secretary at war. He considered it to be necessary that a privy councillor's office should be maintained, and that

that office should be held in connection with the finances of the army, independently of the secretary of state for the war department. He stated also—a consideration well deserving of attention—that it might be desirable that hereafter some military chief who was in the House of Lords should have the office, and therefore it could not be always held by a member of the House of Commons. I considered the various objections of Lord Aberdeen, and on the 28th of November I wrote as follows:—'I come, therefore, having cleared the ground of all these obstructions, to the real question—What are the requirements of the great war in which we are engaged? Setting aside all historical references, both on your part and mine, I think it is clear either that the prime-minister must be himself the active and moving spirit of the whole machine, or the minister of war must have delegated authority to control other departments. Neither is the case under the present arrangement.' I went on to give some instances of errors that had been committed owing to that want of power and control. I then said, 'The cabinet has, it is true, in its recent meetings, done much to repair omissions; but a cabinet is a cumbrous and unwieldy instrument for carrying on war. It can furnish suggestions, or make a decision upon a measure submitted to it, but it cannot administer. What you want, therefore, I repeat, is a minister of war of vigour and authority. As the welfare of the empire and the success of our present conflict are concerned, I have no scruple in saying so. Keep up, if you think right, as a temporary arrangement, a secretary at war. Make it clear that it is temporary—that is to say, only to last till more complete consolidation can take place; but let parliament and the country be assured that you have placed the conduct of the war in the hands of the fittest man who can be found for that duty.' In answer to this, I received a long letter from Lord Aberdeen, which I shall read to the house. It is dated November 30th, 1854, and is as follows:—'After all, I think your letter plainly reduces the question to the simple issue of a personal preference, and the substitution of one man for another. In answer to my suggestion that some consideration was due to the duke on the part of his colleagues, you say that you understood the administration was founded on the principle of doing what was best for the public service, without regard to the self-love or even the acquired position of individuals. Undoubtedly this was the case; and I fully agree in thinking that the Duke of Newcastle would be the last man to wish for any exception to this rule in his favour. But I must observe that at the formation of the government, no such office as the war department was contemplated; and when, subse-

quently, the Colonial-office was divided, no objection whatever was made to the choice of the war department by the duke; nor, as far as I am aware up to this moment, to his management of the office. Now, I think you will admit that, although another person might perhaps have been preferred on the first constitution of an office, it is a very different thing to displace a man who has discharged its duties ably and honourably, merely in the belief that another might be found still more efficient. Undoubtedly the public service must be the first object; but, in the absence of any proved defect, or alleged incapacity, I can see no sufficient reason for such a change, which, indeed, I think is forbidden by a sense of justice and good faith. . . . On the whole, then, believing that any change like that proposed would be of doubtful advantage to the public, feeling very strongly that it would be an act of unfairness and injustice towards a colleague, and thinking, also, that all such changes, unless absolutely necessary, only tend to weaken a government, I must repeat that I could not honestly recommend it to the queen.' Lord Aberdeen spoke to me afterwards on this subject, and asked me when I intended to bring the question before the cabinet; and I, certainly after a good deal of hesitation, told him that, as he had said he could not honestly recommend that change to the queen, and as I did not wish to do anything which might tend to disturb his government and remove him from office, I should not press the matter further. I should say that my hesitation arose very much in consequence of the opinion of other high authorities, with whom I for years—during the whole of my political life perhaps—have been living in the closest intimacy, who told me they thought the change unadvisable, and that it would weaken that which I meant to strengthen, and who advised that I should not press it. Now, when I stand here to justify my resignation, and when I am told, as I have been, that I have acted prematurely, I own that the doubt that presses on my mind is whether I ought not, at that time, to have brought the question of this change to an issue. But among those who urged me not to do so was the noble lord himself, the secretary of state for the home department, who at the time when the correspondence took place was absent, and to whom I afterwards read it. He urged me, considering the objection which had been made, not to press the matter any further. However, that being the case with respect to men, I have further to consider what was the case with respect to measures. I have reminded the house that last year a pledge was given that a new arrangement would be made of the military departments, with a view of rendering them more efficient.

I myself had the honour of serving on two commissions having for their object the consolidation and improvement of those departments. Various commissions reported from time to time, and it is now, I think, twenty-two years since the first of them was appointed. At the commencement of the war then, that which before had been expedient, became urgent and necessary, and that consideration to which I have referred was due to the interests of the public and to the expectations of this house. The only change I was able to announce in the session before Christmas was, that the commissariat was placed under the war minister. With respect to any further change, I heard no mention, until a proposal was made in the cabinet—I think on Saturday last. I reflected on that proposal, and then I went to my noble friend at the head of the government, and told him that, after considering the proposal, I thought it incomplete and inefficient. I gave him also a paper containing my own views on the subject. This, the house will observe, was very lately; but I had no reason to expect that my views would be adopted. I had therefore to consider, when I came to reflect upon the Tuesday evening, on the course to be taken on the following Thursday, whether I could fairly and honestly say, 'It is true that evils have arisen; it is true that the brave men who fought at the Alma, at Inkerman, and at Balaklava, are perishing many of them from neglect; it is true that the heart of the whole of England throbs with anxiety and sympathy on this subject; but I can tell you that such arrangements have been made—that a man of such vigour and efficiency has taken the conduct of the war department, with such a consolidation of offices as enable him to have the entire and instant control of the whole of the war-offices, so that any supply may be immediately furnished, and any abuse instantly remedied.' I felt I could not honestly make such a declaration. I could not say, after what I had written, that there was a person with such power and control, and of sufficient energy of mind and acquaintance with details, at the head of the war department. I could not say either that the arrangement which had been proposed on Saturday last—that the consolidation of the military departments had either been carried into effect, or was in prospect in such a way that I could pledge the faith of government to the efficiency of the arrangement. Well, feeling this—giving the matter the most painful attention—feeling also, as I have already said, that I could give no faint or faltering opposition to the proposition of the honourable and learned member for Sheffield, and that I must get up, if I opposed it at all, and stand in the way of that which many would think might afford a remedy for those sufferings and distresses which

had been complained of, or, at least, if it failed in doing that, might point out a way for their correction and remedy—feeling, too, that many members of this house would look for an assurance on my part which they would be ready to act upon, as they did so far honour me with their confidence, that efficient alterations had been made, I was conscious that I should be repaying that confidence with treachery if I gave an assurance of the kind, knowing it not to be true. Well, it appeared to me, no doubt, that the members of the government could hardly remain in office if such a committee as the one proposed were appointed; that it would not be, I will not say dignified, but consistent with the practical good working of our institutions, that there should be a minister sitting on that bench to govern the war, and that the military departments should be at the same time constantly overlooked and checked by a committee sitting upstairs; and that the minister for war should have not only to consider what he was to do in order to provide for the ordinary necessities of the war, and to attend to applications from day to day, but must also consider the evidence to be adduced with respect to his conduct five or six months ago. Such a state of things could not be consistent with the efficiency of our administrative system. I therefore felt that I could come only to one conclusion, and that, as I could not resist inquiry, by giving the only assurances which I thought sufficient to prevent it, my duty was not to remain any longer a member of the government. It would be competent for others, if they thought either that everything necessary had already been done, or would be done, consistently to oppose the motion for inquiry; but for my own part I felt that I could not do so, and I therefore wrote in very short terms, not quite accurately stating the terms of Mr. Roebuck's motion, a note to the following effect"—(the note read by Lord Aberdeen in the House of Lords was then read). His lordship then gave his opinions upon the prospects of the war in a very protracted speech. There was nothing original or remarkable in the views expressed by his lordship.

The general impression in the house was undoubtedly in favour of Lord John after his explanation, but out of doors it was otherwise. He was regarded by many as having slyly abandoned his colleagues, when he saw, from his knowledge of the state of feeling in the house as a parliamentary leader, that the government was doomed. By another large class his whole conduct was considered an intrigue for the premiership. It may be that there was truth in both surmises; there was certainly sufficient in Lord John's conduct to justify either. It cannot be denied, however, that

there was a sense of responsibility displayed by him as to the way in which the war was carried on, which did not appear in the conduct of any of his colleagues. Lord Aberdeen was plainly told by his correspondent, that either the war minister must have more power, energy, and experience, or the War-office have a different occupant; or Lord Aberdeen, as chief of the government, must bestir himself to control all the departments, and wield the nation's instrumentalities for conducting war with a prompt and firm hand. The easy-going earl would not propose measures in the cabinet or in the parliament, to enable the minister of war to exercise the authority demanded for him by Lord John, nor would he hand over the War-office to any more competent person than the Duke of Newcastle. He refused either arrangement, and any modification of either arrangement. He took no notice of Lord John's hints, suggestions, and even entreaties, that he would, as premier, look more after matters himself. Inert, haughty, indisposed to change—jealous of the whig section of the cabinet, and anxious to keep the whole management of the war in the hands of his own—the Peelite section of it—he did nothing; and it must be plain to every observant man that he was not likely to do anything but temporise, trim, and patch up in a way unworthy of a statesman, and still more unworthy of a statesman occupying the most responsible post known to the British constitution. What the duty of Lord John Russell was in October or November, is not so easily determined as his censurers supposed. The ministry did not act like the ministry of a country engaged in a vast and complicated war. They resorted to their marine lodges and country seats; never meeting for cabinet councils, but literally abandoning the war to chance. Lord Aberdeen, it is true, did not go to a distance from London, but satisfied himself with a breezy residence at Blackheath, so that he might be at hand if wanted. His lordship might as well have been in the Black Hole of Calcutta, as at Blackheath, for any use he was—unless to sign a public document, or play the part of a courtier. The truth is, he was a victim, and made the country a victim, to the *doctrinaire* conceit of the little clique of Peelite red-tapists—the petty satellites of the late Sir Robert Peel, who believed that they only could govern the country; that they alone understood the principles of government; and that all governments looked to them as at once practical reformers and conservatives of order—the teachers of politics and political economy to all nations. The fact that these men held many enlightened views, and had acquired under Sir Robert the habit of dextrously copying and appropriating the practical views of more enlightened,

liberal, and experienced men, only exasperated their self-esteem, and made them more intolerably arrogant, without being proportionately useful. Lord Aberdeen was quite sure that his Peelite lieutenants were equal to the duties of their departments; that they were the chief men of their school; and that the school, narrow as its circle was, comprehended the political philosophers of the age—the English *juste milieu* party—the small but enlightened section of politicians, without whose support no government could conduct the business of the country. He felt quite sure that his friend, the Emperor Nicholas, and all other foreign potentates whatsoever—unless indeed the incorrigible King of Naples—kept their eye upon Lord Aberdeen's sage circle, to study their policy, and to profit by it as far as circumstances would admit; and that by-and-by, when he had gained a great battle or two, and his dignity would admit of the like, the czar would return to the intellectual loyalty which he owed to the great English party, to whom it was reserved to solve the problem of government, which required that as little as possible should be conceded to the public good, and yet as much as was necessary to keep the public quiet. This party had, undoubtedly, the merit of profiting under the guidance of their astute founder, and they had the folly of mistaking their attainments in this direction for great political capacity and high statesmanship.

While Lord Aberdeen thus leaned upon the broken reed of the philosophical and practical aptitude of his Peelite coadjutors, none of them was much occupied about what was going on except the Duke of Newcastle. He laboured with assiduity at the War-office, in work of which he had no experience; for which, although possessed of both industry and business capacity, he was not qualified—at a juncture when energies and endowments were required by a man in his position to which he had no pretension; and to all these difficulties was added a profound ignorance on his part of what was required, and what was amiss. The army in the Crimea was commanded so lazily, and such reserve was practised by all at head-quarters, that the minister of war was not duly informed of what took place; he could not, therefore, inform Lord Aberdeen of the destitution and misery of the army; and so little did either know about the condition of camp or hospitals, that the latter confessed, in his examination before the Sebastopol Committee, that his first intimation of the awful condition of affairs was obtained through the newspapers!

Had Lord John resigned earlier he would have served his country better; but it is doubtful whether in doing so in October or Novem-

ber, he would have received such support from the country as would enable him to rectify the abuses of which he complained. At all events he had not faith in the country. He resorted naturally enough to old colleagues for advice. Lord Panmure agreed with him in the main but advised him to do nothing rashly; Lord Palmerston advised him to do nothing at all. Whether that sagacious man suspected the purity of Lord John's motives, or looked forward with certainty to the defeat of the Aberdeen ministry, and foresaw his own advent to power, it is impossible to determine; but he had no ambition to direct Lord John's movements, and evidently thought the "pear was not ripe" for any action of his own. It is difficult to account for Lord Palmerston's acquiescence in the conduct of the Aberdeen cabinet, and the spirit of the Aberdeen policy,—except upon the ground, that as it was professedly a coalition cabinet, with the consent of parliament and the country, he confined himself to his own ministerial department, the Home-office, and knew still less of the condition of the army than either the president of the council, the minister of war, the secretary at war, or the premier. Many believed, and with good reason, that while Lord John Russell and Lord Palmerston were dissatisfied with the management of the war, they saw no hope of remedying the mischief until events should strengthen their hands, and no prospect of receiving support in parliament, or in the country, by which they could form a government on their own views if the Aberdeen cabinet were overthrown. The well-known jealousy of the two whig magnates themselves formed a further obstacle to any consentaneous action.

It may be readily believed that Lord John Russell's speech prepared the way for Mr. Roebuck's motion. The "honourable and learned member" was in bad health, but although unable to express all he had intended to lay before the commons, he produced a decided impression upon the house. The fact of being unable to continue his speech from weakness rather added to the effect; so that Mr. Disraeli truly said that, were not the house aware of the learned member's illness, the abrupt termination of his address on such a plea, and at such a moment, might appear an ingenious and rhetorical artifice. In his argument, Mr. Roebuck charged the government the officials at home, and those in command abroad, with incapacity, conceit, and indifference to the welfare of the soldiery. When at last the house divided, the motion was supported by 305 members, and opposed by only 148, leaving a majority of 157—one of the largest, on a great public question involving the fate of a government, ever known in the House of Commons. The announcement was

received with exultant cheers from both sides of the house. The extinction of the ministry was decided; the house and the country accepted the vote, not merely as an expression of want of confidence politically, but as a vote of censure morally and politically. Yet in this grave emergency the house adjourned, in order to observe the anniversary of "King Charles the Martyr!" Incredible as this may appear, while the country was in the most imminent peril, such was the fact.

A cabinet council was called, and the ministry, of course, resolved to resign. The queen and court were in great suspense and excitement, being very unwilling to accept the resignation of the cabinet. They were the prince's friends and favourites, and her majesty therefore was disinclined to their forfeiture of office, and was prepared for any constitutional measure, which would give back to them the possession of place and power. When the noble earl at the head of the government resigned the seals of office, he recommended her majesty to seek advice from the Earl of Derby. This noble earl had made some of the best speeches he had ever delivered, during the war debates, and his views on the subject showed superior information and superior judgment to what the ministry, in their aggregate capacity, possessed in connection with foreign politics and war. When the lords again assembled, the premier, in a poor and vapid speech, informed them of the occurrences recorded above. The Duke of Newcastle, in a speech of some vehemence, but more dignity, assailed Lord John Russell, and replied generally to "the break up speech" (as it was called) of the illustrious commoner. The duke had asked and obtained her majesty's permission to make known the state secrets of the occasion; but nothing very particular was elicited from his grace's explication, except a statement as to the cabinet plan for aiding the War-office. He, however, gave most satisfactory proof to the house and to the country that, to the uttermost extent of his capacity and power, he had laboured indefatigably in the performance of his duty. There appeared in the speech of the duke a desire to fix a personal quarrel upon Lord John, and to brand him with motives and inconsistencies, which the facts of the case did not warrant. The courtesy of Lord Russell was not preserved in the oration of Lord Newcastle. He endeavoured to convince the peers that the leader of the commons was actuated by ambition, by party spirit, by envy of the duke himself, and other probable feelings, but of which there was really no evidence. Lord John wanted, according to his grace's representations, to get rid of him, and therefore was so urgent upon the premier: *si possis naviter; si non, quocunque modo.*

In the course of the duke's speech, however, the nature of the proposed measures for correcting the disorder of the departments was communicated to the house and the country, and when our readers attentively peruse it, they will, from all it makes known and all it implies, be at no loss to account for the confusion and impromptitude which pervaded all our martial procedure:—"Now, my lords, having thus disposed of the personal part of the question, the noble lord proceeded to discuss in his place in the house the question of measures, and he said that he should have been glad to have opposed the motion of the honourable member for Sheffield, but that he was unable to do so, because he could not say that 'measures had been taken, or that arrangements were in progress by which those evils would be remedied, and by which the administration of the war would be vigorously prosecuted.' I think that the fair and just inference from that statement is, that the noble lord had proposed to his colleagues measures and arrangements which we had been unwilling to adopt. My lords, I know of no measures ever proposed by the noble lord which were rejected; I know of no proposals which he made which were not accepted, unless it be one. That proposal he refers to himself, in this form. He said that, at a cabinet which was held on the Saturday before the day of Mr. Roebuck's notice and the noble lord's resignation, arrangements were made by which the mode in which the business of the war department had been for some time conducted, viz., by calling together the heads of the military departments to my office, and conducting the business somewhat in the form of a board, though not with the formalities and strict rules of a board, was to be altered. A discussion having taken place in the cabinet that day, and an agreement having been made that greater formality should be given to those boards, and that they should be regularly constituted, either by a minute or by an order in council, I stated that I differed from the noble lord as to the propriety of such boards. His opinion, however, prevailed, and it was agreed that, either by a minute or an order in council, those boards should be constituted, consisting of the secretary of state for war, the secretary at war, the commander-in-chief, and the master-general of the ordnance. The noble lord said that that question had been brought before the cabinet, and he implied that it had been decided upon adversely to his opinion. That was not exactly expressed by the noble lord, but it is, I think, the inference which is to be drawn. Instead of that, however, the proposal was brought forward by the noble lord himself, it was agreed to after a discussion, and I had every reason to believe that the noble lord was entirely a consenting

party; but in the course of that meeting he sent to my noble friend at the head of the government a proposal to which he also referred, but which he did not quote. As it is of some importance to my case, however, I fear that I must read it. It is as follows:—

ARMY DEPARTMENTS.

*January 22nd, 1855.*

“The committee of the House of Commons on army and navy expenditure recommended that the army departments should be simplified and consolidated. What is now proposed is, that there should be a board consisting of—1, secretary of state; 2, secretary at war; 3, master-general of ordnance; 4, commander-in-chief; 5, inspector-general of fortifications.

“It is contemplated that there shall exist at the same time a board of ordnance, consisting of—1, the master-general; 2, the storekeeper-general; 3, the surveyor-general; 4, the clerk of the ordnance; under whose directions the inspector-general of fortifications will remain. It seems obvious that these two boards, acting at one and the same time, instead of consolidation and simplification, would produce complication, disorder, and delay. There are but two modes by which unity of direction and rapidity of action can be procured. The one is to give the secretary of state the entire direction of all existing offices and boards connected with the army; the other is to make a board, with the secretary of state at the head, absorbing the board of ordnance, and controlling the whole civil management of our military force. The constitution of this board and its functions would be—

“1. The secretary of state, to preside over the board and be responsible to parliament.

“2. The secretary at war, to pay the army and control its finances.

“3. The master-general of the ordnance, to arm the army and the navy.

“4. The commander-in-chief, to command the army.

“5. The clerk, storekeeper, and surveyor of the ordnance, all in one, to lodge the army.

“6. The commissary-general, to clothe and feed the army.

“This is nearly the Duke of Richmond’s plan.

“J. RUSSELL.”

The noble lord said in his statement in the other house that he had no reason to think that his views would be adopted. Now, I can only say most positively, in answer to that statement from the noble lord, that I had no reason to think that his views would be rejected; because the first step which my noble friend took, upon receiving the communication which I have read, accompanied by an intimation from the noble lord that he should propose it on a subse-

quent day—on the evening of which he eventually resigned—was, after having shown it, I think, to the secretary at war, to send it to me for my opinion. My answer was, that there were but two proposals in that paper which differed from the arrangements in the cabinet of Saturday—one was to do away with the board of ordnance, in consequence of the constitution of a superior board; and the other was to add two more members to the board beyond those which were proposed in the cabinet. I said, as regarded the first proposal, that I thought that it was manifestly right. It was in accordance with my own views, and I added that, if it were proposed to constitute a superior board for the purpose of doing away with an inferior one, I would support it. With regard to the second proposal, for placing two additional members on the board, I said that I thought that it would be unadvisable. I did not think two of the officers named to be necessary; and, as regarded the sixth member—the commissary-general—no such officer existed, the office having been abolished some years ago. Therefore, so far as the main and principal portion of the noble lord’s proposition was concerned, it met with entire approval; and, as regarded the second portion, the only reason against its being carried into effect with respect to one of the appointments was, that it was impracticable. My lords, upon such an important question as the conduct of the war, differences of opinion on incidental matters of course took place; but if I were to point out that member of the cabinet from whom I have received the most general assent to my views, it would be the noble lord. I received the most kind and generous support from all my colleagues upon all occasions; but, as regards identity of views, I should be inclined to say that upon all questions which were raised there was a more complete identity between the noble lord and myself than between any other members of the cabinet.”

At the close of his speech the duke admitted that he had come to the conclusion, previous to the propositions of Mr. Roebuck, that the war department of the government had lost the public confidence; and he had in consequence resolved, whether the government succeeded in resisting an adverse vote, or were covered with censure and obloquy, to resign the post which, to the best of his ability, he had occupied. At length the parliamentary debates came to an end, and public interest was concentrated upon the efforts to form a ministry which various parties were exerting. The Earl of Derby was obliged to decline the task, as he had no hope of commanding a majority in the commons. Lord Derby, it was represented, and generally believed, advised her majesty to send for Lord Palmerston as the most likely person to secure the confidence of

the country. To this her majesty, it was alleged, was energetically opposed; her own will, and the influence of the prince, being alike adverse to his lordship's direction of public affairs. The reasons assigned for this were various, but they all resolved themselves into this, that the prince consort, and Lord Palmerston, when foreign minister, gave the queen the most opposite advice on foreign policy, and her majesty preferred that of the prince. On all questions connected with Austria, and the relations of that power—more especially to Italy—their opinions were said to be diverse. His royal highness sympathised with Austria, and the conservative foreign policy so well represented by Lord Aberdeen; while Lord Palmerston regarded that power with distrust, and considered its proceedings inimical to English influence in Europe, to Europe itself, and to constitutional liberty everywhere. In regard to Russia, also, it was said that the court disagreed with the noble viscount; the imperial Nicholas being personally regarded by the queen as “a marvellously proper man,” and being the object of cordial esteem and respect by the prince. It was supposed that the premier in perspective was desirous to abridge the czar's power, and was troubled by a sort of Russophobia; while the English court had no wish to see that of Russia humbled, nor to abridge substantially Russian influence. It was also represented that the court feared; in case of the advent of Lord Palmerston to power, that a rupture would take place between England and the German governments, who might be driven by the too energetic Englishman into hostilities on the side of Russia. All these apprehensions, if entertained, were groundless; but they existed to some extent there can be but little doubt—at all events, such was the universal impression of the public. The prince was said to be very favourable to a Derby administration, if only the noble earl would pledge himself to a free-trade policy—Sir Robert Peel, when in office, having thoroughly inoculated the mind of the prince with his free-trade opinions. Her majesty was said to have a decided preference for the old whig party—that of her august sire; of her uncle, the Duke of Sussex; and of her faithful friend and servant, Lord Melbourne, under whose auspicious ministry government affairs were conducted during the early years of her reign; and who safely guided the bark of her majesty's royal interests through troubled waters, steering clear of many rocks, and doubling many a dangerous cape. She, accordingly, of her own judgment it was alleged, sent for Lord Lansdowne, who most fitly represented the whig party on this occasion. After many exertions and much fruitless delay, during which the country was passing through a perilous crisis, Lord Lansdowne recommended

her majesty to send for Lord John Russell. It had been well known that Lord Lansdowne sympathised with him through the complications which brought the marquis into her majesty's presence as an especial adviser. His opinion was that Lord John should have the opportunity of forming a ministry—an opinion which did not meet with public favour, but which was represented to be not unacceptable to the court, although the news of Lord John's recent conduct had not been well received there. His lordship soon found that none of his previous colleagues would co-operate with him, and he abandoned the attempt. Her majesty then sent for Lord Palmerston, who undertook the onerous task of constructing a ministry. Her majesty's mode of procedure was regarded as strictly constitutional in every step of these difficult proceedings; and, whatever her private feelings, she acted to the new premier with her well-known honour and good faith. Lord Palmerston, after some difficulty, succeeded in forming a government, which was in fact but a reconstruction of the old one. Lord Aberdeen, the Duke of Newcastle, and Lord John Russell, were left out; and the only accession was Lord Panmure, who was nominated secretary of war. This nobleman was better known to the country, and perhaps to other countries, as the Honourable Fox Maule. He had considerable experience in ministerial matters, and was regarded both by statesmen and by the public as an upright and amiable man. From 1846 to 1852 he served in the Russell administration as secretary *at war*; he afterwards served as president of the Board of Control, until the breaking up of the Russell ministry. On Tuesday, the 8th of February, the new ministry was completed, and was thus arranged:—

First Lord of the Treasury . . .	Viscount Palmerston.
Lord Chancellor . . . . .	Lord Cranworth.
President of the Council . . . .	Earl Granville.
Privy Seal . . . . .	Duke of Argyle.
Foreign Secretary . . . . .	Earl of Clarendon.
Home Secretary . . . . .	Rt. Hon. S. Herbert.
Colonial Secretary . . . . .	Sir George Grey.
Minister of War . . . . .	Lord Panmure.
Chancellor of the Exchequer . .	Rt. Hon. W. E. Gladstone.
First Lord of the Admiralty . .	Sir James Graham.
Public Works . . . . .	Sir W. Molesworth.
In the Cabinet, but without office	The Marquis of Lansdowne.
President of the Board of Control	Sir Charles Wood.

On the 16th of February the house met for the transaction of business, and very eager was the public ear for the words that should fall from the lips of the new premier. He informed the house, with brevity and clearness, of the circumstances which placed him in the situation he then held; and bespoke in energetic, self-reliant, and courteous terms, the confidence of the commons of England. The *suaviter in*

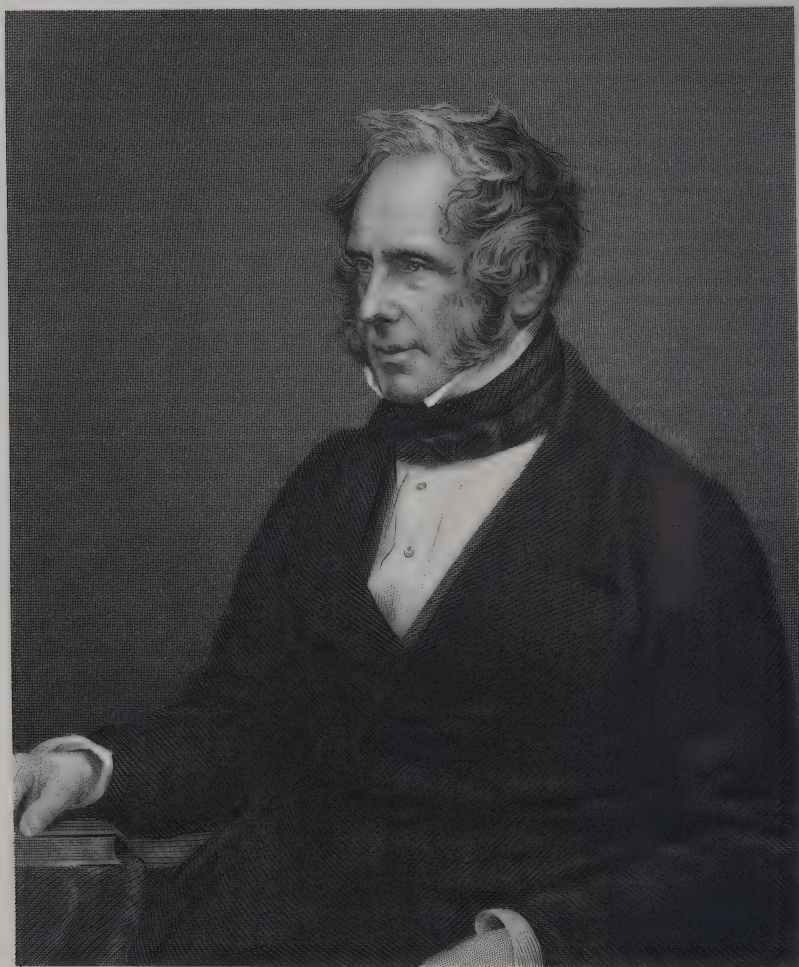
*modo* and the *fortiter in re* were blended in the tone, style, and substance of the premier's speech, as they are in his character. The house and the public were solicitous to hear his opinion and purpose concerning the appointment of Mr. Roebuck's committee, the resolution for the necessity of which had been so triumphantly carried. On this subject his lordship's words were—"I will not attempt to disguise that I feel the same objection to the appointment of the committee of which he has given notice as I expressed when the subject was first under discussion. My opinion is, that such a committee would, in its action, not be in accordance with the true and just principles of the constitution, and that it would not be, for the effectual accomplishment of its purpose, a sufficient instrument." He proposed to institute a strict government investigation, which, under the new *régime*, he concluded would satisfy the country. But it did not satisfy the country; and all the efforts of the premier and the cabinet to evade the searching and public scrutiny of a select committee of the people's representatives were in vain. The premier presented a long list of contemplated improvements in the management of warlike matters; among others, he announced the commission of Sir John McNeil and Colonel Tulloch, to which anticipatory reference has been made in this book. His lordship declared that this commission should have not only the right to inquire into the facts and causes of commissariat deficiencies, but also the power to apply remedies. Faith was hardly kept with the public in this particular, for no power to correct abuses was delegated, and the right to inquire was so vaguely given, that the commissioners were met with an undisguised disrespect by the quartermaster-general's department. It was also stated that Major-general Simpson would be sent out as chief of the staff, and in the exercise of the functions of that office relieve Lord Raglan of multiform inconveniences connected with detail,—from which the French general-in-chief was exempt, and from which every general-in-chief ought to be exempt. The selection of General Simpson was, however, so well understood to be a matter of favouritism on the part of Lord Panmure, that unpleasant impressions about the new administration of the War-office were prevalent. Lord Panmure was, however, incapable of selecting an incompetent man, notwithstanding any prepossession he might have for him; and there could be no doubt that General Simpson was a man of integrity and diligence, whatever his military parts might prove to be on so extensive a field of operations. Many of the improvements, indeed most of them, which redeemed the position and gave efficiency to the army in the Crimea, were

shadowed forth in the military programme of the new premier.

It was generally known that negotiations were about to be opened in Vienna, with a view to a treaty of peace. Lord Palmerston took the country, if not the house, by surprise in announcing that he had chosen Lord John Russell as the representative of England at the conference about to ensue. This gave public satisfaction, as Lord John Russell's recent conduct, and the general disclosure upon the breaking up of the cabinet, showed that his lordship had been a very warlike member of it. It was also well known that Lord John had chosen the appointment of president of the council when he was designated to that office, because he was dissatisfied with the Peelite section of the cabinet as to their war policy, or, at all events, as to their war practice; and that he might have an opportunity, such as no other office could give him, of expressing freely his opinion as to the conduct of the War-office. The speeches of Lord John were also the most martial delivered by any civilian of the day, reminding people of Sidney Smith's remark about him, that he would not hesitate to take the command of the channel fleet. It seemed also wise of Lord Palmerston to neutralise the opposition of (perhaps to enlist) the section of the liberal party that adhered to Lord John Russell *per fas et nefas*. On the whole, therefore, the appointment was well received. Yet men of intelligence had great misgivings. These arose from two causes: one was the inexperience of Lord John in diplomatic engagements; the other, the tendency which appeared so constantly in his conduct to "out-general" himself. That he meant well by his country was not doubted, but that he would take the most direct way to attain her objects was doubted; while any other, with a man not a professed diplomatist, was not likely to be successful in the presence of the faithless and well-practised agents of Russia and Austria. Thus in the more reflecting circles of English society the feeling about Lord John's appointment was chequered. The premier concluded his statements by the following appeal, which was received by the house, and by the people, with hope:—

"If we succeed in obtaining peace on terms which afford security for the future against the recurrence of those disturbances of the peace of Europe which have led to the war, we shall feel that our first desire in undertaking the government at this moment has been accomplished in a manner as satisfactory to the country as to ourselves. But if, on the other hand, we fail, then the country will feel that we have no alternative but to go on with the war; and I am convinced that the country will, with greater zeal than ever, give its support to a government which, having made





ROBERT BUNSEN, VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, K.G.

*From a Photograph by Mayall, taken expressly for this Work*

every possible attempt to obtain peace, and having failed in doing so, has been compelled to carry on the war for the purpose of obtaining those results which the sense and judgment of the country have approved. We shall, then, throw ourselves upon the generous support of parliament and the country, and that generous support I am confident we shall not ask in vain. I feel sure, that in such a state of things all minor differences, all mere party shades of distinction, will vanish; and that men of all sides will feel that they ought to support the government of this country, and show the world the noble and glorious spectacle that a free people and a constitutional government can exhibit a life, a spirit, and an energy, a power of endurance, and a vigour of action, that would be vainly sought for under despotic rule and arbitrary sway."

Never was political speculation so rife in reference to the probable fortunes of a new ministry. At no period, hitherto, was public confidence in the capacity of a minister more complete; it was never more the interest of the nation to be unanimous, and to strengthen the hands of a competent minister; mere party was never so much out of fashion, and never before altogether impracticable; and yet doubts, misgivings, and forebodings in reference to the intentions of the minister, the stability of the ministry, and the management of the public business, haunted the heart of the whole people. This was a state of things which ought to have been speedily removed by him, who, humanly speaking, alone could remove it—Henry John Temple, Viscount Palmerston. Let us analyse this state of mingled hesitancy, faith, and expectation. It is evident that the basis of it all was the view universally taken by men of the premier. His intellectual reputation was higher than his moral. No one can be surprised at that who is acquainted with his political history, or even watches him in a party debate. During the ministerial crisis, when he rose, on the part of the ministry, to reply to Lord John Russell, there was a *sang froid* about his air and demeanour very peculiar, and calculated to leave the impression that he "knew all about it;" that what had happened was only what he had expected; that it had all entered into his calculations, and he knew how to turn it to account. He seemed to regard Lord John as a very clever little thing, who was able to outwit himself; and who, without any sort of acknowledgment from the noble viscount, was to be allowed latitude enough to serve the expectant premier's purposes. The author of these pages listened earnestly to that debate, and he felt that there was a want of serious intent, and of earnest belief of things, in all Lord Palmerston's speech, which it appeared to him the house perceived. Yet this air of

nonchalance vanishes, and the smile of intelligent and light intrigue which plays upon his face disappears, as soon as he takes a part in any great question where the national dignity is to be maintained in the face of foreign insolence or assumption. Only let the subject of his speech be England and her greatness and her glory, and he rises to the dignity of a glowing patriotism and an epic eloquence. If he have to act as well as speak, his deeds are as prompt as his words are heroic, and the bolt of English power flies from his hand with true aim and terrible certainty. There is no escape from his piercing perception of the emergency, and of the thing that ought to be done; and no way of diplomatic wriggling from his masterly *exposé* of motive and object, however subtle the antagonist with whom he has to deal. No aristocratic sympathies, or diplomatic confraternity, will tempt him aside from a manly expression of opinion, and a direct English action, when the honour or interests of an English subject is invaded by a foreign state. This creates for him two classes of opponents at home—one is "the-peace-at-all-price" people. Messrs. Cobden and Bright, and all their immediate party, preach down and write down Lord Palmerston as a reckless politician, with a passion for war. They know that if an Englishman be injured in Austria, or Russia, or elsewhere, with the speed of lightning Lord Palmerston searches out the real character of the aggression, and demands redress; whereas this party is for handing over such matters to the ordinary tribunals of the country where they occur, or of hushing them up altogether, leaving the individual to suffer, or at most to receive a money settlement of the matter. In this the Peelites agree with the Brightites, and both are heart and soul opposed to the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston in matters of individual redress, as well as where great principles of national honour and character are at stake. The other party opposed to him in these respects is the high tory. The Derbyites will never inconvenience an absolute government to redress the wrongs of a British subject. The minister and consuls chosen from among that party are too pleasantly situated at absolute courts to disturb themselves, or allow the embroilment of their despotic friends—with whom in heart they sympathise—because of any Bible-distributing young lady, or liberty-loving Englishman—at all events if their rank be beneath that of the aristocracy. With Lord Palmerston it matters not who offers the insult, or how insignificant the object of it, or in what remote portion of British territory he was born—the affront must be atoned for, and the honour of England, in the humblest of her subjects, be maintained. With a party who regards no British subject unless he be rich or well

born, such a mode of dealing with incidents and questions of that order is "dangerous to the interests of peace," and of good fellowship with foreign tyrants. We have had of late years some striking exemplifications of the opposite mode of dealing in these matters—of Lord Palmerston on the one hand, and both the Peelite and Derbyite sections of the conservatives on the other. Contrast the energy, justice, and national spirit of Lord Palmerston, in the case of Don Pacifico, with the tameness, timidity, and indifference to national honour of Lord Aberdeen in his transactions with M. Guizot, the French foreign minister of Louis Philippe, in the case of Mr. Pritchard, our consul at Tahiti. Never, in a time of peace, did one nation offer such gross outrage to another as did France through her minister, M. Guizot, offer to England then; and never did a great nation peddle and cringe to avoid a resort to arms as did England, through her then minister for foreign affairs, Lord Aberdeen. Probably Lord Aberdeen was influenced by his religious peculiarities, in the indifference he then displayed to the wrongs of Mr. Pritchard, the murder of the Rev. Mr. M'Kean, and the invasion of a country whose only offence was loving England, and looking to her for religious instruction and protection. With Lord Palmerston it makes no difference what the religion of the wronged Englishman may be—an Irish Roman Catholic, a Hindoo Brahmin, or an English bishop, would be protected with the same spirit. Again, contrast the conduct of Lords Palmerston and Malmesbury in the case of the Austrian outrage which was perpetrated a few years ago in Florence. A young gentleman, named Mather, was cut down in the streets by the sabre of an Austrian officer, because he was an Englishman—as Englishmen were then presumed to favour Italian liberty. Mr. Mather was a youth of some seventeen years of age, perfectly inoffensive, and, as was afterwards admitted on all hands, offering in no way the slightest grounds for suspicion that he meddled with anything, or mixed with any persons, or did any action calculated to give umbrage to Austria. He was a peaceable English gentleman, and was an object of Austrian revenge and resentment, because his country sympathised with the nationalities which Austria oppressed. Mr. Mather's father, a gentleman known to the writer of these pages to be a man of unblemished honour, a patriot, a philanthropist, and a most public-spirited, useful English citizen, hastened to the scene of the outrage; and instead of finding Mr. Scarlett, our *chargé d'affaires*, protecting the English youth and affirming English honour, he was using his best exertions to induce young Mr. Mather to surrender his national rights and dignity, and attempting to suppress the

whole case by transferring it to the local tribunals, where he knew no redress would be obtained. So sure was he of effecting this, that he wrote so to Lord Malmesbury, and it was triumphantly announced by the ministry in parliament that the matter was taken out of their hands. This of course had to be contradicted. Mr. Mather demanded investigation and redress on behalf of his son, and that the honour of his country should be vindicated. Pecuniary compensation was offered him, which he refused to accept, unless an apology on the part of the Austrian government, and the punishment of the officer, were ensured. The result was that Lord Malmesbury, who was more the minister of Austria than of England in the transaction, informed parliament that an apology was made, but of what sort, or in what terms, no information was given. The Austrian officer who perpetrated the cowardly outrage *was never punished, but petted and supported by his government, while Mr. Mather was deserted by his*. The wounded youth, as he slowly recovered, might see any day the epauletted ruffian who aimed at his life, swaggering about Florence in the uniform he dishonoured, but to the more open dishonour of the English name. As this occurred just upon the change of government at home, Lord Palmerston had to do with a part of the transaction, and, as usual, his part was full of English spirit and honour. He expressed, in terms of unmistakeable censure, his views of the conduct of our Foreign-office and our minister in Tuscany. To use his own words, the "Messrs. Mather were the only persons who acted properly in the whole transaction." Finally, Mr. Mather was again offered a money compensation, which he indignantly spurned, on the principle that the outrage was upon his country, and unless her honour was vindicated, he could not accept a personal amend of any sort.

Such instances of the superiority of Lord Palmerston to the usual school of foreign ministers, secretaries, and *employées* accounted for the confidence entertained in his vigour and patriotism. But there was an impression that he would be hampered by his colleagues, and that he would trust too much to time-serving and expertness in managing them himself. The employment of Mr. Frederick Peel was generally regarded as boding no good. Already Lord Palmerston's colleagues had overruled him in several matters; and there were not wanting symptoms of officialism, routine, and delay, calculated to damage his ministry at the very outset. The country was involved in a conflict of terrible omen, and surrounded by perils that met not the popular eye, and it required all the vigilance and activity on her part, possessed by her foe, to come with safety and honour through the crisis. Unless Lord Palmer-

ston overruled the obstructions of his cabinet, and the pro-Russian feeling that lingered there, it was feared that his government must perish, or the nation stand upon the verge of ruin. His selection of Lord John Russell as her majesty's plenipotentiary at Vienna, was considered at all events adroit, as a piece of government and parliamentary address; but his resistance of Mr. Roebuck's motion, how-

ever necessary to the protection of the members of his cabinet, and therefore necessary to his position, weakened public confidence. The expectation of the people was that he would trust to them; and borne to power already by their moral force, they were able to bear him back again in case of his dismission, if he would only be true to them, and surround himself by men entitled to the esteem of the country.

## CHAPTER LXI.

HOME EVENTS CONTINUED.—CLASS JEALOUSIES IN ENGLAND.—SECESSION OF THE PEELITES FROM THE PALMERSTON CABINET.—AGITATION BY THE PEACE PARTY.—EFFORTS OF KOSSUTH, MAZZINI, AND THE FRIENDS OF THE NATIONALITIES TO INDUCE ENGLAND TO WIDEN THE OBJECTS OF THE WAR.—DISPATCH OF REINFORCEMENTS TO THE ARMIES OF THE ALLIES, ETC.

"There is a secret socialism—a good, a pure, a sacred thing—constantly at work for the advantage of the nation, and its recognition by all would speedily destroy that anti-social error which has split society into fragments, and diffused the pernicious fallacy that the degradation and bondage of one class are necessary to the elevation and freedom of another."—REV. WM. LEASK, D.D.

How happy would it be for our England, if the truth of this motto were felt and understood throughout her empire! It was not so during the opening months of the year 1855. The populace in England were intensely jealous of the influence of the aristocracy; and the latter were alarmed lest the mismanagement of the war should set the people upon depriving them of the almost exclusive possession of the government. There was a general disposition to merge *mere party* for the public good, but the spirit of class would make no concession.

Dr. Leask has eloquently written:—"Visible socialism—a confederacy which should destroy the natural and artificial classifications of society, would do violence to the very idea of the social compact. This kind of socialism has failed wherever it has been tried. It deserved to fail. It was chaotic. It sought the world's suffrage without maturing its claims. It bounded to conclusions without an examination of the intermediate steps. It pretended to renovate society before it had tested the influences at its disposal. It assumed the existence of a material in human nature which experience said was not forthcoming. It propounded doctrines which had no practical counterpart. It announced a path through the dark forests of habit, custom, and tradition, whilst it rejected the clearest light within the reach of man to guide it to the poetic paradise on the other side. With the light of Christianity, which is the best exponent of humanity as it is, we may go far to develop the true ideas of socialism, to see what are our individual and what are our social interests, to what extent they are identified and where they are separable, wherein they take shape and colouring from the great community, and

wherein they are sacred and individual. But without this light we shall fail, and go back to the age of feudalism, and confound might with right, and powerlessness with criminality. A community whose members look upon each other as equally privileged citizens of a free state, and hail each other as partakers of the same humanity, whilst the honestly reached successes of one imply no injury to the interests of another, comes up to the idea of this true theory. But a community demanding uniformity as one of its leading characteristics, in the position of men differently endowed and of diverse character, has to contend with difficulties, both mental and moral, which it cannot surmount."

The spirit commended and the policy proclaimed to be necessary in these words did not animate the governing septs in England; they regarded the war from a selfish, home point of view. Their constant apprehension was, how far its course would bring the middle and lower classes into power. On the other hand, every unhappy circumstance which occurred in the Crimea, or in connection with the expedition—if it were ever so plainly attributable to individual failing, or unforeseen and fortuitous antecedents—was set down to the influence of the aristocracy; although none could deny that they were prodigal alike of their blood and treasure for the nation's glory. It cannot be matter of surprise if, with such a pulse in the public heart, the motion of Mr. Roebuck, referred to in the last chapter, should affect all the exigencies of party, and fire all the jealousy of class. The efforts of the Palmerston government to stave off the inquiry, to humour the house, and cajole Mr. Roebuck, were all futile. He would have his committee appointed, and the house would appoint it; and Lord Palmer-

ston had no alternative to submission to the fiat of the commons, except resignation of office. He was too patriotic, and yet too ambitious, to adopt that alternative. He resolved to fall in with the appointment of a committee, but at the same time to modify its composition, so as to avert, if possible, any strong resolutions or report against his late and present colleagues. He was himself exempt from danger, as every one knew that Lord Aberdeen and his clique had studiously kept Lord Palmerston from all active connection, either with the management of foreign affairs or of the war.

On the 22nd February the House of Commons was astounded to learn from the premier that several of the leading members of his cabinet had resigned: these were Sir James Graham, Mr. Gladstone, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, and it was announced that the next evening they would assign their reasons for that step. On the 23rd, accordingly, these gentlemen again appeared before the house as ex-ministers, offering explanations which were in substance, that they supposed their joining a new ministry cancelled the old responsibility; that the committee of inquiry was unconstitutional; it was the business of the queen and her government to look into abuses, and not the representatives of the people, who were thus impinging upon the rights of the crown and the dignity of office. Sir James Graham threw out something like a menace that the French emperor would be offended, as no inquiry could take place which would not bring out certain matters connected with our ally tending to disturb the *entente cordiale*. The speech of Sir James Graham was cunning and clear; that of Mr. Sidney Herbert, proud and impudent; that of Mr. Gladstone, casuistical and sophistical: all failed to produce any moral influence upon the house. The committee was appointed; the original list of Mr. Roebuck having been opposed by the premier as *ex parte*, another was substituted, which consisted of Mr. Roebuck, Mr. Drummond, Sir J. Pakington, Mr. Layard, Colonel Lindsay, Mr. Ellice, Lord Seymour, Sir G. C. Lewis, Mr. Ball, and Mr. Branston.

Lord Palmerston obtained Sir Charles Wood in place of Sir G. Graham, a man of inferior talents, but superior moral weight. Sir G. Cornwall Lewis became chancellor of the exchequer, who was much inferior to Mr. Gladstone in that post, but a man of more direct mind and reliable opinions. Mr. Vernon Smith was made president of the Board of Control. Lord John Russell, who was (as before noticed) nominated to the Vienna conference, accepted the Colonial-office, which Sir George Grey occupied *ad interim*, as well as the Home-office, which he accepted *en permanence*. The secession of those men from the cabinet, to whom our military disasters were mainly attributable, was a

great moral gain to the administration, and in the long run saved the premiership of Lord Palmerston. We admit to a certain extent the administrative abilities of Sir James Graham, but he is not the man in this respect which he formerly was; he never merited all the eulogy for his administration of the navy which, by common consent, was conceded to him. He was showy and dextrous as an administrator, just as he is in debate and in the cabinet; but his agility, like that of the elephant, is counterbalanced by a certain heaviness. In the cabinet he is more crafty than wise, more to be consulted in reference to party tactics than the fate of nations. In parliament his oratory is flowery, and has a certain specious persuasiveness and trick of debate; while his manner is heavy, his features dull, and no lofty conception, or original thought, or sound and settled principle, ever characterises his displays. At the Admiralty his administration was in character with the man elsewhere. There was a want of principle in his promotions, a want of farsightedness in his plans, and of late there had been a want of general efficiency; while all that he did was very showy, and with a certain slight-of-hand air of performance which has gained him credit for other qualities—such as promptitude and readiness, to which he never had much claim. With all his cunning, he is a rash man—rash often in his parliamentary and party speeches, and in his administrative capacity. The imprudence of his celebrated Education Bill, which he brought forward with such ostentatious vigour, and which, after disturbing the whole country by its means, he was obliged ignominiously to withdraw, is an exemplification. In character with this was his speech at the dinner of the Reform Club, when Sir C. Napier was entertained previous to taking command of the Baltic fleet—a speech as imprudent as ever was delivered by any English statesman, excepting Sir James Graham himself. If the charges of Sir Charles Napier be true, the secession of Sir James Graham was no loss to the cabinet or the Admiralty. No man was more addicted to official insolence than Sir James (unless it be Mr. Herbert), and we believe him, therefore, quite capable of the affronts and the tyranny attributed to him by Sir C. Napier. No reliance can be placed on Sir James. During the discussion of the corn laws, the provost of a certain city, whom he professed greatly to respect, received from him a letter in which he admitted that the city and town population of Great Britain were in favour of the repeal, but that he did not recognise theirs as public opinion; when, however, he advocated the entire abolition of the corn duties, one of the arguments most insisted upon by him was, the opinion of the great

cities, as the public opinion of the nation. He has been in politics a radical, a whig, a conservative whig, radical whig, conservative, democrat, and an aristocrat, and spoke with the same invidious and rancorous personality as the advocate of each. In political economy he has been a free-trader and a protectionist, a whig fixed-duty man, a Peelite sliding-scale man, and an absolute repealer of all taxes on corn. Who can forget his descriptions of rural life and of rustic happiness in England, in his speeches for the "country party," at the very time he was plotting to undermine their monopoly? His monetary schemes comprehend all systems, and the destruction of every system. He was a champion of the Birmingham school, and of its antagonist the Manchester school; has defended bank monopoly, and thundered for free-banking; has denounced "rag-money," and pleaded for an extension of the free system. In religion his versatility has been equally evident. He has favoured free-thinking, and denounced infidelity; has made speeches against the high church party, and yet drew up a plan for placing the system of education entirely in their hands; has spoken for the rights of dissent, and put a clause in his Education Bill empowering a policeman to enter the educational premises of dissenters, and report concerning them. Mr. Herbert was too pert an official, and his insolent defiance of the House of Commons was the most contemptuous and insulting thing ever offered to that house. Instead of bemoaning the fact which he alleged, that the mismanagement of the war was beyond investigation, he, in a tone of triumph, "defied" the house to find it out. The house was at last on its mettle, and its prestige must have followed that of the military and civil departments, if the aristocratic insolence of Mr. Herbert had not failed to rouse its members to a sense of their dignity and power as the people's representatives.

Mr. Gladstone was, with all his peculiarities, a loss to the government. He was not a bad chancellor of the exchequer, and although he shared with Sir James Graham and Mr. Hayter the odium of the wretched transport mismanagement,—the Treasury, and the chancellor of the exchequer, partaking with the Admiralty in that matter,—yet he had attended with ability to that which was more properly his own department. Lord Palmerston had a high opinion of Mr. Gladstone's parts; yet after all he went on better without his aid, for the country no longer trusted him. The premier took a wise course. He knew well when forming his cabinet that it would be weeded from him by Mr. Roebuck's motion, and with his usual foresight and inimitable tact he acted accordingly. The country now had a more homogeneous ministry, while the seceders

could have no just excuse for opposing Lord Palmerston. To get rid of them on such terms was the very perfection of management, and the noble premier stood before the country in a more popular position, associated with more popular men.

These ministerial changes, and the discussions to which they led, greatly disturbed the country, and injured its moral influence abroad. The reputations of public men in England, both as to capacity and integrity, became much impaired, both at home, in our extensive colonies, and beyond the limits of the empire. It would have been strange if the two parties at home opposed to the war did not take advantage of the ministerial interregnum, and the difficulties of forming a cabinet, to press their views upon the public; possibly expecting that the political tinge of the new administration, before quite settled down in office, might be taken from their light, in which they exhibited the national interests and honour. The peace party made excessive exertions to show that the real evil was the war itself, that for its existence we were as a nation responsible, and that whatever ministry obtained peace for us ought to be supported.

The other party was that which was influenced by Kossuth, Mazzini, and their English copyists. They did not denounce a war with Russia, but rather the object for which it was waged. They would have the British people forget altogether the original cause of the quarrel, and to wage battle on new moral and political grounds, demanding the recognition of the nationalities from all invaders and despots, and allowing of no peace until Poland, Hungary, and Italy, were independent. The result of these agitations was that a confused notion began to creep among the lower orders of the people that the contest was without definite aim, and it was no uncommon thing to hear the inquiry among thinking men among the working classes, "Why have we gone to war?" It is necessary to notice the operation of these parties, because all through the conflict they tried to embarrass the government, and those by whom the government was morally and politically sustained; and their action will explain the course which debates frequently took in the House of Commons, which would otherwise be scarcely intelligible to persons abroad, or in the colonies.

It was not surprising that much ignorance and delusion existed, when the nonsense talked at public meetings by men who considered themselves politicians, and the absurdities propounded by a portion of the press—from which better sense might be expected—concerning the nationalities, were taken into account. Russia is a despotic state; her ruler is an autocrat; her people are slaves; and the orators and

writers we refer to, imagined that our object ought to have been to abridge the power of Russia because of her despotism. As well might we go to war with the Pope, because there is an absolute ecclesiastical authority represented by the triple crown; or with the United States, because one-seventh of her population are slaves. Every state has a right to regulate its own social and political condition, irrespective of other states; and it would be as much a violation of the true principles of freedom to force upon any country our ideas of government, as it would to enslave a portion of our own citizens. If the principle of interference with the internal regulations of independent states be allowed at all, the absolute governments of Europe have clearly as good a relative right to interfere for absolutism as the American Union for republicanism, or the United Kingdom for constitutionalism. Our only justification for interference is, where some other foreign state lends force to one of the parties in an internecine struggle, and we, justly jealous for the security of our own principles of government, prove by arms our friendship for the other contending party, or prevent the aid of the foreign element opposed to our own sympathies. It was the violation of this clear rule of national relations, on the part of both Russia and France towards Turkey, that constrained our interposition after every method conceivable was used to avoid the *dernier resort*. We had nothing to do with the forms of government or religious belief of our enemies or allies in the war. It was not the less just, because we were allied with despots, heretics, or infidels; nor the more just, because our opponent governed with a ruthless tyranny the nations ranged beneath his sway.

It has become popular of late years, through the exertions of the peace party, to sneer at the "balance of power," as if it were one of the exploded motives of national conflict, or only existed in the used-up brains of jaded diplomatists, and English foreign secretaries. But if war can be justified on any ground, the preservation of this balance must ever be the concern of nations, even with the alternative of the sword. England was herself the object of European jealousy, because of her great maritime ascendancy, until the loss of her American provinces reassured the mind of Europe—it being (erroneously) supposed that the independence of those provinces would be a deadly blow to England's empire of the seas. Rude a state as is Persia, and barbarous as are the petty despotisms of Central Asia, they have all sagacity enough to see that the adjustment of this very balance, where England, through her Indian empire, or Russia, may kick the beam, must be the all-influencing consideration of their national existence. All the vacillations

of Persia, during this war and this century, were attributable to a cunning perception of this fact, and a feeble dealing with it, and not to the mere ignorance and fickleness which it is the fashion of many political writers to ascribe to her. Tippoo Saib perished in daring attempt to turn the scale against England; and no thoughtful man can judge otherwise than in favour of the sagacity, as well as courage, of that politic and powerful prince. He foresaw that French influence in India must retire step by step before the superior resources of England, and it was more to his interest to aid the former—for if with his assistance the greater force were expelled, he might ultimately assail the weaker in turn with better prospect of success. In the conduct and spirit of the Americans, we see how even free nations will be jealous of one another, with a rational and well-founded jealousy, which identity of language, religion, and blood can only mollify, but not heal. The United States sympathised to some extent with Russia in the war, and necessarily. The union of the great naval powers for the regulation of political boundary on this continent, may be followed by a similar action on that. In the union of these two proud and potent powers, one of them an American as well as a European power, the United States must see danger, and she would strengthen herself as she best can against any prospect of dictation to herself from such source. Were the United States forced into war with allied England and France, her whole sea-board would be crushed by the thunder of their fleets, her coasts ravaged, her commerce destroyed, and her progress immensely retarded. That these so great rivals as she deems them, should be occupied near home, secures her from such peril. Would that we could say that her government did not, in a selfish and ambitious policy, desire the occupation of France and England in European war, that she might have freer scope for the designs of aggrandisement entertained by a certain portion of her citizens. If the our statesmen armed the country against the encroachments of a formidable military and naval nation, they did not plunge into an unnecessary or even avoidable conflict—unless all the motives for war, even self defence, be unchristian. Assuming, for argument's sake at least, that defensive war is defensible, then it was politic to conduct it rather on the banks of the Pruth than of the Thames, on the shores of the Crimea rather than in the Channel.

Allowing that here there was a general concurrence, yet the popular feeling as to the objects that should be held in view needed correction. It was urged that, being at war with Russia, we ought to settle every question, pr

sent and possible, before we concede a peace—the liberation of Poland, the surrender of Finland to Sweden, the abrogation of the Russo-Danish treaty, the cession of the provinces lately torn from Persia, the surrender of all the conquests made within this century from Turkey, and that Russia should retire a thousand miles along her eastern boundaries, so that she might be placed far remote from the possible invasion at any time of our Eastern dominions. Such arguments were urged with the more vehemence as it was supposed that Lord John Russell ought to receive from the premier such directions in reference to the conference at Vienna as conform to this spirit. The Kossuth and Mazzini agitators forgot that although all these things might be admitted to be *desiderati* by our statesmen, they were not all possible. If all the powers in Europe should stand by, and leave us to fight it out with Russia, we could not hope to effect such changes unaided in this generation, if the like could ever be effected by us. If the other powers of Europe would not be mere spectators, it is plain that they would take a part in common with their own interest, and perhaps their sense of justice in some cases. Had we demanded the liberation of Poland, the demand would have been tantamount to a declaration of war against Austria and Prussia as well as Russia; and however well able to defeat all three, if our assailants, we could never accomplish such an object as their assailants. For defence, we can defy a world in arms; for attack our power is limited by the nature of our demand, and the vulnerability of that which is attacked. We could not have conquered Poland from the Northern powers—Louis Kossuth's own speeches furnished proof of this; and it was hardly considerate of that noble and generous man to look at such a question from a Hungarian point of view only or chiefly. We must, when so loudly called upon to act, regard it both from a British point of view, and in the comprehensiveness of European policy and universal principles. We cannot demand the cession of Finland, while the Swede hesitates to join us in the demand; we cannot proclaim the independence of a people who cannot maintain it; we cannot make Finland a province of our own empire without war with Northern Europe. As to the Russo-Danish treaty of dynasty, the most we could in justice attempt would be the protection of the people of Denmark in repudiating, or attack Russia whenever she essays to enter upon possession. As to the limitation of Russian power in the East, our demands should be measured by the will of the countries which Russia has plundered, by the disposition of the provinces she has appropriated, by the relative strength this war might reveal, and by the policy of our allies. We cannot do everything

everywhere just as we like, from Petropaulovski to St. Petersburg; and it is unfortunate that the egotism of our people expends so much time upon such injurious bravado.

What our statesmen and allies really aimed at in this war should have been understood by our people from the beginning. The independence of Turkey, as far as Russian protection and special treaties were concerned, and the free navigation of the Danube and the Euxine, comprised the objects of the contest on our part. Upon these the unanimity of allies and the good wishes of the governments and citizens of Europe were secured. If our demands had been widened before new events clearly and indisputably required, division among the allies would have resulted, and among such parties at home as, for the purpose of the war actually waged, were united. The great duty was to prosecute the enterprise upon which the nation had set out with singleness of eye, until Russia was made to feel that the day of her encroachments was over, and that upon any attempt to widen her bounds, confederated Europe would demand fresh guarantees, by contracting her territory, or permanently weakening her offensive position.

During the early part of March some further changes took place in the ministry. Sir Robert Peel, Bart., accepted the office of a lord of the Admiralty, rendered vacant by the Hon. W. Cooper, who was appointed to the under-secretaryship of the Home department. The other appointments were subsidiary to these. It was very gratifying to the country that Sir Robert Peel accepted office. He was regarded as the most able man of the Peel family, and not a mere copyist of his father, or an adherent to the Peelite faction, but an independent thinker and a liberal politician.

One of the last acts of the Aberdeen ministry was very popular, but it was not followed up zealously and generously by the new administration. It was the institution of a cross for military merit, and the badge was to be bestowed upon the judgment of the peers of the candidate for the honour.

Having described the political and parliamentary agitations, and the ministerial changes by which the mode of carrying on the war was undoubtedly affected, the reader's attention can be more easily directed to various other home matters influencing the war, or arising out of it. Very warm discussions arose in connection with the religious views of Miss Nightingale and "the sisters." While all admired their self-denial, there was a numerous class who supposed them to be influenced by what is called Puseyite opinions, in their zeal for spreading which in the army they were led to incur so many hardships, privations, and risks. A lady under these apprehensions having written

to Mrs. Herbert on the subject, received from her the following reply:—

"MADAM,—By this post I send you a *Christian Times* of Friday week last, by which you will see how cruel and unjust are the reports you mention about Miss Nightingale and her noble work. Since then we have sent forty-seven more nurses, of which I enclose you a list.

"It is melancholy to think that in Christian England no one can undertake anything without these most uncharitable and sectarian attacks; and, had you not told me so, I should scarcely have believed that a clergyman of the Established Church could have been the mouth-piece of slander.

"Miss Nightingale is a member of the Established Church of England, and what is called Low-Church. But ever since she went to Scutari her religious opinions and character have been assailed on all points; one person writes to upbraid us for having sent her, 'understanding she is a Unitarian,' another, 'that she is a Roman Catholic,' and so on. It is a cruel return to make towards one to whom all England owes so much.

"As to the charge of no Protestant nurses being sent, the subjoined list will convince you of its fallacy. We made no distinctions of creed; any one who was a good and skilful nurse, and understood the practice in surgical wards, was accepted—provided, of course, that we had their friends' consent, and that in other respects, as far as one could judge, they were of unexceptionable character.

"A large proportion of the wounded being Roman Catholics, we accepted the services of some of the Sisters of Charity from St. Stephen's Hospital, in Dublin.

"I have now told you all, and feel sure that you will do your utmost to set these facts plainly before those whose minds have been disquieted by these unfair and false accusations.

"I should have thought that the names of Mr. and Mrs. Bracebridge, who accompanied and are remaining with Miss Nightingale, would have been sufficient guarantees of the evangelical nature of the work. But it seems nothing can stop the stream of sectarian bitterness. I remain, madam, yours very faithful,

"ELIZABETH HERBERT."

"If you wish for any more numbers of the *Christian Times*, I can send them to you.

#### LIST.

"The first party of nurses sent out on the 23rd of October, were Miss Nightingale and 38, viz.:—

From St. John's House . . . . .	6
From Miss Sellon's . . . . .	8
Selected hospital nurses . . . . .	14
Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity	10

—38

"The second party of nurses, sent out on the 2nd of December, were 47, viz.:—

From St. John's House . . . . .	2
Protestant ladies . . . . .	10
Selected hospital nurses (Protestant)	20
Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity	15

—47

"Total, 86 nurses; of whom 60 are Protestants, and 26 Roman Catholics."

Another of the discussions which engaged the public mind at home was one raised by the Earl of Dundonald. His lordship professed to be in possession of a secret, by which he could blow up the fortresses of Sebastopol, Cronstadt, or any other, however stupendous. It would be impossible to lay the merits of his lordship's proposals before the reader except in his own words. The following communication of the gallant and noble sailor was made to a London daily journal:—

March 10, 1855.

"SIR,—Peace being desirable not only for the interests of our country, but for those of the world at large, and the negotiations now pending being doubtless injuriously influenced by the obstinate resistance of Sebastopol (which could be overcome in a day), and by the impossibility of successfully attacking Cronstadt by naval means (which might be as speedily reduced), I have drawn up a petition to parliament, in order that secrecy and silence on my part, and deficiency of information on that of the public, may no longer prove injurious to the success of our arms. Hostilities having proceeded so far, assuredly it is more expedient to reduce a restless nation to a third or fourth-rate power than be ourselves reduced.

"Let not my motive be mistaken. I have no wish to command a fleet of 100-gun ships, or to attack first-rate fortresses by encased batteries or steam gun-boats; that which I desire is, first, secretly to demonstrate to competent persons the efficiency of my plans, and then to obtain authority (during eight or ten days of fine weather) to put them in execution.

"The means I contemplate are simple, cheap, and safe in execution. They would spare thousands of lives, millions of money, great havoc, and uncertainty of results. Their consequences might, and probably would, effect the emancipation of Poland and give freedom to the usurped territories of Sweden.

"Those who judge unfavourably of all aged naval commanders assuredly do not reflect that the useful employment of the energies of thousands and tens of thousands of men can best be developed and directed by a mind instructed by long observation, matured by reflection; an advantage to which physical power—that could clear its way by a broadsword—can bear no comparison. My unsupported opinion,

in regard to a naval enterprise in 1809, proved to be correct. Every other undertaking in the British service, in which I was concerned, and as commander-in-chief in Chili, Peru, Brazil, and Greece, was successful, and so would the protracted and unaccomplished undertaking, so injurious to the result of negotiation, have succeeded, had I possessed sufficient influence to be patiently listened to.

"I am, sir,  
"Your obliged and obedient servant,  
"DUNDONALD."

[Presented March 9, 1855.]

TO THE HON. THE COMMONS IN PARLIAMENT  
ASSEMBLED.

*The Petition of Thomas Earl of Dundonald, Admiral of the White,*

HUMBLY sheweth,—That in the year 1811 your petitioner discovered, and after deliberate consideration had the honour, in the year 1812, to disclose to his Royal Highness the Prince Regent a simple, yet irresistible means, whereby ordinary implements in war might be dispensed with, and speedy and successful results ensured.

That his royal highness was pleased to appoint a commission to investigate the subject, consisting of the most competent persons of that period, whose report was so favourable that his royal highness ordered the attendance of your petitioner, and commanded secrecy, which had been imposed on Lord Keith, Lord Exmouth, and on General and Colonel Congreve, his Royal Highness the Duke of York being president of the commission.

That with this injunction your petitioner faithfully complied, although he could have put his plans in execution in foreign service to his own great personal advantage. That after your petitioner's return from abroad, and when an apprehension of war had again arisen at home, your petitioner presented his plans to his majesty King William (who had honoured your petitioner in early life with favour), and whose professional knowledge enabled him to judge of their applicability.

That his majesty, satisfied therewith, was pleased, in the most flattering manner, to manifest the high estimation in which he held the loyalty and disinterested conduct of your petitioner.

That on a subsequent threat of war since the accession of her present majesty, the question of the merits of your petitioner's plan was on a similar occasion submitted to the most honourable the cabinet council, wherein ingenious and expanded minds, impressed with sentiments similar to those which actuated his late majesty, recommended and obtained a gracious manifestation of royal justice.

That in February and in July, last year, your petitioner again offered his said plans, and sanctioned their reference to a secret commission of naval officers, in order that a professional report might be made as to their practicability and efficiency, which report, however, was confined to an opinion as to their expediency, perhaps originating in an erroneous impression as to the endurance of iron-bound floating batteries, all of which your petitioner will engage to subdue, even were they added to the defences of Cronstadt.

That your petitioner, foreseeing the impracticability of capturing numerous and powerful fortifications by the means now in preparation, again most respectfully offers his plans and his services to accomplish these objects, reserving the encased batteries and steam gun-boats entire, and ready for the brief and easy task of destroying the hostile fleet.

That your petitioner begs that, should these premises and the prayer hereunto annexed seem to your honourable house exaggerated or unreasonable, you will be pleased to take into your consideration that, had electric communication and photographic delineation been privately known and publicly announced, these incontestable realities would have been received as an insult to the understanding.

Therefore your petitioner humbly prays, that your

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honourable house will be pleased, by a searching inquiry, to ascertain whether the aforesaid secret plans are capable, speedily, certainly, and cheaply to surmount obstacles which our gallant, persevering, and costly armies and fleets have failed to accomplish.

DUNDONALD.

Another discussion, which produced considerable excitement, was as to the state of our fortifications. Some years before, the Duke of Wellington and Sir John Burgoyne had called attention to the fact, that our country was almost defenceless against any sudden invasion by a great military power such as France. These distinguished men were opposed vehemently by the peace party, as urging upon the nation an unnecessary cost, and provoking a spirit of aggression on the part of France by the disposition to distrust her. Parliament also received coldly these propositions. The disasters in the Crimea awakened the national anxiety, and the discussion assumed new force. Earl Grey brought the subject before the House of Lords, and strongly urged upon the government that all works of fortification should be suspended until a general committee of scientific and military men should inspect them, and pronounce upon their efficiency. A remarkable letter was published by Mr. Fergusson, whose writings on earthworks in fortifications had attracted so much attention. This letter startled the public, and gave a new stimulus to the discussions prevailing on the subject:—

*Langham Place, March 17.*

" . . . . The Royal Engineers have the privilege of keeping their works secret till it is too late to remedy them, and even then no documents are published which would enable the general public to judge for itself of the correctness of any assertion, or to refute or support any argument which may be adduced.

"It is probable that Earl Grey, from his position, is fully aware of the facts of the case, and spoke from intimate knowledge of the subject, at least from personal inspection of nearly all the works now being erected for the defence of our coasts; I can vouch for the accuracy of every word he said. With scarcely an exception, they are masonry buildings, and in plan and profile belong to the antiquated systems of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

"The fort, for instance, recently erected for the defence of Liverpool is a little stone castle, with a battery of ten or twelve guns, so closely jammed together in masonry embrasures, that one broadside from a line-of-battle ship would dismount the whole; or, if the ship chose to pass the fort—which she could easily do at the distance of 1200 or 1500 yards—at the rate of ten or twelve knots an hour, the chances are very much against a single shot striking her. Our recent experience in the Black Sea and Baltic, has proved that she might safely calculate on doing this with scarcely the loss of a

single man, and, having done it, Liverpool is at her mercy; yet, for a very small sum of money, properly applied, this town might be made perfectly secure against such attacks. The forts recently erected in the Isle of Wight are even worse than this. Fort Victoria is so placed that a ship may easily pass it out of effective range of its guns, or, if attacking it, there is deep water within 150 yards of its guns, and they are so badly placed that only one out of its principal battery of twenty-one guns can see, or fire at, the attacking vessel. Like another small fort erecting at the cliff's end, it is wholly of brickwork, and both are so constructed that they would crumble to pieces far more rapidly than the towers of Bomarsund. Yet this is not the worst. These forts are utterly incapable of defence on the land side, and, in consequence, a strong redoubt is now being erected at Freshwater to protect their rear, and every bay in the Isle of Wight must have its redoubt, or all our pains will be thrown away—for the enemy would certainly choose those places which are undefended in preference to those which are more or less fortified. The same system is being pursued at Portsmouth and along the Sussex coast. Small forts incapable of defending themselves are erected on certain spots, and then other forts are erected to protect them, and these must be multiplied *ad infinitum* before we get to the end of the chain.

"If these forts were merely 'shell-traps,' as Earl Grey most properly termed them, it would be a small evil; but they are also, unfortunately, 'man-traps,' and as each will require scientific and thoroughly trained soldiers to defend it, we shall find when they are all garrisoned, as they must be, that nearly the whole available strength of the regiment of artillery is parcelled out into bodies of 50, 100, or 200 men, and when once they are safely locked up in these innumerable fortlets the country is open to the enemy.

"If the military history of Europe has proved one thing during the last three centuries, it is that this parcelling out of an army into small detached garrisons is the surest way of facilitating the invasion of a country; yet we are pursuing this course on a more Lilliputian scale than ever was adopted before, and if we continue in the same path, we shall render the invasion of this country one of the easiest problems imaginable.

"It is only by works on the scale of intrenched camps, which your correspondent asserts have never been taken since the Thirty Years' war, that such a country as this can be defended.

"It is certainly incorrect, however, to call Sebastopol an intrenched camp, unless we apply the same term to Portsmouth, Devonport,

Chatham, or any other fortified town of the same extent. The fortifications of Sebastopol are drawn as closely round the houses as in any of these places, and are, in fact, both in form and extent, very similar to those of Portsmouth and its dependencies; yet if the armies now engaged in the defence and attack of Sebastopol were playing the same parts at Portsmouth, nothing could have saved that town after three weeks or a month of open trenches, notwithstanding the enormous sums spent on its fortifications. After five months of open trenches the unfortified town of Sebastopol still resists, and, though it may fall by assault, it cannot be taken by all the boasted resources of the science of attack before which every regular fortification inevitably falls within its prescribed time.

"The truth is, and it cannot be known and appreciated too soon, that the Russian engineers have adopted a new system of defence; they have thrown aside routine, and all the antiquated systems of the schools, and have applied to the defence of places all those principles which have been hitherto so invariably successful for the attack; and they have done this with such success as to prove beyond the shadow of doubt the possibility of rendering the science of defence superior to that of attack, especially when the defence is carefully prepared for beforehand, in time of peace.

"The one question that remains is,—Will our engineers admit this view of the case, and are they prepared to act upon it? I fear not; at least I can assert from my own personal experience how unwillingly this will be done—inasmuch as for the last ten years I have been earnestly endeavouring, by every means in my power, to press these identical views on their attention, with singularly little success. And now that the Russians have proved by experience all that I said or wrote, will they confess their error and be content to be taught by their enemies? If the public and the press take up the subject they must do so; but if they do not, it is to be feared that routine will still sleep on in happy ignorance of the existence of the nineteenth century.

"At all events, they have not shown any appreciation of the facts hitherto, but every Royal Engineer has, probably, something to say in defence of the old system; and while the Russians are pulling down with their own hands the Malakoff Tower, the last remnant of their masonry defences, to replace it with earthworks, our engineers are building expensive masonry forts whenever they can find money and a site—and this in spite of all the experience and information daily arriving from the seat of war.

"Until these new discoveries are thoroughly investigated by the light of the experience we

are gaining, I would earnestly pray, with Lord Grey, that all works of fortification be suspended—feeling convinced that the whole system must be altered; and not only that all new works will have to be designed on totally different principles, but all that has been done lately must be undone again, and immense delay and expense be incurred in consequence.

“Your obedient servant,

“JAMES FERGUSSON.”

The navy and army estimates for the year 1855, showed that the cabinet was alive to the importance of the crisis; but still the proposed strength of both the navy and army was beneath the requirements of the country. It is to be regretted that the amount of men thus proposed was never raised for the military branch of the service. In peace and war the number of men actually engaged for the service is always greatly beneath that authorised by the votes. The estimates proposed this year, as compared with those previous to the war for many years, were very large; and showed the country the cost of real active warfare. The naval and military estimates were usually, in the aggregate, between 15,000,000*l.* and 16,000,000*l.* The proportion was about equal to the army and navy, 6,000,000*l.* to each, and about half the amount of either for the ordnance. Yet in the beginning of February, after a twelvemonth's war only, the increase was from 6,000,000 to 15,897,803*l.* for the navy, and from the same amount to 13,721,158*l.* for the army, amounting together to 29,618,961*l.* The excess of expenditure above estimates in government outlay is always, as in the case of architects and builders, very considerable. It was generally calculated that the excess on both services would not be much less than 20,000,000*l.* The increase of expenditure from the peace to the war estimates, may best be seen by a comparison of the years 1854 and 1855. In the former year the land force cost 4,723,288*l.*; for the latter it was estimated at 7,353,804*l.* In 1854 the troops provided were 142,776; in 1855, 193,595. There were likewise 136,323 of the militia force, making a total increase in our military strength numerically of about 200,000 men. The force maintained in India at the expense of the Company was 29,629, constituting a grand total of 359,547 men. If to this number the amount of native and European troops in the service of the Company, and of certain colonial regiments, be added, it will bring the numerical force of the army available for the honour and interests of England to an amount considerably exceeding half a million. The mode in which the English government had proceeded in the augmentation of its forces, showed the want of earnest-

ness on the part of the Aberdeen government in conducting the war. The first vote in the palmy days of the Aberdeen government, in answer to the Russian invasion of the Danubian provinces, was for 10,000 men, the next was for 15,000. Then the militia was called out, and ultimately foreign enlistment was resorted to, with jealousy and reluctance on the part of the nation. It was but too truly said at the time:—“We have neither been going too far nor too fast in this increase; on the contrary, we now see by the light of experience, that these additions would have been wisely made this time last year, and that a good reserve might have saved us more than its cost, both in men and money. It cannot be said indeed, that, like the foolish king, we did not count the cost before going to war, for we made our reckoning accurately enough; but we altogether miscalculated the dimensions and exigencies of the struggle. We were not crippled for means or for men; there was both a will and a way if *we had turned them to account*, but the true nature of the emergency was not discerned.” It was the business of the government to have discerned it—perhaps even to have foreseen its approach, and to have been prepared to meet it. They had been well warned. All persons conversant with Russian policy and principles, and with the signs of the times in Russia, had predicted what happened, and many persons of influence besought the government to prepare, but in vain: nursed in their own pride and self-sufficiency, and having confidence in a government with whose principles they sympathised, they were blind to every movement of Russia, and duped by even her most transparent artifices.

The minor items of the votes were very instructive. For the staff of the army in the field, a large portion of which had proved itself to be so little competent, there was a vote of 76,226*l.* For the public departments connected with the army at home, 153,588*l.* For the military college, 17,795*l.* A leading journal which did much for military reform, made the following comment upon these minor votes:—“Now, what, we beg to inquire, is to be the return to the country for this outlay? We presume the estimates are liberally framed, and we are sure that if more was wanted it would be cheerfully given. But what is the use of our military school or our staff allowances? On paper, and in the public accounts, we are represented as possessing those very things of which we so acutely feel the want, and which we regard with envy when we see them in the possession of others. Why should our army not have a good staff at this moment? We are paying for it—paying not only for the men themselves, but for the means of making

them. What can be the meaning of a minister rising in his place and regretting that the army wanted officers acquainted with something more than mere routine and regimental duties, when votes like these are brought before parliament? What becomes of the '180 gentlemen cadets' maintained under the special care and instruction of an able staff of governors and instructors."

The votes for the ordnance were proposed in order soon after the foregoing. The total amount for the effective service required was 7,610,385*l.* The total amount for the non-effective service, 197,657*l.* The increase upon the previous year was 1,822,380*l.*

The items of the estimates of the sum required for the effective service were as follows, viz.:—1,117,833*l.* for the pay allowances, and contingencies of 22,346 officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, composing the several ordnance military corps; 1,406,883*l.* for commissariat and barrack supplies for her majesty's forces, greatcoats for the army, and clothing for the militia; 75,604*l.* for the Ordnance-office; 303,149*l.* for ordnance establishments at home and abroad; 368,872*l.* for the wages of artificers, &c., at home and abroad; 2,792,348*l.* for ordnance stores for land and sea services; 1,387,500*l.* for works, buildings, and repairs at home and abroad; and 158,196*l.* for the scientific branch. The item of 1,117,833*l.* for pay and allowances is thus subdivided, viz.:—776,240*l.* for pay; 97,535*l.* for additional pay (for length of service and good conduct); 37,716*l.* for allowances; 54,028*l.* for clothing; 3204*l.* for hospital expenses; 751*l.* for divine service; 1632*l.* for libraries and schools; 20,637*l.* for movement of troops; 116,32*l.* for recruiting; 8326*l.* for agency; 500*l.* for regimental savings-banks; and 1232*l.* for miscellaneous charges. The charge for each corp, exclusive of heads of service, which cannot be apportioned, is as follows, viz.:—Royal Engineers, 123,007*l.*; Royal Sappers and Miners, 81,170*l.*; Regiment of Artillery, 684,803*l.*; Royal Horse Artillery, 58,884*l.*; Riding-house Troop, 2107*l.*; master gunners, 4102*l.*; field-train department, 9167*l.*; and medical department, 12,737*l.*

The charge for clothing amounts to 523,030*l.*, and includes the following items, viz., 215,000*l.* for greatcoats for the army; 80,000*l.* for "fatigue" clothing for militia; 90,000*l.* for the clothing of the "Foreign Legion;" and 120,000*l.* for warm and waterproof clothing, and articles for the troops, and for summer clothing.

The charges for commissariat and barrack supplies amounted to 123,093*l.* and 760,760*l.* respectively.

The charge of 2,792,348*l.* for "stores" in-

cluded 800,000 for the supply and repair of small arms; 40,000*l.* for the small arm factory at Enfield; 235,134*l.* for iron ordnance, shot and shell; 1,448,247*l.* for the purchase of ordnance stores of all kinds at the Tower and Woolwich; 125,000*l.* to complete the huts for 50,000 men to be erected in garrisons at Aldershot; 36,270*l.* for accoutrements and colours for militia; 50,000*l.* for accoutrements and knapsacks for the Foreign Legion; 42,300*l.* for packing, freight, and carriage of arms and stores, &c.; and 11,234*l.* for the building and repair of ordnance vessels, boats, and the supply of sails.

The charge for works and buildings included an item of 30,000*l.* for the defences of Dover and the coast of Kent; 60,000*l.* for a new barrack at the western heights of Dover; 48,170*l.* for improving the fortifications of the Channel Islands; 24,163*l.* for new barracks at Devonport; 39,047*l.* for additional barracks at Cambridge; 61,000*l.* for barracks at Gosport; 10,000*l.* for the defences of the coast of Sussex; 48,597*l.* for the defence of commercial harbours; and 250,000*l.* for new barracks at Aldershot. These sums were only those required for the year. There were numerous items of sums required for the erection of forts and batteries.

The amount required for works and buildings at home is thus divided, viz.:—295,215*l.* for fortifications, 109,999*l.* for civil buildings, and 623,624*l.* for barracks.

The charge for the scientific branch includes 122,000*l.* for surveys in the United Kingdom; 27,975*l.* for the Military Academy at Woolwich; and 6109*l.* for the establishment at Chatham for instructing engineers, &c.

The expense of unforeseen and urgent services unprovided by parliament, but authorised by the Treasury, up to the 31st of December last, amounted to 100,819*l.*

It will now be seen that the grand total amount of the army, navy, ordnance, and transport estimates for the ensuing year was estimated at 37,427,003*l.*, viz.:—13,721,158*l.* for the army, 10,716,388*l.* for the navy, 5,181,465*l.* for the transport service, and 7,808,042*l.* for the ordnance department.

The navy estimates offered many details interesting to the nation. The augmentation of our sea forces proposed was 6000 seamen and 500 marines. This was much too small for the requirements of the service, especially as to marines—a force which, from their capacity to serve by sea or land, may be made especially valuable to a country like England, which maintains a comparatively small standing army. Sir James Graham, however, stated the important fact, in explanation, that while steam-ships were more costly than sailing ships, they were worked by fewer hands, and consequently at less expense. At the close

of the previous war there had been 100 ships of the line in commission, manned by 147,000 seamen. One third the number could now man a fleet of greater power. It appeared that the expenses of the navy were greatly augmented by the high price of provisions and clothing, and that more wages must in future be paid. A new rating was also instituted; a class of "leading seamen" were to be selected on higher pay. Men were to be employed for ten years' service at an increased allowance, instead of the short service system, caused by the plan of "paying off" ships.

Sir James informed the house that the fleet for the Baltic would consist entirely of steamers, and that 100 vessels should be speedily in the waters of the czar.

A debate arose, on presenting the naval estimates, concerning the sparing of Odessa, which evoked from Mr. Layard one of his most able and severe addresses. Sir James Graham's replies were equivocating and deceptive on the subject of Odessa, as events ultimately proved. The house and the country were indignant with the tone which the "first lord" adopted concerning the Baltic expedition. His gratulations as to what was accomplished were immeasurably impudent, when it was recollected that vessels of a character calculated to inflict damage upon the fortifications of the czar were not sent out in 1854, nor were any adequate preparations then making to send out in 1855 the sort of vessels, without which the proud fleet of England could merely sail in sight of the enemy's batteries.

While the estimates were under discussion in the commons, and in society, a very remarkable letter was addressed to the *Times* by Sir Francis Head, which excited some attention:—

*Oxendon, Northampton.*

"In 1834, on my return to England from the Brunns of Nassau, I called on Lord Fitzroy Somerset at the Horse Guards with some notes I had just made in the camp of instruction of the Prussian army, and although as an officer of Engineers I did not belong to his department, he nevertheless, apparently with great interest, listened to the brief account I gave him of the mode in which the Prussian army was studying the art of war in cantonments, *en bivouac*, and under canvas; how their artillery and pontoon-train were learning to transport guns and boats across rough country, ravines, streams, &c.; how the cavalry were learning to swim their horses, with other accomplishments equally useful on active service; how the infantry were instructed in making fascines, gabions, &c., and in rapidly throwing up field-works of various sorts, the defensive advantages of which they were made clearly to understand; how officers

and soldiers of every service, not only, as in real war, were practised in field-of-battle manœuvres, but, under the direction of a well-educated staff and of admirably appointed field departments, were taught the far more important acquirements necessary for moving large masses of cavalry, infantry, and artillery many miles across a country, so as to reach given points at given times with the whole force, and in proper order. After having given the above outline of the system under which the great nations of Europe scientifically and at great cost provide themselves not only with young skilful generals, but with subordinate officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, all more or less proficient in the higher branches of their profession, as well as in the minutest details necessary for the subsistence and movement of an army in the field, I emphatically asked Lord Fitzroy Somerset (with whom I was but very little acquainted) what objection could possibly exist to the British army, by a similar course of instruction, learning the practical duties of their profession? For some seconds he appeared either unwilling or unable to answer my plain question; at last, calmly shrugging up his left shoulder and the stump of his right arm, he replied, with a look of dutiful submission, 'Joseph Hume.'

"Twenty-one years afterwards—namely, on Saturday last—you inserted in the *Times* the following paragraph:—

"'We are concerned to learn that Mr. Hume is so seriously indisposed as to be unable to leave his seat in Norfolk. The absence of Mr. Hume is the more to be regretted when army reform is under consideration. Few men have given so much attention to the subject, and his practical experience would now be invaluable.'

"Now, Lord Raglan and the Duke of Newcastle may be guilty of the numerous acts of omission which in your columns have been so graphically described. Lord Raglan may be destitute of forethought and contrivance, and in every way incompetent to contend with the extraordinary difficulties that have assailed him; but, as it is undeniable, first, that Mr. Hume's well-intentioned measures of economy, which have been enforced by the House of Commons, have, bit by bit, and limb by limb, gradually dismembered the British army of all its field-departments; and, secondly, that it has been for want of a well-educated staff and of well organised field departments that our army in the Crimea of 54,000 brave men have, by hunger and cold, been starved down to about 12,000 effective bayonets. I submit to the judgment of the country that it is unjust to shield the House of Commons from, and to

place wholly upon the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Raglan, the consequences of those fatal parliamentary measures of retrenchment which Lord Raglan and the Duke of Wellington obediently but most seriously disapproved.

"Confident that the nation will, sooner or later, come to a just conclusion on this lamentable subject,

"I am, sir, your obedient servant,

"F. B. HEAD."

If Lord Raglan spoke and acted as Sir Francis represents, it is only another proof that he was never fit for the position to which he was selected. The country actually did vote vast sums annually, which were seldom put to an economical or efficient use. That circumstance gave to Mr. Hume his power; but the commons were always ready to vote what was required, if only convinced that the object for which the vote was demanded was really of value. Mr. Hume himself, with all his stringent lectures on the necessity of economy, did not resist estimates when the government showed a disposition to employ the money for the necessary requisites of efficient forces. Both Lord Raglan and Sir F. Head ought to have known that had not the country resisted the extravagant outlay which it was the interest of the officials to promote, and which the Horse Guards never restrained, the nation would not have been able to sustain the career of improvement and retrenchment it was able to pursue during the peace, nor to bear with such ease the strains and pressure of war. To be prepared for war, it is necessary to remit taxes, remove the fetters from industry which taxes impose, and husband the national wealth, while peace admits of such economical processes. It was not Joseph Hume, as Lord Raglan ignorantly alleged, or alleged under the influence of a party spirit, who caused the public service to be inefficient; but it was the want of confidence which the nation felt in the government, the heads of the army, the whole tribe of officials, and the whole system of management in military affairs, which in any degree restrained the liberality of the commons. Enough was always voted to have provided an efficient army; and Lord Raglan, and Sir F. Head, were the calumniators of the people, and abettors of abuse and extravagance, in thus reflecting upon the men who struggled to save the country from the consequences of the reckless extravagance into which the chiefs of military departments were always ready to plunge it.

While all these votes were prepared and passed, and all these discussions were sifting the public mind, supplies and reinforcements were directed to the seats of war. Mr. Maclean, of Manchester, built iron vessels of the

order commonly called lighters, of a new and useful type, for the purpose of landing commissariat stores in the Black Sea. Troops were ordered from India to the Crimea, via Egypt. The 10th Hussars, and the 80th regiment of infantry proceeded from Bombay to Suez, marched from Suez to Cairo, and proceeded down the Nile, remaining some weeks at Alexandria. The efforts to send out supplies, especially where those efforts depended on individual enterprise, were very great; but the want of good organisation in the department continually exposed the country to loss. The following appeared in the papers at that time—"On Saturday the *Pioneer*, a handsome new clipper-built screw-steamer, of about 80 tons burthen, and fitted with an engine of 120-horse power, took her departure from the Irongate Wharf near the Tower of London freighted with a cargo of almost inestimable value, consisting of warm clothing, comforts and conveniences of almost every description intended to mitigate the privations and to sustain the courage and spirit of our brave army before Sebastopol, and collected or purchased under the auspices of the committee for managing the Crimean Army Fund, of which the Earl of Ellesmere is at the head. The donations presented to them for this object by a grateful and a generous country, including all ranks of the people, from royalty to the peasant, in addition to their own, have gone on accumulating in the short period which has since elapsed, until they amount to £20,000 exclusive of other acts of munificence, the worth of which is scarcely to be estimated in money. It may be interesting to our readers and still more to the intended recipients in the Crimea, to note some of the principal articles of which the *Pioneer's* cargo is composed. There are, first of all, 400 cases of potted provisions, including venison and other articles and a quantity of ale, generously presented by his grace the Duke of Portland; 37 cases of potted deer from Taymouth, and 800 gallons of whisky, the equally munificent gift of the Marquis of Breadalbane; a hogshead of whisky from each of the distillers of Campbeltown packed in cases of two dozen each, for easy transit from Balaklava to the camp, and a hogshead of port wine from each of the principal distillers in London, similarly packed 400 patent stoves, peculiarly adapted for use in the Crimea, and an immense quantity of candles and lamps—in all about 740 cases—the handsome donation of Price's Patent Candle Company, whose workmen, by the way, have given £150 to the fund, being one-half of a day's pay; great quantities of Gloucestershire cheese, the gift of residents in that county and other donations, amounting to several hundred bales of woollen goods, blankets, jerseys

drawers, shirts, stockings, together with as many muffatees as will furnish two or three pairs to each officer and soldier in the army; and contributions of game preserved at Gunter's and Batty's. Besides these donations, the committee themselves have purchased a large quantity of provisions, comforts, and useful implements and utensils, which also form part of the freight. These include, among other things, regimental boots, shoes, leather, and shoemakers' tools; £150 worth of tobacco and clay pipes, cocoa-nut fibre matting for the floors of tents, blankets, railway-rugs, Australian jackets, waterproof clothing, stationery, oatmeal, pearl-barley, half-salt butter, essence of coffee, cocoa, chocolate, Parmesan cheese, turnery, brushes and combs, gridirons, sauce-pans, frying-pans, conical beer-warmers, milkmen's pails and yokes for carrying water, water-filters, saws, hatchets, hammers, six gross of iron spoons, 200 tea-pots, Welsh wigs, portable fuel, a great number of interesting books, 250,000 rations of patent, compressed vegetable soup (French), an exceedingly agreeable and nutritious article; a large quantity of preserved vegetables, and last, but perhaps not least useful, one street baked-potato machine, more of which would have been sent, but the idea of forwarding them did not occur to the committee until the eve of the vessel's sailing, when time did not permit of their being procured. The ship, on touching at Malta, will also take on board a number of oranges and lemons.—Such are the principal articles, weighing in the aggregate between 600 and 700 tons.

"We have since learned that on going down the river, off Cuckold's Point, the *Pioneer* came in contact with a large barque, with such force that her foremast went by the board, her bowsprit and jib-boom were carried away, and she was obliged to be taken into the East India Dock for repair, which will have the effect of delaying the vessel's departure for several days."

Courtesies between France and England tended to strengthen the alliance by fostering a good spirit. The ambassador of France at London, having communicated to Lord Clarendon the speech of the president of the Legislative Corps to the emperor, on the occasion of the vote of the bill on the loan, as also the reply of his majesty, the following letter from the principal secretary of state of her Britannic majesty was addressed to the ambassador:—

*Foreign Office, Jan. 2.*

MONSIEUR L'AMBAassadeUR.—I have received the letter which your excellency did me the honour to address to me on the 30th of December last, transmitting to me, by the order of his majesty the Emperor of the French, a copy of the *Moniteur*, containing the speech pronounced by the president of the Legislative Corps on the occasion of

the unanimous vote of that assembly on the Loan Bill, as well as the reply of his majesty.

I have placed your excellency's communication before the queen, and her majesty orders me to make known to you how much she appreciates the terms, full of cordiality, in which the speech of the president of the Legislative Corps, and the reply of his imperial majesty express themselves on the concurrence of the English land and sea forces, who share the hardships and dangers of the soldiers and sailors of France.

May I also be allowed to address to your excellency the thanks of the members of the government of her majesty for the communication of which you have been the interpreter? Your excellency knows with what perfect reciprocity the British parliament and nation entertain towards the French army and navy the sentiments of sympathy and gratitude which the speech of the president of the Legislative Corps, and the reply of the emperor, have so happily expressed towards the land and sea forces of the queen.

I have the honour, &c.

CLARENDON.

The French Canadians, who, like other inhabitants of the British colonies, contributed liberally to the Patriotic Fund, desired one-half of their contribution to be appropriated to the aid of the soldiers of France. When the English minister communicated this to the French emperor, it excited in the French court and in France most pleasurable feelings, and was responded to in the following manner. The letter was addressed to the Earl of Clarendon:—

*Palace of the Tuilleries, Feb. 27.*

MY LORD,—I thank you for having communicated to me the address of the legislative council and legislative assembly of Canada to the queen of England. It would be difficult for them to associate themselves in a more patriotic or touching manner with the success of our arms in the East, and with the disasters inseparable from this great struggle. Moved like myself, believe me, by the eloquent testimony of so vivid a sympathy, our country will not see without gratitude that to the memory of its French origin the population of Canada has not wished to separate, in its congratulations and in its offerings, those who are so nobly united by a community of danger. I beg of you to be the interpreter to the legislative council, and to the legislative assembly of Canada of my sentiments, as I believe I am of those of France.

Receive, my lord, the assurance of my high esteem.

NAPOLEON.

During February, immediately after the change of government, much solicitude was manifested concerning the more rapid communications of intelligence from the seat of war. The government was mortified by the circumstance that they were so frequently indebted to the correspondents of the press for their first intelligence of the most important events, and they determined upon establishing a telegraphic communication. The screw steamer *Black Sea*, which had been detained in the South Dock of Sunderland harbour by the heavy sea caused by a strong north-east wind, which blew for a considerable time in the early spring, left the Wear with "the Balaklava and Varna submarine telegraph cable" on board, and Messrs. Newall and Co.'s staff of workpeople, who were employed to submerge it. She had every prospect of a quick run out. She was ordered to call at Malta to take up Mr. Liddell, C.E., and Captain Dun-

can of the Royal Engineers, and then to proceed to the Crimea, or Varna, as might be most convenient, to submerge the cable. The managers made due precaution not to be delayed by government officials, as they took everything out with them—carts, huts, &c., for their use while laying down the land portion of their work, and had four non-commissioned officers of the Sappers and Miners with them aboard the steamer, who were instructed how to work the apparatus when completed. The weight of the 400 miles of cable was 100 tons, and the contract was stated to be £20,000. The system upon which the Black Sea telegraph was intended to be wrought was Morse's, but with an important modification by Mr. Carl Frischen, of Hanover, which was patented by Messrs. Newall and Co. Morse's apparatus prints messages upon long slips of paper as they are received into the office, and thus avoids the slow process of copying by pencil into slips; Mr. Frischen's invention further extends the usefulness of the system, by making it possible for messages to be sent along one wire from both ends at the same instant of time. Thus a clerk telegraphing at Varna can be receiving by the same wire by which he is sending his communication, and at the same instant, a message from Balaklava. The single wire by Mr. Frischen's process conveys several messages from either end at the same moment; and a clerk can be engaged telegraphing at the time that he is receiving a message. Messrs. Newall and Co., the contractors for the Black Sea telegraph, have laid down every submarine telegraph in service in the world. The Mediterranean telegraph, which remains incomplete, was not made by them. The more important lines of submarine cables manufactured by this firm are—the Dover and Calais, the Belgian, the Hague, the Portpatrick, the Holyhead and Queenstown, the Zuyder Zee, the Great and Little Belt, the Cronstadt, the Perth and Dundee, the New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island, the Funen and Zealand, the St. Lawrence, and the Mississippi, which are all now at work. The circumstances under which the Black Sea telegraph was put on board a first-class steam-vessel, in its passage out, are strikingly illustrative of the energy of the English character when under wise and able direction. The contractors only received final instructions from the government to make the 400 miles of cable on the 15th of December. The vessel that received it on board was on the stocks at Yarrow, in February, not half finished; but by the middle of the week previous to sailing she had been launched, her engines put on board, and she had steamed round to Sunderland, and before the Saturday night's bell had rung in the Monkwearmouth

Works, for closing the week, she had her coal and stores on board, her crew shipped and ready for sea, and 400 miles of telegraph cable stowed away in her hold; with a vast number of packages and bales of clothing, thrust into every available corner, for the use of the soldier in the Crimea; and was in time to be swung for the purpose of having her compasses adjusted.

It is to be regretted, for the honour of our country, that a practice which in the early months of the war required official notice, and finally, official interference, was resorted to in 1855 also, by which private advantage was sought at the expense of the public good. Machinery adapted to navigation was fitted out for the enemy in English ports. The authors of this crime alleged that they designed the work for certain neutral powers; there was no doubt, however, that it was intended ultimately for the service of the enemy. The following proclamation at once checked the proceeding, and awed the perpetrators.

BY THE QUEEN.

#### A PROCLAMATION.

VICTORIA R.

Whereas information has been received that certain acts of a highly treasonable nature have been, or are about to be done or attempted by certain British subjects adhering to the queen's enemies, either within her majesty's dominions, or in parts beyond the seas; such as building, or aiding or assisting in building or equipping ships of war, providing stores or tackling, arms and ammunition, for such ships, or manufacturing, or fitting, or aiding or assisting in manufacturing or fitting steam machinery, either for such ships or for other warlike purposes; or by entering into contracts, engagements or agreements for some of the aforesaid purposes, or otherwise adhering to, aiding, assisting, or abetting the queen's enemies in parts beyond seas, in levying or carrying on war against her majesty; now her majesty, by this her royal proclamation, doth warn all such persons engaging in any such treasonable designs or attempts as aforesaid, or otherwise adhering to, assisting, aiding or abetting the queen's enemies, that they will be liable to be apprehended and dealt with as traitors, and will be proceeded against with the utmost rigour of the law.

Given at our court, at Windsor, this eighth day of February, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, and in the eighteenth year of our reign.

GOD SAVE THE QUEEN.

During the first three months of 1855, invalids and wounded soldiers from the Crimea and Scutari returned in considerable numbers, and, so far as depended upon the generosity of the public, they were most kindly received; but however bitter the confession when made by an English citizen, it is unhappily true that in the government hospitals to which they were consigned, their treatment was thorough and utterly discreditable. Her majesty took deep interest in the wounded soldiers, and visited the hospitals repeatedly. For these occasions matters were got up, so that her majesty might be satisfied with the treatment of her brave troops. The state of things:

Chatham, in this respect, was such as to merit public reprobation in some departments, although in others too much praise to the hospital authorities could hardly be accorded. The following communication places the whole matter in a light more instructive than agreeable:—

“The Queen of England has lately paid a visit of womanly solicitude and maternal sympathy to the brave men whose mutilated limbs, and shattered but still noble frames, show with melancholy clearness how they have fought and suffered for their country and her crown. To most, if not all, of them, from her woman’s heart, and with her winning voice, were spoken—for so they love to tell—words which are now repeated with honest pride in the sick-ward to the listening stranger, and will be told again and again to wife and children for many a year in many a cottage home of England. Nay, on returning to her palace her thoughts were still on the brave she had left, and her order was forthwith dispatched for a nominal return of all the wounded in the Chatham hospitals, with details, so far as possible, of each case. Nor were the medical authorities forgotten, for not only did her majesty personally express, as well she might, her satisfaction at all she saw, but they were further honoured, as indeed they deserved, with a written communication, expressing how much the queen was gratified by the care bestowed upon their patients, and the condition of the hospitals in Fort Pitt and the Brompton barracks.

“It is simply an act of justice to add, that the state in which her majesty found these hospitals was their every-day condition, and that one of the surgeons at Fort Pitt may well congratulate himself on not having lost a man in his numerous charge. But here is an obituary, if not a dark, side to this picture, as well as a bright one. Her majesty did not see all; she did not see what she ought to have seen above all. She did not see what she could not have seen with any other feeling than sorrow, if not indignation; and yet she was within eight minutes’ drive of the buildings where it may be seen! There, sir, are the Gemate, or St. Mary’s Barracks, about a mile from the Brompton, at the south-east extremity of a marshy level on the banks of the Medway, significantly called ‘Tom-all-alones.’ Their atmospheric fitness for invalids may be judged of from the fact that the cold on the upper story, with boarded floors, is so great that the clerks of the pay-office petitioned to be removed from it, and had their request granted. For water, it is supplied to the officers there from cisterns which serve a twofold purpose in the cheapest and shortest, but filthiest, and foullest way possible. For the men there is, indeed,

a pump near, but then ‘it is no good,’ and so with their weak bodies and disabled limbs they had to fetch all they wanted in the late frost and snow from another pump or well some 300 yards off. It is asserted, too, that these barracks have already been condemned by more than one board as altogether unfit for invalids, and men of ordinary humanity would declare that the vaults—rooms they cannot be called—which are now occupied by the Crimean convalescents are not fit habitations even for robust health. Indeed, it is not at all improbable that the cells of the military prison at Fort Clarence are much more comfortable and wholesome than the lodgings of the men whom the queen delights to honour; for the latter are from sixty to seventy feet long by about thirteen broad, banked up at the back with earth above the level of the ceiling, with only one fireplace in each, and this not in the middle, but at the extreme end, and no ventilation at all except by the door and windows, conveniently fronting the north-west, for the exhalations from the mud of the Medway. The floors are paved with Yorkshire stone up the middle, and bricks at the sides, laid on the natural earth, on which stand the iron bedsteads about thirteen inches high, with straw mattresses to match, and not a bit of straw or matting anywhere else. Into these cold clammy caves are put invalids—convalescents perhaps they are called—men, women, and children, from Gibraltar, or even a warmer climate. In them may now be found men pierced and cut all over, who have escaped with life from Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman, and are fresh from the exhaustions of Scutari, or just recovering from wounds and fever through the care and comfort which they had enjoyed in the hospitals of Fort Pitt and Brompton. In one of them especially may be found, by night and by day, five or six families of married couples with their children. All this her majesty *should* have seen; and a local reply to an observation to this effect was, ‘They would not let her!’ Whether this be true or not, it is impossible to say, although it is a fact that the inmates of these places were removed from them for inspection elsewhere; but whatever ‘the reason why,’ the public may be unanimous in thinking that the nation is disgraced by such a state of things, and that if humanity and gratitude are of no avail to prevent such treatment of her bravest sons in their ‘hour of need,’ still the health and the lives of her soldiers are far too precious and costly to be endangered, if not destroyed, in the miserable caves of a bombproof powder magazine.”

As public attention and indignation were roused these matters were rectified. It was the desire of Lord Palmerston, and, in some measure, of his government, to satisfy the demands of the country, and to do justice for

its own sake. All these things, in the home events which bore upon the war, confirm the sentiments of an able public writer:—"The country must be governed not only *for*, but *by* the public; and that not merely at certain crises, by outbreaks of national feeling, having the character almost of an insurrection, but constantly, regularly, and in detail." Among the efforts for the more satisfactory treatment of the wounded and invalids was the mission of Mr. W. S. Lindsay, M.P., to the East. In February he visited France, and held frequent communications with the French government, the object of which was to obtain its co-operation for the organisation of a regular service of transports for the sick from the Crimea direct to Marseilles, and to establish hospitals along the coast. The French ministers of marine and foreign affairs lent a very favourable ear to his projects. From some cause these excellent ideas did not find the practical application intended.

The return of the Duke of Cambridge was prominent among the home incidents connected with the war which interested the English people. His gallant conduct gave great satisfaction to the country; and his arrival at home, after so many perils and such distinguished services, was met with acclaim. He landed at Dover on the 30th of January, and proceeded to the Ship Hotel, the populace cheering with hearty enthusiasm. He was soon waited upon by the mayor and corporation, for the purpose of presenting him with an address congratulating him on his safe return. The address was frank and pertinent, and received from his royal highness a reply of a very remarkable character, in which some notable opinions were expressed of the generalship under which the army suffered so much, notwithstanding the courage and skill of the generals of division and brigade. His royal highness also expressed himself concerning the common soldiery in a way which the army and the country felt to be as true as it was tersely and strikingly expressed:—"Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen,—I thank you for the gratification you have rendered me in presenting me with the present address. I assure you that any inconvenience or discomfort which I have experienced in the Crimea has been amply repaid by the bravery of the troops. All a general can do is to lead, and my humble services have been given cheerfully; but it has not been a war of generalship—the campaign has been a soldier's, and nothing but a soldier's, campaign. Led on as they have been by their indomitable courage, these troops have performed prodigies of valour; and I can assure you a finer set of fellows do not exist in the world than the men who are fighting the battles of Britain in the Crimea, and who have done everything in their power to

sustain the honour of their country. Mr. Mayor and gentlemen, I again thank you." The same evening his royal highness arrived in London, where there were but few persons aware of his having landed in England, but nevertheless a considerable crowd collected at the terminus, and welcomed him with lively demonstrations of satisfaction. When the knowledge of his safe arrival at Kew Lodge spread through London and its vicinity, public addresses to him and to her Royal Highness the Duchess of Cambridge (his mother), were very loyally and promptly presented. The reception met with by the royal duke from her majesty and the court, was most grateful to his feelings.

The exertions of our neighbours and allies were on a scale commensurate with the great undertaking. Men and arms were sent away during January and February for the Crimea, and preparations during the first three months of the year were put forth for the ensuing naval campaign in the Baltic, which showed the earnestness of the emperor in prosecuting the war.

In France there was but little popular enthusiasm for the contest as compared with England, but there was nevertheless a resolute will to bring down the pride of the foe. In the early part of January the port of the Joliette (Marseilles) was crowded with ships of war and large English steamers awaiting men and munitions; by the end of January the port was nearly empty: all these naval leviathans had departed laden with soldiers' stores, ammunition, &c. Among the troops sailed Generals Pelissier, Rivet, and Desvilliers. The first of these officers was destined to play a brilliant part in the great drama before Sebastopol. A letter written from Marseilles at the time, thus described the *personnel* of that remarkable man:—"General Pelissier landed here from Oran on the preceding Monday. He is of the middle size, with broad shoulders, a rather care-worn countenance, and appears to be about sixty years of age. He is remarkably neat in his dress, and expects his officers to imitate his example. He has passed the greater part of his life in Algeria and has earned there a reputation of extraordinary energy. His friends say that his appointment to a command in the army in the Crimea was communicated to him by the minister of war in the most flattering terms. He was told that the command offered to him was not equal to his merits, but that, by his acceptance of it, he will have imposed an additional debt on his country, of which the government will not be forgetful. He looks like a man who will either bring back a marshal's baton from the Crimea, or find a soldier's grave there. General Rivet is chief of the staff

of the first division, and General Desvilliers is to command a brigade in the ninth division of the army of the East. Some of the letters received here from the French camp before Sebastopol, dated the 12th instant, speak of the condition of the French army in terms almost as discouraging as those published in the London papers with regard to the English."

Some idea may be formed of the activity in the French arsenals in January, by the following paragraph from the *Sentinelle Toulonnaise*:—"The loading of *matériel* of war, a moment suspended, recommenced to-day with considerable activity. On the 1st and 2nd the artillery-waggons brought to the arsenal of the navy upwards of 1100 shells, which were immediately conveyed on board the liner, *Duperré*. The *Labrador*, steam-frigate, is now undergoing repair. The construction of the gun-boats on the new system is progressing rapidly. They will be launched in February, and completely armed and ready to put to sea towards the 5th of April. A portion of them will join the squadron in the Black Sea, and another part of the Baltic, next May, when grand and definite operations by sea and land will recommence with redoubled vigour, should peace not be concluded."

Amongst other troops dispatched during that month, were 1200 men of the Imperial Guard. To these the emperor delivered an address characteristic of the war and of the epoch:—"The French nation, by its sovereign will, has resuscitated many things which they thought for ever dead, and to-day the empire is reconstituted; an intimate alliance exists with our ancient enemies; the flag of France waves with honour on those distant shores where the bold flight of our eagles had not before ventured; the Imperial Guard, the heroic representation of military glory and honour, is now before me, surrounding the emperor as formerly, wearing the same uniform, carrying the same standards, and having specially in their hearts the same sentiments of devotion to their country. Receive then these standards, which will lead you to victory they led your fathers, as they have just led your comrades. Go, and take your share of that still remains of danger to be overcome and glory to be earned; you will soon have received the noble baptism which is your ambition, and you will have lent your assistance to plant our eagles upon the walls of Sebastopol."

During February these exertions continued if not such vast transactions had taken place the previous month. The *Moniteur* of February 4th thus describes the opening of the month in this particular:—"Within the last few days there have been forwarded to the Crimea, for the army of the East, 150 officers'

huts and 950 privates' huts, for 30,000 men, made at Toulon and Marseilles; 450 officers' huts and 1500 privates' huts, for 39,000 men, ordered from England; and 210 hut-stables, for 10,000 horses, ordered in Paris." The activity of the French dockyard arsenals for a month after were of the same character: ships, stores, men, munitions of war, were sent out; and addresses were delivered to the soldiers by persons of eminence, calling on them, in the name of French glory, to terminate the war by victory.

The monetary exertions of the people were on a scale proportional to these military enterprises. A loan of great magnitude was raised, and so rapid were the offers, that the only difficulty was, how to receive the proffered sums. The credit of the French government, and the resources of the French people, were greatly elevated in Europe; and the tidings of the ready and abundant supply of such vast funds by the people of France carried dismay to the court of St. Petersburg, while they were hailed in England with triumph. A Paris correspondent thus describes the issue of this financial victory:—"The subscription to the new loan terminated yesterday at five in the afternoon. The anxiety to subscribe was, if possible, greater during the last few days than previously. At the Treasury, in the Rue de Rivoli, many persons passed the night under the arcades, and before daybreak they were *queues* at all the Mairies, at the Recette Centrale, Rue Neuve des Mathurins, and at the Caisse d'Amortissement. It was deemed necessary to send detachments of infantry to all these places to preserve order. A number of persons, despairing of having their subscriptions accepted at Paris, went by railway to different towns in the provinces. But in all parts of the country the desire to subscribe was just as great as at Paris. In fact, the eagerness of the public to take part in this national operation was far greater than on the preceding occasion in March last. Fifteen hundred millions have already been subscribed, and it is estimated that four times that amount could be provided if it were required. If it be necessary, therefore, to continue the war, the sinews will not be wanting."

Besides this indication of the prosperity of France, there was another also very decisive—the increase of the ordinary revenue, over the expenditure of the year, was several millions of francs. The loan and the budget alike showed that France was able to go to war, and even if she had not counted the cost was able to meet it.

It was remarkable how every incident which took place in England relating to military things was noticed by the French press. General Evans having been received in the British

parliament with the homage due to his bravery and military genius, the *Siccle*, so often accustomed to find fault with England, thus commented upon the scene:—"England, indeed, has a right to be proud of a man who, entitled to such homage, receives it from his fellow-citizens in the full plenitude of their constitutional prerogative. General Evans neither gave way to a sentiment of extravagant pride, nor to expressions of satisfaction confined to himself. Covered with honour himself, he vindicated the right of his division—the second—to a still greater share of the national gratitude, from the fact of its having lost one half of its number in repulsing the Russians in three different engagements. He called to the recollection of the house that at Inkerman this heroic division had supported alone, for several hours, the united attack of 50,000 of the enemy. And if it be permitted to us to mingle our humble voice in so magnificent a scene, we would say that even in the misfortunes it has undergone, the English army has proved itself as worthy as ever to share the crown of glory with the army of France."

The spirit of France to her enemy was as worthy as that which she cherished to her ally. There was an absence of all animosity to Russia in the national spirit, and the prisoners were treated not only with kindness but with hospitality. The following is an extract from a letter on this subject in February:—"There are at present 300 Russian prisoners confined in Fort La Malgue; sixty of them are now employed in constructing huts for the army in the East. Amongst the prisoners is a sergeant-major, decorated with a Russian order, whom they treat with great respect, and blindly obey. The prisoners receive daily a ration of bread and twopence for their food, which they are allowed to purchase in town, under the surveillance of some French soldiers. They appear to be well pleased with their treatment, and not to regret their position. The Poles would willingly enter the French service."

In the St. Petersburg press, and in that of Germany and Belgium under the influence of Russian pay, it was alleged that the Turks treated the Russian prisoners more generously than the French; and that the latter refused to the poor prisoners the consolations of the religion, while the former provided Greek chaplains to attend them. The *Moniteur* replied to these calumnies in the following terms:—"As far as regards their spiritual affairs, the Russian prisoners, since their arrival at Aix, have been allowed—those of the Greek communion—the visits of the Archpriest Wassilleff; and the Catholics, those of the Abbé Jeloweki. These two ministers exercised their mission without any impediment, until it was ascertained that they attended less to religion than to politics. The minister of war, in order to secure the comfort of the Russian prisoners, decided that in addition to their pay they should have a complete ration of provisions, as given to the French soldier, namely, white bread, 100 grammes; fresh meat, 250 grammes; dried vegetables, 60 grammes; and salt, 16 grammes. These arrangements extended to all the Russian prisoners, both in France and at Constantinople. The pay of the officers has been increased nearly one-half more than regulated by former ordinances, and is now 333f. 3s. per month for a general of division, 250f. for a general of brigade, 200f. for superior officers, captains, lieutenants, and sub-lieutenants, 100f.; the wife of an officer, 50f. By order of the emperor, the officers have been allowed to retain their arms, and to choose their place of residence. Tours has been chosen by them, and they are authorised to remove thither at the 2nd instant. They are allowed to take their orderlies with them."

Thus France stood beside her great ally, great also for this contest; great in skill, resources, valour, and magnanimity. Such was the attitude of the Western nations at home in the first months of 1855.

## CHAPTER LXII.

RUSSIA AT THE COMMENCEMENT OF 1855—HER POWERFUL POSITION—INCREASED INFLENCE, AND ACCESSION OF TERRITORY IN ASIA—UNSUBDUED BY THE EVENTS OF 1854—PREPARATIONS TO RESIST THE ALLIES—ARROGANT AND FANATICAL SPIRIT OF THE PEOPLE INCREASED BY THE WAR.

"Sic volo sic jubeo."

MUCH as public alarm had been awakened, and public effort stimulated by that alarm, previous to the war, in the contemplation of Russian aggression, and by her dogged and stubborn resistance to the allies, a very vague notion was all that existed in the general mind in Europe as to the terrible extent of her

military preparations and resources, and of the advantageous military position she had acquired. We call it terrible for no purpose of "strong writing," and for no party project of peace or war, but because that such was the actual fact, as proved by her resistance to a coalition of such magnitude and power, and because

her aggressive facilities were to a great extent unnoticed in England. Russia had been developing herself upon all contiguous territory, and with an energy, vigilance, and intrigue never surpassed—never equalled—in the history of the world. If Russia had encouraged the arts of peace, it was only to subserve the purposes of war; if she had welcomed science, it was only that the military art might flourish; if she had brought out her own natural resources, the main object was to store up appliances of strength for arsenals the most colossal. For this the labour of her serfs, the timber of her forests, the corn, and flax, and hemp, the products of her fields, the arms, and cordage, and clothing of her foundries and her factories, and the gold of the Ural mountains had, since the peace of 1815, been collecting. In this way her wars with the Persians, Circassians, Georgians, Daghestans, Turks, Poles, had been sustained, and still from the resources of so vast an empire these armouries and depositories of strength were replenished with an energy and prodigality that spared nothing. Proud of her enormous military means, she had frequently displayed her strength by magnificent reviews, dazzling even to the other first-rate military governments, and adopted a haughty and unknown to diplomacy even in seasons of triumphant conquest. *Sic volo sic jubeo* had been the spirit of all Russia's dealings with Austria, Prussia, Turkey, Persia, the nations of Central Asia, and the once proud and fearless Scandinavian states. Even now, when resisted by the greatest empires, she was an assailant in some directions, and preparing, by vast arrangements and numbers, to resist on other theatres of action the powerful assaults directed against her. In the Crimea she had held her own with tenacity, and drawn upon her resources of men and material like an empire that did not fear to spend itself profusely in the outpourings of war. Through fogs of mud, over steppes covered with snow, and fingered, frost-struck, and way-worn, legions flowed legions to the field of her defeat around Sebastopol; and as they fell in numbers on its ramparts they were succeeded by others, as if from without men were innumerable, while within munitions were exhaustless. Such was the attitude of Russia at the beginning of 1855. It became evident that if, beneath the bursting shell, the red-hot ball, and the heavy shock, the beleaguered city should be rent, consumed, and broken, and for the piles of her slaughtered defenders and soldiers of England and France should pass to the conquest, it would be at an expense of blood and money which was appalling to contemplate. Without noticing here the progress of this, or the result of former wars as affected Turkey, it may be with cer-

tainty said, that, end how this war might for Russia as to her relation with the allies, Turkey must be permanently weakened, and Russia relatively strengthened, unless the allies should deprive her of a Turkish boundary, and raise between the two empires the ramparts of independent states. The Asiatic scene of the war especially exemplified this: Georgia had already become Russian; Circassia and Daghestan had been all but subjugated; from Persia a territory as large as England had been torn; from the Black Sea, and the Caspian, Russia had pushed on her influence and her armies, until the King of Bokhara in his remote regions became either a trembling ally or a submissive tributary. The Khan of Khiva was forced into reluctant treaties; victories were gained by a handful of Russian troops over the irregular forces of Kohan, and the khan of that country was actually recruiting at Peshawur, with the consent of the East India Company. No person acquainted with the public sentiment in India, and the fears and feelings upon its frontier, had any doubt that a Russian force had penetrated far into Central Asia, and was forming alliances and attaching to it large bodies of irregular troops. Her ascendancy was again felt in the Persian capital, and Cabul heard, as it were, the footsteps of her approach. Numbers in England and India thought it not impossible that the forces of the Company and the czar might measure swords at last.

Perhaps the most gigantic preparations of Russia were those which she directed to the Baltic. She organised in that direction the best equipped army she ever produced, and its morale was as much above the average of her armies as its material. Finland, that so lately had been a Swedish province, was studded with Russian fortresses; and Denmark, which had so often sent its sea-kings as conquerors to these islands, and which has kept a name of independence and renown ever since, became a piece of reversionary property which, by a treaty England recognises, may one day fall to the house of Romanoff. But beyond all these fields of action, Russia, with ever-widening circle, had spread her presence and her power. The repulse of the allied squadron at Petropaulovski, and in the Arctic Sea, filled her with hope and pride. On every frontier, from every shore to which her confines reach, she had stretched out the arm of grasping ambition and vigorous attack. Within the last year she had appropriated the Northern Manchou Province, a territory larger than New England, and watered by the Seghalian, a river scarcely inferior in extent and volume to the Mississippi. By this means she had not only secured a rich country but new resources in men. She can pour from thence hordes of Tartars into China, and when opportunity

allows, carry her conquests to Pekin. She, in this appropriation, obtained a military and naval position on the eastern shores of the Pacific, which will be felt by English commerce over a vast extent where our trade prospers, and our power is respected and feared.

After nine months of war with the Western powers, Russia was not humbled, she had even gained territory. Her influence seemed felt everywhere—her eagle was planted upon the snows of the frigid zones, and it basked in the light of the sunniest lands. It spreads its wings over the sandy plains where the Tartar and the Cossack roam wildly through endless solitudes, and it looked forth, from the mast and the arsenal, over many and far-spreading seas. It became obvious to all men that the time had come when England must step back from her foremost position of power, or Russia must recede before the brave old flag which for a thousand years had floated over the breeze and the battle, the ensign of civilisation, freedom, and victory.

Some recent publications have revealed in minute detail the territorial accessions of Russia, even since the offensive mission of Prince Menschikoff to Constantinople, and represent them as increasing her power to a vast extent. In the sixth number of Dr. Petermann's *Mittheilungen über wichtige neue Erforschungen auf dem Gesamtgebiete der Geographie*, there is an interesting article on West Siberia, its physical nature, industrial products, and geographico-political importance. According to this description, the Siberia of now-a-days, in consequence of the constant advance of the Russians towards the south, contains regions that may be called the Italy of Siberia, and in climatic respects do in fact equal the Italy of Europe. The territory that the Russians have taken possession of during the last ten years, between the Caspian Sea and the empire of China, in the direction of our Indian possessions, is more extensive than Great Britain, France, Turkey, and all Germany, including Prussia and Austria, put together, and gives into their hands the keys of the fluvial territory of the Jaxartes and the Oxus, within the confines of which the ancient realms of Bokhara and Kokan lie. Petermann's description of the extent, population, and political importance of West Siberia is rendered more graphic by two maps of the seven *gubernia*, or governments, into which it is divided. The first exhibits the density of the population by a systematic gradation of the colouring of the maps; the second divides West Siberia, also by its varied colouring, into four separate regions, which he distinguishes as the regions of agriculture, of mining, of fishing, or the chase, and of cattle-breeding, or the region of steppes: to these is added a fifth region—that of the salt lakes.

The czar's determination to prosecute the war with vigour animated all Russia. At the beginning of the year 1855, the people of Western Europe were made acquainted with a manifesto published by the autocrat, in an extraordinary supplement of the *Journal of St. Petersburg* shortly before, and quoted in p. 69 of our first volume. It is characterised by the usual assumption of piety, and the usual pride and arrogance of such documents. Its real object was to preserve the courage of the people by pretending to thank God for successes not vouchsafed, and by exaggerating even in the expressions of gratitude to the Almighty any advantages really gained.

When the combats of January had caused heavy losses to the defenders of Sebastopol, the ire of the czar was intensely roused, and his determination to drive the allies into the sea was expressed with passionate energy to those most immediately in his confidence. Accordingly, all Russia was called to arms, and the court expected that this would fill the allies with dismay. At the close of January the emperor put forth a new manifesto, demanding the armed services of all Russians:—

Our loyal and beloved subjects well know how ardently we desired and desire to obtain, without force of arms and without farther effusion of blood, the end we have constantly proposed: namely, to defend the rights of our co-religionists, indeed those of Christians throughout the East. That wish is known to all who have impartially watched the march of events, and the invariable tendency of our acts. We remain, as ever, stranger to every other motive than this, and to any other view in the matter of faith and conscience. Faithful to these principles, we announced our assent to the opening of negotiations with the Western powers, who had formed with the Ottoman government a hostile alliance against us. We believe that our moderation and justice entitle us to expect from them the same sincerity and disinterested intentions. We have not yet lost hope of restoration of that peace which is so desirable and valuable to the whole Christian world. However, in the face of the forces they themselves have gathered, other preparations are making for the struggle against us, which, despite pending negotiations, are not suspended, daily acquire more vast proportions. We are constrained to think that the increase of means which God has given us to defend our native country, will oppose impassable barrier to hostile attempts against Russia, projects threatening her security and greatness. We fulfil the first of our duties by invoking the support of the Almighty, with entire faith in his grace, and full confidence in the love of our subjects, animated by the same feelings of devotion to our creed, to our orthodox church and to our dear country. We, therefore, address this new appeal to all classes of our subjects, ordaining that the formation of the general arming of the population of the empire be proceeded with.

More than once have we experienced painful trials. Yet, menaced Russia always found her salvation in her humble reliance on Heaven, in the ties uniting her sovereign to his beloved subjects; and, as formerly, it will be now. God, who reads hearts, blesses your intention, and will grant you his aid.

NICHOLAS

Given at St. Petersburg, Jan. 29 (Feb. 9), 1855.

The following ukase was addressed to the directing senate, requiring it to proceed with the general arming ordered in the manifesto:

WHEREAS, by our proclamation of this day, we have called out all ranks of the empire for the defence of the orthodox faith, the throne, and the country, we command you firstly, to carry out and organise the general arming of the country according to the accompanying regulation confirmed by us; and secondly, to take steps for completing the equipment and arming of the combatants in the governments, that will be designated by us to that end in special ukases. The directing senate will not fail to make the necessary arrangements for carrying the above into execution.

St. Petersburg, Jan. 29, 1855.

NICHOLAS.

Shortly after the issue of these documents, the *Invalide Russe* published the regulation, prepared by the directing senate, and ratified by the czar, for the organisation of "the Imperial Mobile Militia," as the new corps decreed in the recent manifesto was called. The ordinance was divided into nine sections and ninety-two paragraphs; and in the original filled seven folio columns. The first clause declared that the corps was raised for the immediate necessities of the defence of the empire, of the throne, and of the faith. It enacted that military exemptions allowed formerly should not apply in the present case; but that all men liable to the capitation tax, or its equivalent, should be liable to be called upon to serve. Yet there were these especial exemptions appended: merchants, Jews, and foreign colonists, who had been invited to settle on Russian territory, and had consequently received grants of land. The new corps were ordered to be divided into battalions of *druschines*, each consisting of four companies. Each *druschine* was to be commanded by a staff-officer, and to comprise four captains, a staff-captain, a proportionate number of subalterns, eighteen musicians, and 100 rank and file.

In order to hasten the formation of these battalions, a governing militia committee was formed in every government, and within fourteen days after the receipt of the manifesto the battalions were to assemble and appoint the rendezvous of the several battalions, and to make arrangements for their supply and equipment. The expenses of raising, arming, and equipping the new corps, were to be defrayed by voluntary subscriptions, and all persons were called upon to contribute, in terms that admitted of no doubt that the subscription was to be made *volens volens*. The prescribed age of the soldiers was to be within twenty and forty-five, but on no account to be under the former age. This was a wise provision, as it was found by the English in the Crimea, that all youths under twenty-one or twenty-two years of age died off very fast from the effects of the climate, and the sudden change in their manner of living. Inhabitants of the same village were as much as possible to be kept together in the formation of companies. The men were requested to procure each a share of arms at their own cost. The employ-

ment of this militia was to be primarily to defend the soil of Russia; but, at the pleasure of the czar, they were to be launched across the boundaries of the empire to attack its enemies. At the termination of the war all persons were to be allowed to go back to their homes. Should any fall in battle, their families would obtain a certificate absolving them from the obligation to furnish a recruit at the next levy. Every conceivable effort was made that the levies, new and old, should be supplied with the materials of war. Nor were these efforts unsuccessful: uniforms, accoutrements, and arms, were manufactured on a vast scale, and distributed throughout the empire.

The correspondent of the *Berlin National* wrote as follows from St. Petersburg, under date of the 19th of January:—"The military administration has ordered enormous quantities of warlike stores. The arsenals, workshops, and depots, have received fresh orders, and the commissariat has been directed to proceed with rigour against all contractors and purveyors who are not punctual. The severity with which some authorities have proceeded against such persons has rather damped their spirit of enterprise, and thus raised prices for want of competition. The dockyard administration has made a demand for 50,000 pud of hemp for rigging, and 1000 tons of suet. The arsenal of Briansk has furnished 22,000 pud of artillery stores; and 45,000 pud of cannon have been sent from Dubow to Rostoff, on the Don, as the frost facilitates the transport. Tula has furnished about 300,000 pud of arms, which have been conveyed to different depots. Enormous quantities of hospital stores have been sent to Brjesc-Liteffski, on the Bug, to Kiyeff, Wilna, Minsk, Grodno, &c. In short, the most restless military activity prevails throughout the whole empire."

A letter from St. Petersburg of the 3rd of February, published in the *Constitutionnel*, made the following statements:—"The preparations for defence which are being made on all the strategical points of our frontiers show that, up to the present time, the Russian cabinet does not flatter itself with the hope of obtaining a pacific solution at Vienna. I can assure you that at Gatschina the court is convinced that the attitude of Austria towards Russia is less the result of necessity than the consequence of the warlike sentiments which animate the young emperor, Francis Joseph. The government continues to do all it can to render the war popular. The czar himself does not allow any opportunity to escape of encouraging voluntary contributions, and of making himself agreeable to the donors. Only ten days ago, he addressed the following rescript of thanks to the community of Riga:—

## TO OUR WELL-BELOVED COMMUNITY OF RIGA.

The governor-general, Prince Suwaroff, has announced to us that the community of Riga offered him, on the 18th of December last, a sum of 50,000 roubles (the rouble is upwards of 4*fr.*) towards the expenses of the war. In accepting this gift as a proof of the devotedness of the community of Riga, it is extremely agreeable to us to express to it on this occasion our warm and sincere gratitude.

NICHOLAS.

A Prussian subject, who has long been established here as a jeweller, has, in his love for Russia, placed at the disposal of the empress jewels to the value of 2768 roubles. The empress gave that sum to her sons, charging them to distribute it to the garrison of Sebastopol. Addresses expressive of devotedness have been received from Smolonsko and Kharkoff. The minister of the interior has just issued two decrees, which are not without importance; the first is for the improvement of the navigation of the Volga, from Astracan to the Caspian Sea, and the second forms a new joint-stock company, under the name of the Golden Fleece, for working the gold mines of Siberia."

Early in January three Belgian manufacturers undertook to found a rifle manufactory at Warsaw. The Belgians throughout the war showed a marked sympathy with Russia against the allies, arising from the favour in which despotic principles is held by a large and bigoted section of the Belgian people. The activity of the emperor during this month was extraordinary. Attended by Prince Paskiewitch, he made a tour of inspection, which was intended to include all the head-quarters of the active army corps, and which did comprise many. General von Dehn was deputed to inspect all the fortifications of the kingdom of Poland, and to make an especial report. The emperor and his suite, as well as the engineer-general, Von Dehn, were checked in their progress by the heavy snowstorms which, during January and part of February, fell all over Russia, and which was felt in the south of that empire with unusual severity.

The Finns and Volhynians received very especial attentions from the imperial court, in order to animate their zeal against the allied fleets, expected in the spring to appear once more in the Baltic. The emperor formed regiments of reserve for his Life Guards from the Volhynians and Finns, and at their head attended divine worship, having personally inspected them in the minutest manner, thanked officers and men for their attention and discipline, and bestowed a silver rouble upon every private soldier.

The emperor not only showed the greatest activity and industry, he also preserved the most imperturbed coolness and courage on all public occasions, although he was frequently irritable to the last degree in private. When called upon to transact public business, he

especially manifested self-possession. On a despatch arriving from Vienna, announcing that an Austrian general had been sent to Paris on a military mission, he was engaged with his private secretary and Prince Paskiewitch. The emperor ordered the aide-de-camp who brought the despatch to read it—a very unusual proceeding, and in this case probably intended to show his coolness, and set an example to his officers. As the aide-de-camp read, the prince manifested considerable uneasiness, when the emperor turned to him (as the reading of the despatch closed), and asked, "Is that all?—there is nothing changed in the situation." The imperial impassibility produced great surprise in those present. All this, however self-possessed and resolute it appeared, must have been assumed, for the worm of remorse and disappointment already preyed upon his heart. The most absurd falsehoods were resorted to by the pro-Russian press in Europe to magnify the new levies. One of these organs of despotism made known that the crown serfs had offered the emperor a contingent of 60,000 men, to be employed as sharp-shooters, "among them all the ermine hunters, estimated at 20,000, who pass their whole lives on the banks of the Oura, or the Oby, in the chase of the fox and the beaver as well as the ermine; they must be skilful marksmen, as this animal (the ermine) can only be aimed at from a considerable distance, and must be hit on the nose to avoid injuring the skin. The whole of these are to be immediately organised, and sent to the Crimea, armed with the Minié rifle." It is needless to say the ermine hunters never made their appearance—the contingent of 60,000 sharp-shooters only existing in the form of the falsehood in which the story was couched. These bravadoes were disregarded by Europe, and when the emperor, himself their chief author and abettor, perceived that they were laughed at, he was filled with mortification and chagrin.

All the gigantic efforts put forth by Russia were necessary to make up for the drain of men. A report in the *Journal of St. Petersburg*, published in January, 1855, stated that from the 5th of October to the 17th of November, the naval loss sustained in Sebastopol was—killed 4 superior officers, 14 subalterns, 789 sub-officers and sailors; wounded, 24 superior officers, 104 subalterns, and 2934 sub-officers and sailors. At the same period the *Cologne Gazette* published a letter written from Warsaw alleging that "the grand active army engaged upon the Danube and in Bessarabia in 1854 lost in killed, 29,204 men; wounded, 55,300; deserters, 6420; disease, 16,156; making a total of 111,132 men." The letter gave no information whether these numbers included officers, which it is most probable they did not. If the

computation be correct, it will be seen that the Russian army of Prince Paskiewitch lost heavily by desertion: only a small number of these joined the allied armies, they must, therefore, have mingled with the people of Bulgaria, Wallachia, and Moldavia, and have been sheltered and concealed by them. Sickness also must have pressed heavily upon the ranks of the army of the material guarantee, while within the confines of the territory usurped. This account did not include the numbers lost in the repeated razzias across the borders after the Austrian occupation.

The Russians kept to the end of the war a very firm front on the Danubian frontier of Bessarabia. Thus, on the 13th of January, this state of things was thus described:—"The *Danube* learns from Akerman that Prince Gortschakoff was at this place on the 13th, in the course of a tour of inspection. The Russians retain possession of the *tête de pont* at the Kilia arms, and have two batteries there. The Russian steamers cruise uninterruptedly on the river near Isatchka and Tultscha."

On the 23rd of the same month the *Journal of St. Petersburg* gave an account of a reconnaissance by Russian troops across the Danube:—"The troops were commanded by General Ouschakoff, and consisted of four battalions, two squadrons, six sotnias of Don Cossacks, four pieces of cannon, and a Cossack battery of horse artillery. The Turkish detachment was driven out of Babadagh, with a loss of 263 killed, and 83 prisoners. A flag and an ammunition train were also captured. 'On our side,' continues the report, 'one Cossack was wounded!'" Of course no person believed the perpetually recurring story of the "one Cossack" killed or wounded. The Russian loss on these predatory excursions was frequently severe. It is likely that the accounts given above of the numbers sacrificed in the Danubian warfare are much below the truth.

The January number of the *Russian Marine Magazine* contained a report drawn up by the *état-major* of the Russian Baltic fleet, which reveals a sacrifice of human life, and an occurrence of human suffering, which could not have been believed in England on any but a Russian authority:—"The fitting out of the first and second division of the fleet commenced in March, and lasted till the end of April, at which time there was still one foot deep of ice in every ship's hold; the weather had been extremely wretched the whole time of getting ready for sea, accompanied by violent E. and N.W. winds. On the 5th of May, the *Emperor Peter I.* got under weigh, and was followed within the next three days by all the rest of the vessels, but their evolutions were confined in all to two reconnaissances. Nevertheless, in spite of careful treatment, such as

fresh meat and vegetables, new bread and warm tea three times a week, the severities of the weather and the exhalations from the frozen bilge-water thawing in the hold, produced inflamed eyes, cholera, typhus, diarrhœa, catarrhal and gastric fevers. Scrofula showed itself in very few vessels, but inflammation of the eyes forma twenty per cent. of the whole number of cases, and they were almost exclusively on board ships that remained in the harbour: on board the sailing vessels the cases of illness, in proportion to the number of the crew, were as follows, viz.:—on board the *Smolensk*, 206 per cent.; *Krasnoi*, 108 per cent.; *Empress Alexandra*, 104 per cent.; *Valagos*, 103 per cent.; *Beresina* and *Netron Mena*, 102 per cent.; with the rest the proportion gradually decreased to 40 per cent., which was the rate of sickness on board a vessel that was only eight weeks altogether at sea. On board the steamers the proportion was, on board the *Craton*, 202 per cent.; *Grosaschtschi*, 170 per cent.; *Owaschni*, 140 per cent.; *Rurick*, 149 per cent.; *Palkan*, 98 per cent.; and *Kamtschatka*, 60 per cent. The cases of inflammation of the eyes amounted, on board the *Smolensk* alone, to 104 per cent. of the crew; the whole number of cases of sickness amounted to 60 per cent. of the whole force. And yet the one squadron was only at sea from the 9th to the 15th of July; the other from the 21st to the 27th of August (o.s.) The author of the report recommends that in future the vessels shall not be fitted out so early, nor manned until they are quite free from ice; it is suggested also that the new hands should not be put on board until they have been a little acclimatized. The newly organised marine force, which did not, properly speaking, come into active service, lost 7 per cent. by death during the summer."

Throughout January, February, and part of March, the reliable intelligence from nearly every province of the Russian empire exhibited an amount of hardship and suffering shocking to humanity. The Russian army in the field in the Crimea shivered under threadbare tents, and were often tentless, and sorely stricken with disease. The recruiting, or rather conscription, was felt all over the empire; but more particularly in Poland, from which more than 60,000 men had been torn away from their families to serve in the Crimea, in Asia, or on the shores of the Baltic. The streets of the towns and villages of Poland were filled with lamentation and woe—mothers weeping, and beyond all comfort, ran shrieking through the streets, until dragged to prison or struck down by the Russian soldiery; fathers selling everything they possessed to buy off their sons were robbed of their "smart money," and of their children as well. In the neigh-

bourhood of Kielcé, a man of respectable position was deprived by the conscription of his eldest son, who was engaged that day to be married; a younger brother nobly volunteered to serve in his stead. The father brought the lad to the chief authority, and offered him as the substitute of the betrothed one: being a fine healthy young man, he was the fitter of the two for the severities of a soldier's life, so the authorities thought—they *accepted him and retained the other*, robbing the altar and the parental home at one stroke. The father died in three days, and was speedily followed by the bereaved mother. The accounts furnish no intelligence of her agonies, or her fate, who was widowed on the altar's steps. No feeling, no compassion was shown by the ruthless authorities who wielded the conscription in Poland—they delighted to be barbarous. The conscripts were treated with the uttermost contumely and severity at Kielcé; while the glass was below zero, these poor fellows were placed quite naked in rows in the streets to be examined by the medical men.

The requisitions for supplies of all kinds were grinding and oppressive to the last degree, particularly in Poland, Podolia, and the Ukraine. Podolia suffered exactions to the amount of four millions of silver roubles, while several thousands of vehicles were provided upon requisition, besides horses and drivers for the conveyance of troops, luggage, and stores: many of these never returned—the carts were broken up for fire-wood, the horses seized for the artillery, the men drawn into the conscription. In every frontier-town, several hundreds of vehicles were constantly kept in readiness to carry, at a moment's notice into the interior, the public treasures, garrison, stores, *employés*, &c. One of the greatest hardships was connected with the military colleges; these were drained of their students, who were sent to join various corps of the army garrisoning the interior, and their places were supplied to a great extent by Jewish children, torn from their parents at the tender age of ten and even of eight years. Sometimes a large ransom, or a considerable bribe to the officials, enabled the poor Jew to gain exemption for his children; but generally this resort was useless, as another swoop was made by the hand of power to bear their offspring from them. No honour, honesty, sympathy, or compassion, guided the conduct of the Russian authorities, or even mollified the stern discipline of their official acts.

The spirit manifested by the Russian government and nation, in reference to the war, was unworthy of any civilised people. Early in January it was resolved, by a decree at Warsaw, that every Frenchman and Englishman who had taken service with Russia during the peace, within the kingdom of Poland, should

be forthwith dismissed from his employment, and conducted with contumely to the Austrian and French frontiers. All natives of France or England engaged in any forge, factory, workshop, or domestic service, were to be brought under this proscription. The grooms employed by Russians of rank were generally English; these were all to be dismissed, to the great inconvenience of their owners. It was intended to extend the decree to all Russia; circumstances arose, however, to modify this proscription; but there was no modification of the angry spirit of czar, soldier, priest, or peasant—all united in grim hatred against whatever thwarted in the least the designs of Russian bigotry and ambition.

The government stimulated the military spirit of the nation by liberal rewards to all by whom any martial service was rendered. Rear-admiral Savoyko received the order of St. George, third class, for the defence of Petropaulovski. Rewards in the Crimean army, and to the navy quartered there, were lavish, and scarcely less so upon the shores of the Baltic. Even the army of reserve, which had no opportunity of winning laurels, partook of the promotions and honours so profusely scattered. General Sauskoi, in command of the cavalry of reserve formed at the beginning of the year, and Generals Paweiskoff, Golowine, Germer, and Krause, commanding divisions or brigades, were promoted as an encouragement to the reserve troops to desire removal to the active armies on the frontiers. Hope was also held out to the friends of soldiers in the active armies that communication with them by letter would be made more cheap and frequent; a service of *malles-postes* from St. Petersburg to Simpheropol was organised in January, and commenced running as soon as the weather allowed.

The animosity cherished to England throughout the Russian empire would pass all belief, if not so well authenticated. Some pretence was made of a better feeling to France, although in reality the hostile *animus* was little less to that country. England was, however, believed by the government to be the more powerful antagonist, and hence the attempts to excite a fanatical enthusiasm against her were the more constant. The efforts of the press in this way are very amusing to an English reader, revealing the extreme ignorance and credulity of even the newspaper-reading population of Russia. The following is a specimen from a paper professing to be an authority on commercial matters—in fact, a journal of commerce. It affords some indication from its remarks, where France is concerned, of being wiser than it cared to appear to its readers:—“The crop of corn has been insufficient throughout all the states of Europe, and 8,000,000 of

quarters of wheat not being forthcoming in consequence of its export being prohibited—a prohibition which appears to threaten the Prussian government itself—no doubt can be entertained that England must sue for peace in order to obtain bread. But if Europe is to feel difficulties and sufferings, we in our turn shall have to support the privation of all articles of luxuries, particularly French wines, which we have been in the habit of purchasing with the proceeds of our corn. It is true that a Russian writer, M. Boulgarine, has endeavoured to prove that the wines of the Crimea are at least as valuable as those of France, Spain, Hungary, and the Rhine. That, however, will not prevent foreign wines from holding the first rank on the tables of St. Petersburg and Moscow. Even at Tobolsk, the wines of the Crimea will not replace champagne or claret. Notwithstanding the efforts of persons in office to revive our hatred against France, it was seen that, during the *fêtes* of Christmas, the productions of that country were so sought after that the dealers completely exhausted all their various stocks of French articles. How can it be reasonably expected that M. Boulgarine should ever succeed in causing the wines of the Crimea to replace those of France?"

A correspondent of a Paris paper, writing from Russia, remarked:—"Among the other extravagancies of the Russian press, I will mention the publication of a kind of dialogue between the shade of Napoleon I. and France. The illustrious shade asks France whether she madly flatters herself that she can dictate conditions to Russia, now so differently situated as regards her power from what she was in 1812? As to England, she is represented as being irresistibly led away on the tracks of the followers of Kossuth and Mazzini, and as having entered into an alliance with France with a view to commercial speculations."

The general tone of the Russian people towards England during the war has been admirably sketched in a work entitled the *Englishwoman in Russia*. This lady seems to have been introduced to the *élite* of St. Petersburg society, and she represents the English—even ladies—as the objects of rage and hatred on the part of persons who held with them close intimacies, and of long standing:—"I was well acquainted," says the *Englishwoman*, with a lady who resided in one of the institutes in St. Petersburg, and I was in the habit of frequently calling to see her. Before the declaration of war I was always met with smiles, and, according to the established custom, the young persons used to bow as they passed us; but as soon as they knew the war had commenced, we heard them continually make the remark one to another, '*Ne la saluez pas, ma chère, c'est une Anglaise.*'"

The following were some of the common expressions used by persons in the best society:—"There will be plenty of English blood shed this year, thank God!" "We must have some new hospitals built for the wounded when the British fleet is destroyed!" "Count Besborodku has made a present of cannon to the emperor, to shoot those swine when they approach us!" "There won't be many of the British fleet that will ever return home again!"

The real design of Russia in her conduct to Turkey was often candidly admitted in the hearing of the *Englishwoman*, and even boastingly avowed. They would say:—" '*Quant à Constantinople nous l'avons, soyez tranquille.*' " 'Turkey is ours.' " 'There is no such country as Turkey now, and no longer a sultan; for, henceforward, the game will be played by France and England.' " . . . "They will never," says the authoress, "forgive us for the check they have received."

The spirit of idle gasconade in which the nobility and officers of the army indulged she thus depicts. While at Odessa she met a select company on one occasion,—"During the whole dinner (at which were some generals, other officers, and ladies of rank), nothing was talked of but the wonderful triumph of the Russian arms. I am convinced that there was not one single person there who believed it; but who could venture to doubt the imperial words? Evil would have befallen him who had dared to do so."

The following curious exemplification of the mixed feeling to England which the populace entertained is given by this lady:—"The Russians expressed great friendship for Lord Aberdeen, and intense hatred of Lord Palmerston, whom they blamed as the prime mover of public affairs, and as the author indirectly of all their misfortunes. I may mention, *en passant*, that the names of Napier and Palmerston inspired the lower classes with so great a terror, that the women used to frighten the children by saying that the English admiral was coming! And among the common men, after exhausting all the opprobrious terms they could think of (and the Russian language is singularly rich in that respect), one would turn to the other and say, 'You are an English dog!' Then followed a few more civilities, which they would finish by calling each other 'Palmerston!' without having the remotest idea of what the word meant; but, as the climax of hatred and revenge, they would bawl out 'Napier!' as if he were fifty times worse than Satan himself. From being favourites in St. Petersburg, the English are now especial objects of hatred, and from our stupid bombardment of Odessa, also of contempt. Notwithstanding their antipathy to us, it appears that

the lower classes of Russia have an idea that if we take St. Petersburg they will be no longer slaves, and will have no more poll-tax to pay. This is an opinion that ought to be encouraged, as it might be turned to good account."

The main hope of the Russian government, for sustaining the enthusiasm of the people, was in religious fanaticism. Never was the religious feeling of a people made so basely the subject of political speculation. The following letter, dated the 6th of January, 1855, will throw some light upon this conduct:—"The festivities have taken their customary physiognomy, and religious ceremonies, visits, *gulfanie*, and dinner-parties, are the order of the day and night. A Christmas tree of unusual magnificence has been dispatched to Prince Menschikoff. The town of Sebastopol has also received a gift. Scarfs, embroidered with laurels, are at present the fashion, and even children's playthings show the prevailing warlike mania. In these games, all representing military scenes, the English and French, as you may imagine, get much the worst of it—a Cossack is, for instance, represented in full charge, with half-a-dozen red-coats and Frenchmen transfixed by his lance! Can what is reported to-day be true—that the court is inclined towards peace? Or is it a brilliant but hollow glass bubble, to be hung on the Christmas tree of the people? If we merely obtain time by peace conferences, whereby Austria is of course prevented from action, and must for months sacrifice her pecuniary resources to the support of the army, the gain for us will be immense. Both here and in Gatchina church parades have taken place. In the following year a universal war tax is to be collected, but in what manner has not been decided in the ministry of war."

The members of the royal family seldom visited any government or garrison without making a present of religious relics or pictures: the following brief announcement in a St. Petersburg paper illustrates this:—"The Commandant of Woronege, Rubzoff, made a present to the Grand-dukes Nicholas and Michael of two images of saints for Fort Alexander, at Sebastopol."

The insurrections in Greece, the discontents in Servia, and the marauding expeditions of Montenegro, were all kept up in a similar manner: bells, pictures, and baubles, associated with religion, were profusely bestowed; and the emperor of all the Russias was made to appear as a tender and watchful father over the interests of the only orthodox church (the Greek), destined by heaven to fill the earth, and erect Constantinople as the capital of its holy and glorious empire. This is the secret of the Russian soldier's dogged indifference to life or death in the service of the czar whom

he believes to be the minister of heaven, and the avenger of the one, true, holy, orthodox and catholic church—the Greek. The condition and spirit of the Russian soldiery, in this respect, and of the masses of the Russian people from among whom they are taken, may be judged of by an incident among the prisoners captured at Bomarsund, and held in custody in England. The Rev. Mr. Stallybrass, a native of Siberia, of English parents, visited the prisoners at Plymouth. He gave this account of his visit:—"I proceeded to some of the wards, and held conversation with many of the men, all of whom seemed pleased to see me. I felt the advantage of having spent twenty-four years in Russia, and endeavoured to speak to their hearts, and hope that in some good measure I succeeded. I found that all who can read have copies of the New Testament, either in Russ, or in some other language which they know, and that they received these on their first arrival at Sheerness. This afforded me an opportunity for speaking of the privilege of possessing the New Testament, and their duty and interest in making themselves acquainted with its contents, and obtaining an interest in the blessings it reveals. One man wished to raise a discussion as to the cause of the war, asserting that whereas the English rely on the French, the French on the English, and the Turks on both, their czar relies on God alone, and is fighting only in the cause of religion—a delusion into which these poor fellows have been cheated. I declined to discuss the point with them, but reminded them of the fact that, by the providence of God, they are here, and have important time and opportunities afforded them, which I besought them diligently and faithfully to improve. I repeated my visit to them in the afternoon, with similar results."

This little narrative strikingly portrays the temper of the Russian army and people. These soldiers, although possessing the New Testament, and men of a much superior class to the average soldiery of Russia, yet clung to the idea of the divine mission of their czar; lost sight of their own sufferings and wrongs in loyalty to that mission; and regarded the oceans of blood shed, and the countless horrors perpetrated, as only accidents to the great process of making the world orthodox by the sword of St. Petersburg, and as too trivial to be taken into account when the glorious conquest of the world by the Greek church—through the arms of its chief and representative, the czar—was the object to be attained. The will of the autocrat was the law and the religion of the people, reminding one of the indignant and awful language of the prophet of old—"The prophets prophesy falsely, and the priests bear rule by their means, and my people will have it so, saith the Lord of Hosts."

CHAPTER LXIII.

TURKEY DURING THE EARLY MONTHS OF 1855.—SUFFERINGS FROM SCARCITY OF FOOD, AND FROM SICKNESS IN THE CAPITAL.—BAD CONDUCT OF THE SAILORS ASHORE.—ASSASSINATIONS OF ENGLISH AND FRENCHMEN BY GREEKS.—THE TURKISH CONTINGENT.—SKIRMISHES ON THE DANUBE.—EARTHQUAKE AT BROUSSA.—RELUCTANCE OF THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT TO NEGOTIATE.

"Alack! what mischief might be set abroad  
In shadow of such greatness."—SHAKESPEARE. *Henry IV.*

THE winter of 1854-5 pressed heavily on Turkey, European and Asiatic; the waste of war was universally felt. Corn, which was six piastres a measure on the northern shores of the Danube, was sixty at Constantinople. There was scarcity of food in the capital of the great empire of the sultan, and hunger began to pinch both Osmanli and Christians. The Russians were unaccountably permitted to hold the frontier fortresses, and the Bessarabian bank of the Danube; and they would not permit the exportation of corn, which became a drug in the provinces, while the inhabitants of the sultan's capital were in peril of starvation. The winter, too, was a severe one—much like that in the Crimea; alternate snow and mud tormented the lazy dwellers in Stamboul, and offered no small obstacles to the transaction of business by the officers and agents of the allies. One who experienced the winter of 1854-5 on the Bosphorus, thus wrote in January:—"The dreary winter at Constantinople has at length set in, and the streets are a mass of snow and mud. From the crowds of strangers who have lately been collected from all parts of the world within the limits of the European quarter, there is an air of animation in the narrow and dirty streets, but an animation without gaiety, and more resembling the bustle of some dingy and populous neighbourhood of London. The great street of Pera is a dirty lane, formed by high irregular houses, and destitute of all pavement for foot passengers, who must clamber and slip over the pointed blocks of stone, among horses and asses, porters carrying heavy weights by means of long poles, and crowds of the rabble of the Levant smelling of garlic, and meditating theft. Without large boots or goloshes no one ventures to quit his home, and as rain may be expected at intervals of about two hours, each traveller is armed with an umbrella. When the whole of these are extended at the approach of a shower, the collisions are incessant, and the pathway almost choked. The most conspicuous figures are the French officers, who are met at every turn. The British are almost entirely confined to the Asiatic shore of the Bosphorus."

It will surprise none, that with a variable and severe winter, scarcity of food, and an

over-crowded state of the population, Constantinople was unhealthy. A new and very fatal disease made its appearance, which it was generally believed was imported from the Crimea. The body of the patient after death, and even before death, became livid; this led many to call it cholera, but it was proved to be a different disease, although at Balaklava many who died of it were said to have been struck down by cholera. The suddenness of decease was another resemblance to that disease, which led to the mistake. Many of the Turkish and Greek population of the capital were carried away during the winter by this mysterious complaint.

The state of society at Constantinople was not the best during this period. The French and English naval and military officers who happened to be there on their way to the Crimea, or with the reserves, or in charge of stores and *matériel* of war, no doubt found opportunities of agreeable intercourse; but the general condition of the place, physically, morally, and socially, was utterly bad. The English and French sailors contributed, by their intemperance, to disturb the tranquillity of the city; and the lower classes of the Greeks—a vile herd of robbers and assassins, yet desperately bigoted in religion—lost no chance that was afforded them of assassinating and plundering the rude mariners, or indeed whoever exposed himself to the chance of insult, personal injury, or depredation.

The special correspondent of the *Daily News*, a gentleman of candour and ability, thus describes the state of things as he witnessed it:—"It is to be hoped that the authorities here will take some means for the protection of our men-of-warships while on shore, otherwise I fear something very fearful will be the result. There are now a great many vessels—in fact, I believe all the sailing vessels from the fleet—lying here, or within a few miles. Occasionally these men get leave of absence, and, when on shore, scarcely a day passes without some serious disturbance. Many of the men have been stabbed by the Greeks, and I fear many more will share the same fate unless something is done to check these rows. There are a number of low drinking shops kept by the Greeks in and about Galata, where they sell the worst

description of intoxicating beverages. These fellows entice the sailors in, getting them to drink till they become in a state of helpless intoxication. They are then turned out into the street, these rascals having taken care to clear their pockets first of all their money. The consequence is, that when they come to their senses, they accuse the man of having robbed them; this he indignantly denies; however, Jack is not to be put off in that way, so away he goes and collects a number of his companions, and they make a fearful assault upon the house, breaking the windows and trying to force the doors. The Greeks watch their opportunity and sally out in large numbers with clubs and knives, and make a furious attack on the sailors. The consequence is, that these men being unprovided with any weapons are literally mowed down, and when on the ground three or four of these cowardly ruffians set upon one man. Last Sunday night there were three of these men killed just opposite to the house in which I was. A representation of the fact was made to the consul here by some civilians; but whether he has reported to the admiral of the port I am not aware. There is scarcely a day passes without a similar disturbance. It is said, and I believe with some truth, that these fellows drug the drink, in order to afford them a better opportunity to rob their victims. Another instance of this kind occurred on Saturday last. A sailor from the *Britannia* came on shore and went into one of these low Greek houses. He was a man described as being a most sober, steady fellow. After he had been there a short time, and partaken of two or three glasses of grog, he fell down dead. His companions arriving, suspicion naturally arose that he had been poisoned; one of the officers of the ship came, and the Greeks were taken into custody by the Turkish police. Everybody thought that under such circumstances there would be a *post-mortem* examination; but this morning I learnt that, instead of such being the case, they merely buried the man without any inquiry whatever. One very suspicious fact was that the man had received a month's pay the day before, and on searching his pockets not a shilling was to be found. These or similar affairs are almost of daily occurrence. If the men are to be allowed leave there ought undoubtedly to be some means adopted for securing their safety from these fellows while on shore. It may be said that if a man gets intoxicated he must pay the penalty of his folly; but one would imagine that it would be very easy to have a patrol of half English and half French in these streets to preserve order when these men were on shore, and this would operate as a safeguard against the designs of these harpies, and protect the men; as to placing any reliance on the

Turkish police, that is out of the question. If they were to take a man into custody charged with any offence, no matter how serious the charges are, he would be at large in a few days. I have heard several instances, from captains of sailing transports, of the men, after having been on shore, coming off to the vessels in a state of insensibility, evidently produced by drugging."

The correspondent of the *Morning Chronicle* describes the outrages of the English in such terms, that it is marvellous the Turks did not fly to arms to resent such insult. When it is recollected the sacredness with which Turks, and all orientals, invest the decorum of females, and the sternness with which they insist upon a deferential and modest deportment to them, no person can wonder that the presence of the "infidels," as they might well call us, was hateful to them:—"Just at present the local interest here is limited to the daily and nightly brawls of British and French sailors, amongst themselves and with the peaceable inhabitants. These freaks have frightened away the Turkish women from the Christian portions of Constantinople. Formerly they might be seen, especially on Fridays (the Turkish Sunday), in great numbers, crowding about the shops at Pera, or gathering in groups round any object that by its novelty excited their curiosity; whilst those of the upper classes used to make a drive through Pera streets quite the Sunday excursion. They have now almost wholly disappeared from the Christian suburbs—and no wonder. It was only last week that four sailors hoisted an unfortunate Turkish lady upon their brawny shoulders, and carried her in great glee and triumph from the centre of Galata to the great wooden bridge that spans the Golden Horn, in spite of her most earnest entreaties to be released. Finally, they let her fall, and fortunately she was not hurt. These kind of practical jokes are not relished. The Turks are furious at these proceedings, but swallow their wrath, in the knowledge of their helpless position. There is some talk of establishing a European police at Pera; it would be very well, as the Turkish *cavassos* do not much like interfering with their allies when the worse for liquor. There was a row at the theatre the other night, and several heads were broken."

As the winter advanced, the pranks of the Western sailors, and assassinations by Greeks increased; although the French, always superior to us in organisation, made arrangements to check excesses, and to bring to light the criminals whose daggers were so often steeped in the blood of the rough brave hearts that trusted to the treacherous race. Even when considerably repressed, the evils existed sufficiently to endanger life, disturb the tranquillity

of the city, and shock every principle and prejudice of the Osman race. A gentleman, whose mission to Turkey was of a religious nature, thus describes the moral aspect of the place when winter was expiring, and there was hope that the dark nights would not much longer afford obscurity to the wrong-doers:—"Our intemperate habits are procuring contempt and hatred for us in the Turkish capital. British and French war vessels are there under repair, and the English and French sailors are drunken and riotous to such a degree, as proves not merely horrifying but dangerous to the sober and peaceful Turks. In their drunken quarrels heads are broken and windows smashed, and every feeling of decent propriety completely outraged. The Turkish women have been frightened away by their mad freaks from every quarter where the Christian populations abound. The old men shake their heads, and invoke explanations from Allah. The Turks are goaded to fury by their conduct, but are unwilling to deal hardly by their allies. The French and English authorities ought instantly to interfere. How dreadful! The Cross, as represented by our blue jackets, must be execrated by the men of the Crescent."

These things contributed much to the loss of that respect which had undoubtedly attended the English name in the capital of the Turkish empire. The blunders and disorganisation which occurred before the eyes of the Turks, the treatment of the wounded and sick, the irreverent burial of the dead, the sufferings of the troops in the Crimea, the condition of neglect and misery in which British ships brought the invalided thence to the Bosphorus, the tidings of government abuse in England, and, finally, of the fall of the Aberdeen cabinet amidst the execrations of the English people, led the inhabitants of Stamboul to believe that the days of England's greatness were numbered, and the last struggling light of her glory fast fading away. All eyes were turned to France; the war was called the battle of the two emperors—Napoleon and Nicholas: the Turks had ceased to hope for any advantage for themselves; whichever won—French or Russ, Latin or Greek—there seemed in their eyes only humiliation for the faith and the land of the prophet. England was considered as drawn into the war by the superior skill and power of the French emperor, who needed the assistance of her fleet. The prestige of her ambassador still continued, because his official power had become something like an institution of the country; but his misconduct in reference to the Asiatic campaign, and his neglect of the sick in the hospitals of Scutari, lowered his personal influence. The Turks could not understand how, after such things, he could continue to represent the majesty of Great Britain,

unless there were some new and inexplicable evil working at the root of English government and English greatness.

The proposal for a Turkish contingent to increase the British army acted in opposite ways upon English influence. On the one hand, it was accepted as a proof of cordiality; and as the soldiers of England occupied the first place in the lists of valour in the esteem of the Turk, he felt honoured by the proposal to rank with such. On the other hand, it was asked how could England be a great nation, and men be scarce? Were not men the pride and wealth of an empire? How could England be rich if poor in warriors? France had not to resort to such means of gaining numbers for her legions; was she not then greater than England? Throughout all Asiatic, as well as European, Turkey, this train of reflection presented itself to the minds of the Osmans. Whatever the feelings excited, the sultan's government entered into a convention with that of Great Britain, empowering it to raise a military force of 20,000 men, to be employed in conjunction with the British army in the Crimea, or elsewhere, in the prosecution of the war to which the sultan was committed. It was intended to officer these troops to some extent with experienced foreigners, and to a greater extent with gentlemen holding the commission of the Hon. East India Company. The work of raising these troops was not prosecuted with good order, or an energetic spirit. Difficulties, some of which were foreseen, impeded the object; but these were slowly but finally overcome, and the Turkish contingent was at last organised. The troops, however, were not, as at first proposed, entirely Turkish: Poles, Hungarians, Italians, and men of other nations joined the force; and in England it was openly recruited for, and a regular depot for recruits established at Woolwich. The writer of these pages visited Woolwich, from the interest he took in the undertaking, and felt in every respect disappointed in the character of the accessions there embodied. Mere "raw lads," taken from the lowest possible condition in life, and without much physical vigour, constituted the bulk of the gathering for the contingent at Woolwich. Their conduct there was such as their appearance would lead a visitor to expect—brawls and outrages abounded, and some cowardly assaults were perpetrated by the stronger and bolder of the party upon the others. The foreign recruits for the contingent were generally morally and physically superior, although many of these also were not to be made a subject of boasting. On other pages of this History further notices of the Turkish contingent will be appropriately made.

While England was enlisting the Mohammedan subjects of the sultan, Russia was enlist-

ing his Christian subjects. A Greek contingent was much more eagerly sought by Russia than the Mussulman corps by Great Britain. Many Greeks found their way to Russia, and entered the czar's service. Most of these were drafted off to the Crimea, according to their own desire—as they almost to a man volunteered to be led at once against “the allies of Mohammed;” they could see the war only as one for their faith. About 4000 of these Greek volunteers were numbered among the reinforcements which arrived for the defence of Sebastopol, during the severe weather which marked the opening of the year 1855. At Sebastopol they fought bravely. Among the volunteers for the sorties, Greeks were always prominent; and many fell, both in the French and English trenches, fighting with all the desperation of a fanatical contempt of death. Armenians also entered into the czar's service, especially in Asia; but they were for the most part serviceable as spies, commissaries, and civil agents, rather than soldiers,—seldom exhibiting the Greek alacrity to meet the enemy.

A deep depression marked the minds of the more thoughtful Turks, while rage and a burning desire for revenge animated the more fanatical followers of “the prophet”—in consequence of the efforts made by the ministers of the Western powers to obtain concessions for the Christians, whose tone was insolent and offensive to the last degree. Nor could it be said that the Christians of any creed felt grateful to the West for interposition in their favour. They attributed any advantages which they derived, or were likely to derive, to Russia; because, had not Russia gone to war for the disenthralment of the Greek church from the Mohammedan yoke, the Western nations would have made no efforts for their redemption. The French were especially urgent that “the Greek Catholics,” and Franks, and Armenian proselytes to “the Western church,” should have certain liberties guaranteed; and our allies did not appear to be very particular as to the tone and temper in which their requests, or rather requisitions, were urged. A leading paper in Constantinople surprised and scandalised the adherents of “the prophet,” by the following announcement in one of its issues:—“It is known that the construction of a new Christian church at Scutari, in Albania, has been authorised by a recent resolution of the Ottoman Porte. The following are the principal passages of the firman addressed on this occasion to the Mussulman functionaries of the pashalic:—‘The Catholic population of the town of Scutari having implored my imperial permission to build a church in the interior of the city, in which they might perform divine service, I have issued in writing this sacred order granting

that permission. It is useless to call to mind that the tranquillity and welfare of the subjects of my sublime Porte are one of the dearest objects of my imperial solicitude. I have, therefore, issued an order emanating from my imperial grace to all concerned, to afford due help and assistance in this work.’”

It was not only on the subject of concession to the Christians that the Porte manifested an unwillingness to negotiate—this reluctance extended to the proposed conferences at Vienna for a treaty of peace. The Turks felt that all negotiations had somehow ended, of late years, in new concessions to the enemies of their religious ascendancy in their own empire, and territorial loss to the encroaching power which now waged a causeless war upon them. They also constantly referred to the case of the celebrated Vienna note, when France and England fell into the Austrian trap, or else united with Austria to ensnare Turkey. They cherished vividly the recollection, that to the firmness of their own divan was to be attributed the escape of the empire from what would have proved a virtual surrender to Russia. These memories and feelings so worked upon the mind of the Ottoman people, that public opinion was very adverse to any negotiations at all. They desired the allies not to interfere with the internal affairs of the empire in any way; and they expected that if the integrity of the Turkish empire was an affair of European policy, that the war should be urged on, until Russia, baffled and beaten, should sue for peace on the conditions which the allies were willing to vouchsafe.

That these feelings should prevail was the more to be expected as the Danubian frontier was still in an unsatisfactory condition. Austria held an armed occupation of Moldavia and Wallachia, but oppressed and plundered the people, and did not prevent the Russian troops from making infamous razzias across the Pruth. The Turkish troops had been prevented by Austria from pursuing the fugitive Russians and capturing, as they then would have been able to do, the strong positions on the Danube, where that river separates Bessarabia and the Dobrudscha. The Russians made incursions across the Danube as well as the Pruth, and the Turkish territory of Bulgaria was harassed; while the sultan's provinces of Wallachia and Moldavia were harried by Russian bands, and plundered in legal form, and under pretence of protection, by Austrian generals. The Turkish authorities, meanwhile, took measures for maintaining a line of observation along the banks of the Danube. Troops were quartered at Suteha, Matschin, Silistria, Rustchuk, Giurgevo, and Widdin, amounting to twenty-three battalions of infantry, while twenty-eight battalions were held in reserve

at Shumla; eleven batteries of artillery, and eight regiments of cavalry were allotted to this observation. Ismail Pasha, the hero of Kalafat, received the command of the army in Roumelia, assisted by Merze Said Pasha and Kel Hassan Pasha. Yaya Pasha and Achmet Pasha held the command in Bulgaria, at Shumla, and on the river frontier of Bessarabia. These arrangements were very effectual, as the Russians were severely punished in several of their forays, called by themselves reconnaissances. The *Journal de Constantinople* published early in February several paragraphs similar to the following, showing the penalty paid by the Russians for their temerity on the Danube, and proving the loyalty of the Danubian provinces to the sultan's throne:—"News has reached us by way of Matschin and Braila, that the Russian expeditionary corps in the Dobrudscha, wishing to force the passage of a river, has been beaten, with heavy loss, after a combat of some hours, by the rearguard of Yaya Pasha, and that it has already crossed the Danube at Tultscha and Ismail. For the last four or five days all the Turkish forces at Braila and the neighbourhood, under the command of Achmet Pasha, have been leaving, in order to cross the Danube at Gouva-Valonitzza over to the right bank. At the very pressing request of Yaya Pasha, Prince Stirbey has caused to be purchased and sent on to Rustchuk and Silistria 650 draught oxen and buffaloes for conveying the baggage of the Turkish army. This is a great sacrifice in the present exhausted state of the country, which has lost 100,000 head of horned cattle through the forced exactions of the Russians. Prince Stirbey, desirous as ever of proving his devotion to the cause of his sovereign, acceded without the least hesitation to the demand of Yaya Pasha."

The Turkish expedition to Eupatoria, under the command of Omar Pasha, produced a good effect upon the military spirit of the country. The insults to which the Tunisian and other slam soldiery were subjected in the Crimea, ever since the battle of Balaklava, had stung the heart of the whole people; for the strangest exaggerations of the ill-usage visited upon them by the Giaours, were circulated through European and Asiatic Turkey. General expectation was now entertained, that, under the auspices of Omar, in the new expedition, feats of arms redounding to the glory of the old Osmanli name would be performed.

Among the incidents which created much uneasiness at Constantinople, was the fire at the French hospital. Some of the patients, it was alleged, were buried or suffocated; and the French authorities, by hushing the matter up, stimulated public curiosity, and caused many exaggerated rumours to be put into circulation. The truth was, no loss of life took

place, although severe injuries were received. It was an exciting scene when the flames, gaining ascendancy, enveloped the building, and the Turkish and French soldiers exposed themselves bravely to danger in order to secure the invalids, who had to be borne away during a night of piercing cold, and deep darkness, to the asylums opened to receive them.\* The Turks, ever mindful of the dead, bent their way fearlessly through the flames, and carried off some bodies of French soldiers who had recently died. This circumstance gave rise to the report of more than twenty invalids having been burned in their beds. There were 500 sick unable to do anything for their own removal when the fire burst forth—a knowledge of this fact carried a thrill of horror through the whole population, Turk and Frank, and stimulated the energies of all who took part in the rescue. It was very generally remarked as singular, that the French, so orderly and accustomed to precise method in their organisations, should have been the cause and the chief victims of three great fires since the landing at Gallipoli: namely, the fire at Varna, which nearly destroyed the town where were the allied head-quarters; that at the arsenal, in which a vast store of provisions for the French army were consumed; and this at the hospital. Our allies did not allow these losses to incommode them, their habits of organisation and dispatch in all military matters came to their aid: wherever an open space could be found at Constantinople sheds were run up, and converted into stores or hospitals, and the strictest economy was united with perfect subordination and extensive efficiency. In these respects the English suffered in Constantinople, as everywhere else during the campaign; a correspondent of the *Times*, writing at the beginning of March, observes:—"This capital has few large buildings, except those belonging to the government, and those are required more than ever by the Turks themselves. We have had for months a ship of 1100 tons in harbour used as a naval store, at a cost of nearly 30s. per ton per month, or about £16,000 a-year. This sum would pay for the erection of iron stores large enough to contain a hundred times as much beef and pork as can be held by the *Canterbury*. The ground might easily be obtained from the Turks, and the materials used, after serving all purposes during the war, would be worth nearly their original price after it is over. Constantinople must be the heart of the great system of warfare in the East, and, unless preparations be made for the convenient and effective transaction of business and reception of troops and supplies here, it cannot be doubted but that confusion will prevail at every spot where the war may be actually carried on."

The French obtained better sites for their stores, hospitals, and camps throughout the war. This seems especially to have been the case in reference to hospitals. A writer, cognisant of the facts, thus discussed it in a leading London periodical:—"The two stations of Scutari and Kulali are most conveniently situate for the transport of wounded and sick from the vessels to the hospital, and are also far removed from the close and tobacco-laden atmosphere of Pera. But the inconvenience which results from their being placed on the opposite shore of an arm of the sea, liable to sudden squalls at all times, and in winter almost impassable, is more than equivalent to these advantages. The officers who have the management of our hospitals are obliged to have recourse to a miserable caique whenever they wish to consult with the authorities on this side of the water; for, though a steamer has been established to ply across, it is not suited to the necessities of men who may be detained for an unlimited time, or summoned at a moment's notice to make the journey. The consequence is, that the British authorities are accustomed to do as much business as possible in a single visit, and, with the exception of the naval officers and a few belonging to regiments just arrived, very few of our countrymen are to be met with within the limits of the capital. The French, however, are to be found everywhere, and their tasteful uniforms add much to the liveliness of the streets on a fine day, which, in this changeable climate, may be expected occasionally even in the depth of winter."

As it is necessary to give some information concerning our hospitals, in addition to what our last chapters on that subject contained, it can no where be more appropriately introduced than in a chapter on Turkey. The following letter was written by a medical officer, and it is interesting, as affording not only additional light as to the state of the sick and wounded, but as to the spirit subsisting in the early months of 1855 between the Turks and British. The letter is dated Constantinople, the 14th of February, 1855:—"I came down here with sick and wounded. I was asked to take charge of some of them. I consented, and 110 cases of fever, cholera, and dysentery, in every stage of weakness or prostration, were placed in my hands. You have no conception of the horrors of a ship full of such cases. We throw overboard daily three or four dead bodies. We have sick and dead in every regiment, particularly the unfortunate 63rd. I recognised many of them as Dublin carmen. Often have I given them sixpence for a set down, or threepence to bring me to Sandymount. 'Do you want a car, your honour?' and 'One seat here, sir,' are to them now for-

gotten words. The regiment is quite broken up. Nine hundred came to the Crimea, but when we left only forty could muster—660 gone forever—fine brave fellows! These forty have been ordered to leave the camp, and it is said that the officers will be drafted into other regiments. It is extraordinary how one becomes accustomed to horrid sights and dreadful stories. Everywhere one goes dead or dying horses offend the eyes and nose. Such also is the case at Varna, where the camp was. The dogs and vultures are busy at work, tearing away at the carcasses, revelling in their revolting carnival; but I wish we had more of them with sharp appetites, that they might eat up the horses as quickly as they die. I saw William Russell, the *Times'* correspondent; he is a very agreeable fellow, full of fun wit, and manliness. We brought here some Turks and some Russians who had deserted; our men could not endure the Turks. They would not allow them to sleep in the room in which they slept; but they at once fraternise with the Russians. This feeling against the Turk is countenanced by the officers, many of whom act in a very unkind manner to the poor creatures. I saw Omar Pasha at Varna. When he came to Balaklava he was greatly enraged at seeing the Turkish soldiers compelled by the allies to act as beasts of burden. I have always found the Turks civil and obliging. Do not credit the opinion that they are not brave. The crescent has waved as boldly and triumphantly in the battle as the banner of France or England."

A week later Miss Nightingale wrote to the London *Times*, and Mrs. Bracebridge to the Messrs. Cuthbert, in connection with the supplies sent to the hospitals. Both letters are dated Scutari.

"Miss Nightingale presents her compliments to the editor of the *Times*, and begs that he will allow her to acknowledge, in its columns a few of the presents from the benevolence which she has received. The greater number have been sent anonymously, or referred to letters which it is not possible to connect with letters received months previously. Messrs. Cuthbert have announced sixty-eight tons of goods by the *Harlequin*, not yet arrived, and goods are invoiced by the *Cæsus*, *Karnac*, *Labanon*, *Chester*, *Snowdon*, *Hollander*, *Amistately*, &c.—vessels not yet in the harbour Constantinople.

"Packages have been received from Mr. Portal, 3, Wilton Place; Mrs. Rice, High Street, Croydon, shirts and old linen; Mr. Williams, Rue de Pont Neuf, Nice Maritime list shoes and linen; Mrs. Findley, Easterhill and Mrs. Maclath, Daldon, Lanarkshire; Lady Manners, Dowager Lady Napier, Mr.

odsell, Mrs. Gundry, of Hyde; collection—Miss Capell, Floore, near Weedon; friends of Captain May, of the brig *Star* of Sunderland; the ladies round Wakefield, and Mr. Smyth, Teath Hall; Eaton Rectory; Colleshill, Warwickshire; Atherstone, Warwickshire; Colonel Napier, Portsmouth; H. Baker & Co., 11, New Bond Street; Mrs. De Berfor and Mrs. Billings, 16, St. Germain's Place, Blackheath; collected by Captain and Mrs. Balfour, Blackheath, books, linen, shirts, stockings, and bandages; ladies of Needham Market, collected by Miss E. Diggins, linen, tracts, sundries; Brighton, one piece of flannel, pillows, jerseys, linen, &c.; Mrs. Dennett, Worthing, shirts and sheets, fifty pocket-handkerchiefs, books, tapes, thread and pins, &c.; Richmond, Surrey; Mr. Bullar, warm clothing, contributed by the ladies of Southampton, thirty-six pillows, cambric, and five parcels of lozenges; Edward May, Esq., Mrs. William White, Newport; Mrs. Pennington, books; J. Danks, Esq., Sherwood Hall, Nottingham; Dr. Beddingfield, bandages; Mrs. Rawlinsón; Royal Hotel, Bodmin, Cornwall; Miss Catt, West Street, Brighton; D. G. Douglass, Southampton, a tin of arrowroot; collection by Mr. H. and Mrs. Baillie; two dozen old Marsala, London, anonymous; Mrs. Foot, Alderbury House, Salisbury; two bales from Bonchurch; Y. Z., 45, Baker Street, Portman Square, box containing shirts, stockings, a cheese, preserves, potatoes, onions, stationery, books, sulphur, &c.; Shurmacher, pillows, preserves, flannel shirts, sheets, shirts, comforters, &c."

*Scutari Hospital, Feb. 22.*

"DEAR SIRS,—Will you be so kind as to announce that the *Eagle*, *Army and Navy*, *Orham*, *Teneriffe*, and other ships have arrived here, with numerous packages and gifts of the most valuable for Scutari?"

"Her majesty's gifts came in the *Eagle*. Mr. Gamble sent a large assortment of potted meat. A celebrated wine-merchant (name concealed) thirty dozen of port. Messrs. Gardener & Co., of Palermo, fifty boxes of lemons and fifty boxes of oranges, for the sick and wounded, the same to the French.

"We must tax our friends' patience as to acknowledging particular cases. Many have already been found by Mr. Barber in Custom House and merchants' stores, and sent over, some are gone to Bordeaux, and some are here."

"By another post I will acknowledge a number. Many cannot be acknowledged, as we have no means of comparing packages with letters received long ago.

"Yours obediently,

"H. BRACEBRIDGE."

"Messrs. Cuthbert."

In a publication written by one of the lady nurses, the state of the hospitals in Turkey is given at a still later period. This lady acknowledges the services and ability of Mr. Stowe, who succeeded Mr. Macdonald in the administration of the *Times'* Fund. Mr. Stowe went to the Crimea for the reasons assigned by this lady, and perished there, a victim to the cruelty of the medical staff of the army. His loss at that juncture was a serious one to the army, and brands with barbarity and selfishness the men and the measures by which he met with so deplorable an end. The lady nurse writes:—"We applied to Mr. Stowe, the *Times'* commissioner, for brushes and combs, and many other articles we required for the men. He sent them immediately. We gladly availed ourselves of his offer to give us any help we required from the *Times'* Fund, and we can thankfully bear witness to numberless comforts and necessities supplied by the fund to the sick. Mr. Stowe appeared a person admirably suited for his post. He visited the hospital constantly and thoroughly, gaining a complete insight into its working. There were other visitors to the hospital, who paid their visits once a fortnight or so, attended by a long train of authorities; and though doubtless it was meant for the best, yet it seemed impossible for these to gain such a knowledge of the real wants of the hospitals as a man who came and went at any hour and without observation. Great was my astonishment on being told one day by a distinguished person, that the *Times'* commissioner was a 'dangerous person.' I made no answer to the remark. Living, as we then were, amid scenes of sickness and death, tending the wasted forms of those whom want and neglect had brought to this dire extremity—seeing, as we hourly did, the flower of the British army cut down in the prime of their youth and strength, my heart was too sick and weary to enter into any controversy about the authorities and the *Times'* commissioner. I only knew, one let the men die for want of things—the other provided them; the one *talked*, and the other *acted*. I could not help thinking that I cared not where the things came from, so that they did come somehow. So I went straight to the 'dangerous person,' who was pacing up and down the barrack-yard, with an air as if he cared very little what people thought of him, and laid a list of our present wants before him. 'These things are promised,' I said, 'but we shall have to wait very long for them, even if we do get them at all.' Mr. Stowe wrote them down in his note-book, and by that time the next day they were on the spot. This energy was one of Mr. Stowe's characteristics. A thing once mentioned to him he never forgot, and never rested till it was done. He was particularly anxious on the subject of washing.

It was a great evil, but at that time there was no remedy. Mr. Stowe asked if we thought washing-machines from England would be useful; but we told him there would be no place to put them in, and then the plan would require much superintendence, for which we had no time to spare. We had not even time to search into the full extent of the abuse itself. However, his attention having been once called to it, he never lost sight of it. If Mr. Stowe had lived to return to Constantinople, he would have found Kulali much improved in that as well as in all other respects. The last visit Mr. Stowe paid us was when the fruit was just coming into season, strawberries especially. We told him how the men longed for them, and he gave us leave to gather as many as we wanted. The new purveyor-in-chief being then in office, Mr. Stowe seemed to feel his services were no longer wanted to the same extent. He said he knew Mr. Robertson would see that every requisite was furnished, and that matters would soon be on a different footing. He went to the camp, and among the many who regretted the untimely death of one so talented were some at Kulali, who will ever remember his untiring exertions in his country's cause, his extreme courtesy, and the kind and friendly manner in which he cheered on the sinking hearts that had struggled through that time of misfortune."

The earthquake at Broussa, by which such physical injury was inflicted, produced a great sensation in the Turkish empire. Both Turks and Christians regarded it as an omen. The superstitious of every creed are apt to connect great national calamities as portents of war, and the downfall of states and empires. It was so in the present case: the Mohammedans revived every faded prophecy of the ultimate downfall of their dominion which had ever gained currency among them; and the Christians considered the event as the indication of the speedy and violent dissolution of the Turkish empire. Events which produce these strong moral impressions among a people should never be overlooked by the historian, even if trivial in themselves. The earthquake at Broussa was, however, a terrible calamity, although exaggerated by the reports which reached Western Europe. At the instant the first great shock was felt at Constantinople, Broussa was shaken to its foundations; in a few seconds after a portion of the town was demolished, and 300 inhabitants buried beneath the ruins. The shock lasted about forty seconds; the oscillations came from the south-east, and were rapid and short. The city was partly surrounded by a wall which was erected by the early Ottoman princes, who held their court there "before Adrianople had been raised to an equality with the old capital." This

wall was thick and solid, and many of the poorer classes built their houses against it for economy and support. It swayed to and fro for several seconds, like a tree bending to the storm, during which the weaker portions of the upper part gave way, falling through the miserable dwellings beneath it; but when the last oscillation came, which ended the shock a great portion of the wall all round fell at once, and scores of houses, and their inhabitants, were instantly crushed. The houses of the more opulent classes were much dilapidated, and many of these persons were bruised and mutilated, but the loss of life was wholly, or nearly so, among the poor. The mosques 125 in number, were to a considerable extent demolished; of those not totally destroyed scarcely a minaret remained; and not a single public building of any sort entirely escaped. A silk factory fell at the first shock, in which sixty females were working—all were killed. The people of the Turkish capital were in great trepidation after the sensation of the shocks there, as the universal expectation was that the hour for its downfall had come, and that with it the glory of the once proud empire of Othman would sink for ever. The Turks besought Allah and the prophet that it should not be so, and that any visitation of their anger should be confined to the infidels; the Christians were suppliant to the Virgin, and all the saints, that the ruin might be speedy to the followers of the false prophet, and to heretics; but that the orthodox believers might be spared. Several shocks were felt at Constantinople two days after the fearful visitation at Broussa, and the apprehensions and devotions of the inhabitants, both believers and unbelievers, were both very much enlivened. Whatever might be thought by the superstitious, the Turkish empire, in Asia more especially, was everywhere disturbed, and the British government did not seem aware of the magnitude of the peril, or of the well-concatenated efforts in Russia.

It was bitterly remarked by an able reviewer of public affairs in the columns of the *Christian Weekly News*—"Whilst our oligarchy look with monstrous fatuity upon the break-down of our military organisation, and the shortcomings of our representative institutions—whilst, in the midst of unprecedented perils, the government of this country is carrying on the jogtrot of routine and red-tape policy, the autocrat displays a feverish activity, and prepares for a giant effort, which Turkey and the whole East must feel. Untrammelled by bureaucratic pedantry he throws to the winds all scruples in the choice of means. At home, in holy Russia he brings into action the rudest fanaticism, his orthodox serfs. Around the frontiers his empire he prepares the materials for

universal Eastern commotion. He works with unremitting activity for a convulsion of all the countries in the vicinity of the Caspian, the ranges, and the Danube. On the banks of the Tigris the flame of revolt, lighted by Russian hands, has already burst forth against Turkish rule. In Independent Tartary, Muscovite influence grows apace. The seditions of Cabul and Candahar appear to be the prelude only of pro-Russian movements against the adjacent British territory. In European Turkey the surprising activity of Greco-Sclavonian emissaries prepares a resumption of the Hellenist disturbances of last year. And, in the presence of these vast machinations of the czar, we still allow ourselves to be amused with idle diplomatic gossip respecting the four points, and their hollow schemes of peace! Looking to Asia we find, at this moment, invasion and

revolt. In Kurdistan, those nomadic tribes inhabiting the territory between the south-eastern slopes of the Armenian highlands, the Tigris, and the Zagros mountains, have ever been unmanageable subjects of the Porte. Though confessors of Islamism, they never scruple to disavow the sovereignty of Turkey. The diplomacy of St. Petersburg has taken advantage of this disposition at the present juncture; for the Russian high road to Bagdad lies through the land of the Kurds. Commanding this position, the czar could outflank the Turkish force in Asia, and interpose his own armies between it and the Dardanelles. Armenia is at the czar's mercy, or nearly so; and everywhere in Asiatic Turkey his name is feared, and the authority of the sultan slighted. A great moral earthquake upheaves the still vast and once mighty empire of the sultan and padishaw."

## CHAPTER LXIV.

### ALLIANCE OF SARDINIA WITH THE COALITION AGAINST RUSSIA.

" 'Tis sweet  
When the voice of man lies hush'd, subdued,  
To hear thy mountain voice, so rude,  
Break silence."—*Ballads of Ireland.*

THE diplomacy of the early months of 1855 was particularly dry and uninteresting, except to those who love to study human nature in the intrigues of the governments of states. The conduct and policy of Sardinia was not marked by the tricks to which Russia and the German powers resorted. There was a frankness and nobleness about it to the lasting honour of that gallant little kingdom. Immediately upon the opening of the new year, the desire of Sardinia to enter the alliance against Russia assumed a practical shape, and it was proclaimed to the world that her army would be united to the armies of the allies against the common foe. On the 26th of January, "the act of acceptance," on the accession of his majesty the king of Sardinia to the convention of the 10th of April, 1854, was signed and ratified on the 4th of March. The basis of the alliance of the Western powers with Sardinia was not the treaty of the 2nd of December, in which Austria principally figured, but the convention of the 10th of the preceding April, which appeared in our columns in its appropriate place.\* In the *Moniteur* of the 13th of March the following appeared:—"His majesty

the King of Sardinia having acceded to the convention concluded at London on the 10th of April, 1854, and our envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to his said majesty having, in virtue of our full powers and in our name, accepted the said accession, the respective ratifications were exchanged at Turin on the 4th of the present month of March; and, in consequence, the said act of acceptance of the accession and the military convention concluded between France and Great Britain and Sardinia will receive full and entire execution."

The minister of the French marine addressed at the same time the following circular to all the commanders-in-chief of the French naval forces, and to the captains of ships of war at sea:—"Sardinia, by a treaty signed on the 26th ult., having acceded to the treaty of alliance concluded on the 10th of April, 1854, between France and Great Britain for the protection of the Ottoman empire, now finds herself at war with Russia. You will, consequently, have to extend in future to the Sardinian navy the support and kind offices you are bound to render the French and English navies; and when you chance to meet ships of war of his majesty the king of Sardinia, you will concert measures, and establish with their commanders the same relations of intimacy as with the commanders of the ships of war of her majesty the queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain. Please to acknowledge the receipt of this circular."

The fifth article of the convention is so short, and so necessary to the clearness of the narrative, that it is here joined:—"Their majesties the queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the emperor of the French, will readily admit into their alliance, in order to co-operate for the proposed object, such of the powers of Europe as may be desirous of becoming parties to it."

The English government published documents so similar that their quotation is unnecessary. The Sardinian government issued two state papers in connection with these transactions remarkable for their perspicacity, and a certain exalted tone of feeling. On the 4th of March the *Piedmontese Gazette*, in an extraordinary number of the day, published the manifesto of His Majesty Victor Emanuel II:—

*Turin, March 4, 1855.*

For a long time Europe has regarded with just and jealous suspicion the continual aggrandisement of Russia, the progressive application of that system which Peter the Great inaugurated, more naturalised in the nation perhaps than in the Muscovite sovereigns, and tending with all the forces, visible and invisible, to the conquest of Constantinople, not as a final end, but as a beginning and step to new and more unmeasured ambitions.

These projects of Russia, subversive of the equilibrium of Europe, threatening to the liberties of peoples and the independence of nations, never revealed themselves, perhaps, so clearly as in the unjust invasion of the Danubian provinces, and in the diplomatic acts preceding and following it. It was with good right, then, that France and England, after a long and useless attempt at means of conciliation, had recourse to arms to support the Ottoman empire against the aggressions of its powerful neighbour.

On the solution of the oriental question depend the destinies, not immediate, but future, of Europe, and of Asia, and, more directly and proximately, of those states bordering the Mediterranean Sea, which cannot therefore remain indifferent spectators of a struggle in which their own vital interests are concerned, which will determine whether they remain free and independent, or become vassals, in fact if not in name, of the colossal Russian empire.

The justice of the cause espoused by the generous defenders of the Sublime Porte, the considerations which tell so powerfully always on the heart of the king, of the dignity and of the national independence, have determined his majesty the King of Sardinia, after the formal invitation which he has received from the two great Western powers, to accede, by the act of the 12th of last January, to the alliance, offensive and defensive, stipulated on the 10th of April, 1854, between their majesties the Emperor of the French and the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland. But before that act received the indispensable completion by the exchange of ratifications—before, therefore, it could in any way be put in execution, the Emperor Nicholas, lamenting, with language not devoid of bitterness, that the rights of nations had been violated by us by having (as he supposed) without previous declaration of war sent an expedition to the Crimea—accusing the king, besides, of ingratitude in having forgotten the ancient proofs of friendship and sympathy given by Russia to Sardinia—hastens himself to declare war.

Without stopping at the supposed violation of the rights of nations, which could only be an error of the Chancery, we will observe that, with the ancient memories of friendly correspondence passed between the predecessors of his imperial majesty and those of his Sardinian majesty, the emperor might have compared other more recent and personal recollections of his own behaviour for the last eight years towards the kings Carlo Alberto and Vittorio Emanuele Secondo. But, first of all, he should have persuaded himself that his majesty approached this alliance not through forgetfulness of ancient friendships, nor through resentment for recent offences, but from the firm conviction of being imperiously driven to it, both by the general interests of Europe and the particular interests of that nation whose destinies Divine Providence has committed to him; and it is therefore that, in taking part in a serious war, the king never doubts the answer to his appeal from the old faith of his beloved people, the bravery of his soldiers, confiding, as he confides, in the protection of that God who in the course of eight centuries has so often supported the monarchy of Savoy in

severe trials, and guided it to glorious successes. His majesty is secure in the conviction of having done his duty, nor will so many severe and cruel afflictions diminish his resolution and constancy in the defence, with his power, against all aggressions whatsoever on sacred interests of the people and the imprescriptible rights of the crown.

While the king desires that the negotiations for already initiated in the city of Vienna may be successful in fulfilment, however, of the obligations contracted towards France, England, and Turkey, he has ordered the undersigned minister to declare, in virtue of the abovementioned act of accession, his land and sea forces to be in a state of war with the Russian empire.

The undersigned declares, besides, the orders of his majesty that the *exequatur* accorded to the Russian consuls in the royal states should be revoked; the persons and persons of Russian subjects nevertheless to be as before respectfully respected, and a competent term accorded to Russian ships to leave Sardinian ports.

C. CAVOUR, the President of the Council,  
Minister of Foreign Affairs.

At the same time, the Sardinian government issued the following circular to the foreign ministers accredited to its own court, and to its own agents abroad:—

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit herewith copies of the manifesto by which the government of his majesty the King of Sardinia, in the name of the undersigned minister, declares war to his majesty the Emperor of Russia.

When the treaty of alliance of the 10th of April, 1854, between France and England was officially communicated to Sardinia, the government of the king, recognising the right and duty of the great Western powers to oppose the invasions of Russia, and to demand the Ottoman empire against unjust aggression—openly declaring that its most lively sympathies were with the cause which France and England had generously undertaken to defend—thought it right, nevertheless, to abstain for the moment from availing itself of the stipulated reserve in the 5th article of the treaty.

Now, however, the war has taken such considerable proportions in the East and in the Baltic, and the world has been able to convince itself that the question which agitates the East is a European question, all recognising that if the great powers have a more direct interest in it, the states of the second order are more menaced in their commerce, and, what is more, in their independence, by the ambitious projects of Russia. The moment is arrived, then, to oppose to those vast means of action of which she can dispose, and to the enormous advantages of her geographical position, the united efforts of the powers who, devoid of all ambitious thoughts, only aspire to ward off dangers which later might be undesirable, and to assure the triumph of the eternal principles of justice and equity.

These considerations have determined his majesty the King of Sardinia to accept the invitation addressed to him by their majesties the Emperor of the French and the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, to accede to the treaty of the 10th of April, 1854. The act of accession, as well as the two conventions referring to it, having been signed on the 26th of January last, and ratified this day, his majesty, in consequence of the stipulations therein contained, now declares war to Russia.

His majesty has not seen without painful surprise that while the act of accession, unratified, had not yet any absolute legal value, and was in no ways executory, the Emperor Nicholas, by a note of Count Nesselrode's, published in language full of bitterness, taking the initiative of hostilities, has accused him of violating the rights of nations, by sending an expedition to the Crimea without a previous declaration of war, and reproached him with the forgetfulness of the marks of friendship shown in common by Russia to Sardinia.

Concerning the pretended violation of the rights of nations, it is sufficient to compare the date of Count Nesselrode's circular (5th (17th) of January last) with that of the ratification of the act of accession (4th of March).

to be convinced of the astonishing flippancy with which the chancellor of the Russian empire has advanced so grave an accusation, and which is so inappropriate to the princes of Savoy, and, above all, to a monarch to whom the voice of the whole people has accorded the title of loyal.

As to the reproach of ingratitude, the Emperor Nicholas, instead of recalling the marks of friendship which two of his predecessors formerly showed towards Sardinia, ought to have recollected that in 1848, without any personal motive, he withdrew his minister from the court of Turin, and hastily sent the Sardinian representative at St. Petersburg his passports; that in 1849 he refused to receive the letter of notification of the accession to the throne of King Victor Emanuel II., a refusal highly injurious, which finds few precedents in the history of diplomacy, and which appears to indicate, on the part of the czar, the strange pretension to interfere in our interior affairs, affecting not to recognise the transformation, not revolutionary, but legal, which had been made in our political institutions.

After having added these short explanations, in order to place the conduct of the king our august sovereign in its true light, and on referring to the motives exhibited in the accompanying manifesto, I beg you to transmit a copy of the present despatch to the minister of foreign affairs of the government to which you are accredited; and I beg you to receive, sir, the renewed assurances of my very distinguished consideration.

C. CAVOUR.

Almost contemporaneous with those publications by the cabinet of Turin, the court of Russia issued the following declaration of war in the form of a circular to other courts:—

*St. Petersburg, Feb. 17.*

THE court of — will, we doubt not, share the opinion of the emperor upon the policy of his majesty the King of Sardinia, at a moment when that sovereign, without any extensible motive, without any legitimate cause of complaint, and without even the shadow of the smallest infringement upon the direct interests of his country, has placed at the disposal of England a *corps d'armée* of 5,000 men for the invasion of the Crimea. In taking this step the Sardinian government appears to have left to the care of the public journals to warn us of an aggression which it has not thought fit to justify by a declaration of war. We understand the motive of this defence.

The court of Turin, we admit it, would have had some difficulty in conciliating its policy with the national sentiment of its country; it would have experienced equal difficulty in making its present conduct harmonise with the ancient *souvenirs* of the house of Savoy. In consulting the annals of its history, it might cite the incident of a Russian army crossing the Alps; but, it is true, it was to defend Piedmont, and not to invade it. In the councils of the cabinets of Europe, in the reign of the emperor Alexander, of glorious memory, it is again Russia who lent her faithful support to the independence of Sardinia, when the house of Savoy was reinstated on the throne of its ancestors. Must we finally recall to mind that, at the same period, if Genoa was re-united to the kingdom of Sardinia, it is because the imperial cabinet recognised the necessity of assuring at the same time the commercial prosperity and the greatness of the country which the arms of Russia had contributed to deliver from foreign yoke? To-day, sinking in oblivion the lessons of the past, the court of Turin is about to direct against us, from that self-same port of Genoa, a hostile enterprise, which Russia has the conscientious satisfaction of knowing was not provoked by her.

The attitude thus assumed by Sardinia, without a formal declaration of war, as we have stated, would make us doubt what name we ought to give to the auxiliary troops destined to invade our frontiers under the flag of a country with which we have hitherto been living in peace. However, if the court of Turin loses sight of the principles and customs consecrated by the law of nations, as the immutable rule of the international relations of states,

the emperor, for his part, is resolved to observe them. With this intention, his imperial majesty feels it incumbent upon him to declare that peace is *de jure* and *de facto* broken by this flagrant act of hostility, the whole blame of which recoils upon the Sardinian government. We leave it to bear the entire responsibility thereof, in the face of the opinion of its country, and of all Europe.

It behoves especially the allied powers to appreciate the conduct of the court of Sardinia, when it has deemed it opportune and loyal to turn its arms against us at the very moment when the imperial cabinet entered into a deliberation at Vienna, destined to open the path to the re-establishment of peace.

The wishes which tend towards the accomplishment of that work of pacification seem to have been strangely misunderstood by the cabinet of Turin. In fact, whilst the governments of Central Europe wisely interposed their legitimate authority to prevent one of the belligerent powers from recruiting its legions in the states who insist on having their neutrality respected, the Sardinian government, less chary of the blood of Italy, consents to pour it out for a cause foreign to the political and religious interests of its nation. For, in good faith, it cannot be pretended that by unfolding her banner by the side of the Crescent, Sardinia fancies she at all serves the cause of Christianity. Nor can it be affirmed that she seeks to defend the weak against the strong when she joins her arms to those of France and England.

It is this latter power, if we are rightly informed, which takes the Sardinian troops under its command—we will not say in its pay, as we wish to abstain from wounding the national feelings of a country with which, to our regret, we are about to be at war.

Notwithstanding this necessity, the emperor will still afford protection to the private interests of Sardinian subjects, who entertain ancient commercial relations with Russia. They shall not suffer from the errors of their government. They are at liberty to remain in the empire in all security, under the protection of our laws, as long as they do not infringe them. But the Sardinian flag will henceforth cease to enjoy the prerogatives accorded solely to the mercantile navy of neutral states. A term shall be fixed for the departure of Sardinian vessels that may be actually in Russian ports. The *exequatur* will be at once withdrawn from Sardinian consuls in Russia. The Russian agents at Genoa and Nice will also receive orders to suspend the exercise of their functions, peace between the two countries having been broken by the court of Sardinia from the moment it acceded to the treaty of alliance concluded on the 10th of April, 1854, between Great Britain and France.

The emperor has deigned to charge me to communicate these determinations to all friendly powers.

NESSELRODE.

The motive of Sardinia in entering into the anti-Russian alliance, there is every reason to believe, was unselfish. The character of Victor Emanuel and of Count Cavour prove as much. The men by whom the prince and his chief minister surrounded themselves were of a similar stamp. Throne and ministry sympathised on principle with liberal government, and equitable international relations. Yet it admirably suited the policy of Sardinia to join the coalition. Austria and France had been gradually drawing closer, and it was rumoured all over Europe that a secret treaty was concluded between the emperor and the kaiser on the 24th of December, by which the former pledged himself to the integrity of the Austrian dominions in Italy, and, in alliance with Austria, to preserve the then existing territorial circumscription of all the Italian states. That the French policy was misled by a strong pro-Austrian bias could not be concealed from

Victor Emanuel, nor be a subject of indifference to him. This was the more alarming as the policy of the Buonapartists in Italy from 1848 up to 1853, and even up to the time when the convention with England was signed in the spring of 1854, was bitterly anti-Austrian. It had necessarily been so, for Austria did her best to thwart and humiliate Louis Napoleon. She prevented his recognition by Russia, and his forming a German marriage alliance; while the press of Vienna was perpetually repeating the epithet *parvenu*, which Louis Napoleon, by a happy audacity, had applied to himself. Accordingly, French agents had been at work all through Italy abusing Austria, forming French connections, proclaiming that France was the natural protector of Italian liberty, and the natural avenger of Italian wrongs, and that between the two empires there could be no alliance. The name of Murat was evoked in Naples; the king of Rome was talked of in Romagna; and the kingdom of Italy was a pet phrase at Milan in the mouth of every Frenchman. Italy was assured by every form of persuasive that she had no hope but in France, and that she must look to the magnanimity of a Buonaparte, whose heart was filled from Italian fountains, for her rescue and her future glory. All this suddenly ceased when the English alliance came into being. The Aberdeen ministry was Austrian in its sympathies as much as the pure whig ministry that preceded it was the reverse. Lord Aberdeen was just what he described, in the House of Lords, as being very amusing, that he should be thought "a sort of an Austro-Russian." Louis Napoleon followed the track of the English policy in his pro-Austrian proceedings, but he went further than the Aberdeen government, *as a whole*, intended—the whig portion of it being adverse to the *degree* of favour shown by the Peelites to Austria. The game played by the French emperor obviously was, to adopt only such a line of policy as England would initiate, or at least approve, but to cut out a path for himself in that road, and work with agency peculiar to his own aims and objects—the establishment of his dynasty, the conciliation of the despotic courts, and the consolidation of his influence in Europe. It was therefore wise for the Sardinian king not to look on quietly while the bonds of Austrian amity were drawn tighter by the hands of France, feeling, as Sardinia ever must feel, that Austria is the deadly enemy of her independence and prosperity. To anticipate Austria, and step further into the alliance, was a wise and bold policy, and was crowned with success. She agreed to keep up a force of 15,000 men in the field, under the command of the British chief; and a loan of one million sterling was to be afforded to her by the allies,

to enable her to keep up that army. She vigorously carried out her obligations, and the allies honourably executed theirs; while Austria was enraged to perceive, as a consequence of this movement, that the allies guarantee the independence of Sardinia while the war continued, making it clearly impossible for Austria to take any advantage of the occupation of the Western powers, to precipitate herself as a spoiler upon the Piedmontese kingdom.

Some details concerning the Sardinian arm are desirable, in order that our readers may understand the exact value of the alliance. As to the *morale* of the troops it is excellent. There are no better or braver soldiers in continental Europe than those of Piedmont. In the struggle of 1848 against Austria, which cost Charles Albert his throne, and indirectly his life, this gallant army did not perform what was expected from it, especially in Italy; but that arose from the inexperience of its generals and the necessary dependence therefore upon certain soldiers of fortune, principally Poles who had little knowledge of the people of Piedmont, and less sympathy with their military or general character. The battle of Novara illustrated these remarks; Radetzky carried all before him, despite the heroism of the Piedmontese, because the latter were not well officered. Since that event, so deplorable to Sardinia, every effort has been put forth by its government to reform the military system and to do so on the principle of preserving a small standing army, capable of great expansion in an emergency. The grand source of deficiency in the officers arose from the fact that the military profession was fashionable and the aristocracy crowded into it, swallowing up promotions and patronage, and leaving to a poor man of merit no chance of competing for rank or honour. The result was, that it became an army of generals who could not command, to whom the gay uniforms and decorations were objects of petty ambition, but who were utterly ignorant of the military art. Turin glittered with decorations and plumes worn by officers who could not "place a square," or "set a squadron in the field," if the salvation of Italy depended upon their attempts. So long as Sardinia was governed absolutely, the system answered her objects—the aristocracy were armed against the people and ever ready, in the name of the prince, to put down a popular *émeute*; but when liberal ideas entered the cabinet, and the people exercised a popular control, and especially when foreign war tested the comparative worth of plumes and stars, heads and hearts, it was deemed that genius and enthusiasm were worth more than all the insignia of royal or aristocratic glory. *Men* were then wanted, not

lords—swords, not coronets—talent, not *haut ton*.

The peace standard of the army was 41,647 soldiers, classed in this way:—

	Men.
10 brigades of Infantry of the Line . . .	26,470
10 battalions of Rifles . . . . .	3,637
10 regiments of Cavalry . . . . .	5,221
3 regiments of Artillery . . . . .	4,162
1 battalion of Sappers and Miners . . .	1,049
1 Waggon-train Corps . . . . .	464
1 battalion of Chasseurs Francs . . . .	644
	41,647
To which must be added Gens-d'armes . .	3,904
Making in all . . . . .	45,551

In time of peace the Gens-d'armes, or Carabineers as they are called here, are employed as police, but in war they form a royal body-guard, and in that capacity a portion served with Charles Albert in the last war. The war establishment of the Sardinian army is 45,000 men, but this may easily be increased to 100,000 by an extraordinary levy.

Under the influence of the reforms which of late years have been carried out by the enlightened supervision of the premier and the war minister, professional education is provided for the officers. At Turin there is a military college, where boys are admitted from fourteen to sixteen years of age upon passing an examination in reading, writing, arithmetic, Italian, and the principles of religion. The standard of admission is miserably beneath what it ought to be, nor is the curriculum such as to make up for that defect. The term of study is five years. The examinations are in modern languages, but only French and German are studied, except in exceptional cases; in history, which is very imperfectly pursued; and in mathematics and fortification, which are studied within narrow limits. If, however, a student desires to enter the staff corps, engineers, or artillery, he must remain two years more, during which he has to read hard, and make very respectable progress in chemistry and gunnery. The former is studied more extensively than in English military colleges, but in every other respect the English and French standards of acquisition, especially the latter, are superior. There is a college at Areua (established 1850), which tends to make up for the deficiencies of the military colleges, where there subalterns must pass a year, and stand important examinations before they can obtain ordinary promotion. There is a college of cavalry at Pinerolo (established 1849), where every pupil who has studied at Turin must remain for two years, before being gazetted (as we say) to a cavalry regiment. This institution is in principle similar to the other Italian and Austrian schools for cavalry instruction, and they are well fitted to turn out

good cavalry officers. The late Captain Nolan, whose death at the battle of Balaklava was so much regretted by the British army,—to the cavalry service of which he was so useful,—received the elements of his knowledge of cavalry tactics in an Italian school.

The poor are not neglected in the means adopted for military education in Sardinia. At Raccrigi there is a school for the education of soldiers' sons: boys enter at twelve, and remain four years, when, if they pass their examination, they join the line with the rank of sergeant or corporal, according to the progress they have made at school. This supplies the army with intelligent non-commissioned officers, who have all the buoyancy of youth—unlike the British system, which necessarily takes the non-commissioned officers for the most part from among the old soldiers. The Sardinian plan has the disadvantage of impeding the promotion of soldiers from the ranks. This system is borrowed from the Russians. At Asti there is a school of military music, which may account for the superiority of the bands of the Sardinian regiments. Besides all these means of instruction, there are regimental, and even brigade schools, where the elements of geography, topography, geometry, and algebra are taught; and where such of the privates as cannot read or write are instructed in these educational preliminaries. Probably more progress is made in these schools than in the colleges. It is singular that, with so elaborate a system of military colleges, there is no school of military surgery; but the government affords many facilities for improvement during the practice of the profession. Promotion goes by seniority, and this is as rigid as in the service of the Hon. East India Company; but there is a reserve of a certain proportion, amounting practically to nearly one third, for merit. A tenth of the sub-lieutenancies are reserved for non-commissioned officers. It is on the whole a more liberal system of promotion than that of the army of England, but not so liberal as that of France. On service, when an officer falls, his next in regimental service takes his place, and all regimental promotion is made in the regiment—this promotes a fine *esprit de corps*.

The army is under the immediate command of the minister of war, who is always a military man; he is assisted by a board of superior officers, forming what is called "the permanent consultative council of war." To this all important business is referred; this board performs all the duties of what we call the quartermaster-general's and adjutant-general's departments. The late Duke of Genoa, and the minister of war (Marmora), used great exertions to bring the artillery service up to the standards of England and France. Per-

haps those and the Prussian are alone superior to that of Sardinia. The gun-carriages are, for lightness and solidity, better than any other in the world, and they have this peculiarity, that the same carriage will suit a gun of six pound or sixteen pound metal, or a howitzer of thirty-two pound. The whole *matériel* of the artillery is unsurpassed, perhaps unequalled by that of any other army. The defect is slowness of movement in everything; there is too much of the German element in the system; the horses are heavy German, strong in draught, and hardy, but slow. The rapidity of the British or French artillery movements could not be performed by the Sardinian. There are twenty field batteries in that arm of the service, each containing eight guns, of which two are served as flying artillery, and these in the field are most useful.

The light cavalry are armed with carbine and sword like our own, but they also carry pistols similar to our old "horse pistols," now disused. The heavy cavalry are also armed with carbine, pistols, and sword, but carry lances, contrary to our practice of arming with that weapon only the light cavalry. The light horse carry their carbines slung across the shoulder, the heavy, whose carbine is of shorter range, sling it across the saddle in front of the rider. The cavalry horses are nearly all German, and nearly all too heavy; the *island* of Sardinia furnishes a few, they are lighter and better adapted to light cavalry. The Sardinian rifles are very superior, it was upon their model the French Chasseurs de Vincennes were formed. The country is indebted to General la Marmora (not the war minister) for the organisation of these troops. "No light troops can excel the Bersaglieri for quickness, precision, and endurance, but they have not had such advantages in arms as the Chasseurs de Vincennes, though new rifles are now being made for them. The ten battalions are composed of four companies each." The infantry is divided into brigades of two regiments each; each regiment into four battalions; and each battalion into four companies. They are short, thickset men, resembling the Dutch in form, but not in countenance, and are far more active, hardy, and enduring. They are patient, laborious, and brave, and remarkable for strength. The transport and commissariat is imperfect, but both were improved when the army took the field in the Crimea.

The war was popular both with troops and people, and the Sardinian soldiers longed to fight side by side with the British, for whom they entertain a boundless respect. Such was the military state of the little kingdom which so boldly threw down the glove into the arena of war, forming a military connection with England and France. To this guarantee of

Sardinian earnestness, a treaty was added between her and Turkey on the 15th of March, in which the King of Sardinia declared his adhesion to the treaty of the 12th of March, 1854, by which England and France undertook to defend Turkey against Russia, and announced the intended embarkation of a Sardinian army to participate in the conflict. The sultan undertook to see the troops of his majesty of Savoy treated like those of England and France.

England hailed the alliance of Piedmont with enthusiasm, and engaged to find transports to conduct her levies to the seat of war. But it was not England only that regarded with admiration the spectacle of this third-rate kingdom coming forth so bravely to the contest of national independence.

The eyes and hearts of all who were free and all who were fettered and loved freedom were turned to Sardinia. This noble little nation rose above difficulties that might well be deemed insurmountable, and asserted its place, and that a high and honourable one among the nations. Its prince and people had of late years shown more courage, consistency and enlightened statesmanship than any other nation in continental Europe during the present century, if we except Norway. It is upon the tented field only that a nation may display its courage, although even there Piedmont, betrayed by its allies, and confronted by an overwhelming force, vindicated its old heroism in 1849. Some nations are characterised by physical courage which is constitutional in the race, while they are far removed from every noble aspiration, and destitute of all capacity for appreciating, even upon the field of battle, that order of courage which is inspired by the imagination and the heart—which springs at every generous impulse to dare even the impossible, and which, with a clear principle sustains the effort, the ardour, the passion, the sacrifice for which the occasion calls. Thus, the Russian soldier will walk in military column to a battery at his master's bidding, remain in square or battery under a crushing cannonade; but he knows nothing of the heroism of soldierhood of the truly brave—he can form no fellowship with chivalry, and has no sympathy for actions, the gallantry of which shows enthusiasm, principle, and love. But in the memories of old Piedmont what a true hero survives! How her valleys have replied to the music of religious fervour and ardent patriotism, as in them the old psalmody of the Vaudois—

"Sounded the dirge of the brave and the free,  
And echoed the heart with calamity wrung,"

there have never been feats of arms—no, not within the sacred circle of Palestine, that land of conflict and courage—superior to those which

have been achieved within the vales of Piedmont, upon her mountain slopes, and beyond their precincts, by the children of these hills and valleys, when freedom to worship God summoned their honour and their energy to the deed. While Spain, for which England shed so much blood and spent so much treasure, shrunk with her characteristic cowardice from even an expression of sympathy with the sister nations of Western Europe,—while Portugal, bound to England as her oldest ally, and whom, in case of any aggression upon her, we are bound by treaty to protect, skulked from the duty and obligation which fairly rested upon her, of garrisoning our military stations in the Mediterranean,—while even Northern Europe, having so much to gain by our alliance, and so much to apprehend from the continued encroachments of Russia, would not strike a blow nor man a gunboat in her own defence,—Sardinia signed the protest against invasion and plunder, which we, with our allies, have published to the world, and threw down her gauntlet beside ours against the gigantic champion of modern despotism.

While the admiration of Europe was directed to these events, and to the chief actors in them, there was also much gratulation at the indication given by these circumstances of the working of principles and feelings in the heart of Italian society, which were likely to produce still greater things for rejoicing and hope. Although Sardinia was in advance of Italy generally, yet her voice was that of the great majority of the Italian people. Lombardy burned to be free. At Milan, the city of the Iron Crown, there were hearts true and stern as that emblem, and who hailed what was done at Turin as the mariner beholds the star which guides his bark when the storm and the cloud are passing away. Florence was not a city of willing slaves; for the petty despot of Tuscany sits upon a throne built of Austrian bullets, and encircled by Austrian bayonets. The people of the Tuscan state neither sympathised with the native tyrant, nor the foreign masters to whom that tyrant was himself a slave. Naples, with her *lazzaroni*, her Swiss guards (volunteers from the cantons of the *Sonderbund*), the truest tools of royal oppression, is not a city of unaspiring bondsmen; her people did not forget the struggle of '48, nor the treachery which rebounded their yet heaving breasts, filled with the first fresh inspirations of liberty. All above the police agents and street vagabonds ghed to be free. Their mournful hope was, at some day the bright sun of their beloved Italy would "rise and give them light to die," liberty was not to be their inheritance. From the smouldering ruins of Brescia, where the bloody captain of despotism, the Austrian

O'Donnel, paid the penalty of his oppression, the chain was clanked by hands ready, at the first hour of hope, to bear the brand or wield the sword.

And Venice, fair queen of the Adriatic, though still sleeping in thy fetters, thy dream was of liberty! Beautiful captive! for thee, too, as for all Italy, there is hope. There is one prince beneath the azure skies of the classic realm who scorns to be chained to a pontiff's chair or a kaiser's throne. There is one free nation within the confines of long-lost but glorious Italy which has the opportunity, without which even the brave must stand in silence and in gloom. And Rome, although thou art not eternal, as thy parasites proclaim thee, thy people are worthy of a better destiny. While from thy half-buried temples, and from beneath the shadows of those broken columns which tell of a glory which cannot be revived, thou hearest the edicts of oppression, and lookest upon the blood of persecution, thy love of freedom is not quenched; for "one bleeding moment" thy sons were free, and used well their liberty, and again long for the hour when slaves may snap their manacles. Thy Romans are Romans still—the lineaments of their proud race linger on their manly countenance; sons of fathers who, as heroes, conquered the world, and as martyrs to a purer cause conquered death and torment, they only need the dawn of the "good time coming," the sound of the glad trumpet which shall soon speak to the nations that their time to be men has once more returned, and they will rather see the monuments of thy fame broken by bombardment, and piled up in the ramparts of popular defence, than linger among those monuments as shadows of what Romans were. Even the Roman, with his strength of will and still indomitable courage, may look to Piedmont as the schoolmaster of Italian liberty, as in the dark centuries of the middle ages Piedmont was a light to the nations. Great was the mission of the little kingdom of Sardinia. Countrymen of Cromwell and of Milton, who sympathised and protected the fathers of those who now inhabit a portion of that realm, welcome this new ally, and stand by her, although Austria fulminates and intrigues, until Piedmont is the centre of a wider dominion and the glory of a regenerated Italy.

Such were the hopes and feelings with which England and all free nations regarded the Sardinian enterprise, and this hope and these feelings were intensified when the expedition actually set sail for the land of contest. A considerable number of the officers departed before the bulk of the little army set sail. These officers embarked at Genoa during the month of March. Early in April a fleet of British steamers arrived at Genoa, but the

accommodation afforded by it only extended to about half the expeditionary army. The king, being desirous to see the whole of the troops assembled before any embarked, detained the transports, so that a fresh accession of vessels arrived, and the entire transport fleet became so large that the harbour of Genoa was not extensive enough for their accommodation, and some found shelter in Spezzio. It was on the 14th of April that Victor Emanuel reviewed his troops, and none that witnessed the interesting ceremonial can forget its impressiveness. It was looked upon as significant that the place of review was the plain of Marengo, immortal in history as the site of Napoleon's hardest fought and least likely victory over the Austrians. The troops were arranged in the form of a crescent; altars were erected for the benediction of the flags; a vast concourse assembled to witness the scene, and an amphitheatre of seats accommodated an immense number of the notabilities and gentry of the provinces now subject to the old dukedom of Savoy. The appearance of the king was welcomed by a loud shout from the great concourse of citizens and soldiers. He was attended by a *cortège* of the principal officers and nobility of his realm. As he passed each regiment, the band played the Sardinian national tune. Immediately by his side were the two brothers Marmora, one of whom had served him so well as minister of war, and had resigned his post to command the expeditionary force. It was the first time the king had made any public appearance since his overwhelming domestic afflictions had nearly borne him to the earth—wife, father, mother, and brothers, had all, since the fatal battle of Novara, and some of them recently, been carried to the tomb. Within three months the two dearest of all—his wife and mother—had been torn from him by him whom the old Latin poet tells us “knocks with equal foot at the palaces of the great and the cottages of the poor.” The Archbishop of Tortona appeared, to give the sanction of the church to the policy of the king. Mass was celebrated along the lines, the troops presenting arms, and the spectators uncovering. As soon as the religious ceremony terminated, the profound and solemn silence which rested upon the multitude was succeeded by the roar of cannon, and the huzzas of excited patriotism and loyalty, while, rising above all the sounds of enthusiasm, the fine military bands of the Piedmontese regiments could be heard pouring forth their martial strains. The king presented personally the flags to the regiments appointed to receive them, while he assured the officers in brief, pithy, and feeling addresses, that nothing but the stern necessities of the state prevented him from leading his army. As the personal courage of the king was well

known, and it was also well known how important his presence was in his kingdom, considering its relations to Austria, Rome, and the various Italian states, this assurance was received with loud acclamations of sympathy—the army and the people felt that his words were true. The close of this eventful day was attended by military and civil pageant, and every heart felt the glow of a patriotic fire destined, we trust, long to burn for the light and glory of Sardinia and of Italy.

The 23rd of April witnessed the departure of the first division of the expeditionary army. Seven thousand men, with all the necessary material of war, embarked. The embarkation was delayed by the defective state of the Sardinian commissariat, and a painful accident added to that delay. The Screw Steam-ship Company's vessel *Cræsus* sailed from Genoa on the 24th of April, with 400 men on board, and a heavy freight of provisions, having in tow a sailing transport loaded with guns, munitions, and stores. She had not been many hours at sea when fire was discovered in the hold, all efforts to extinguish which proved abortive. When taking to the boats the Sardinians, brave although they are in battle, did not show the steadiness and discipline which the English have always shown in like circumstances; a rush was made for the boats, some of which were soon upset, and many men perished. The soldiers of the expedition betrayed more superstitious feeling in connection with this accident than would have been expected among so free and gallant a people, and a feeling of depression fell upon the whole force.

Previous to the embarkation of the division, General Alfonsa Della Marmora, the commander-in-chief, delivered an address to the soldiers, which was received by them with pleasure, patriotic feeling, and military pride:—“We shall have before us a strong and powerful enemy; but by our side will stand brave armies, which have already consigned to history the celebrated names of Silistria, Alma, Balaklava, and Inkerman. We shall arrive in a few days at the seat of war, and vieing with our allies in courage, firmness, and discipline, we will endeavour to imitate the constancy of which they have given such heroic proofs. . . . A cruel and premature death has deprived us of a prince who was to guide us in that glorious enterprise. You followed him with alacrity in the fields of Lombardy, and admired him at the fatal battle of Novara. He expired, regretting his inability to lead you to victory. May the name of the Duke of Genoa remain engraved on our hearts. . . . Soldiers! let us swear not to disappoint those expectations, and pledge ourselves to demonstrate that an Italian army is worthy to co-operate in this gigantic struggle.”

Some of the officers had occasion to travel by way of Naples, where the authorities treated them with the most pointed incivilities. It did not need Austrian instigation to induce "King Bomba" to act in this spirit of mean and petty malevolence; but it was currently believed, and not without foundation, that these discourtesies received additional venom from the sting of that power. At Constantinople the Turkish government gave a generous reception to their new ally, and the French there made many demonstrations of goodwill and fraternity. At Balaklava and Kamiesch the displays of friendship on the part of English and French were very grateful to the contingent. There was a confidence in it felt by the allies, and the reception was such as the

brave meet from the brave. When they landed, they marched up the Balaklava valley by Kadikoi, and took up their position near the left of the French army. The British and French commanders soon perceived that in General Marmora they acquired an auxiliary of intimate practical acquaintance with all military detail, and scientific acquaintance with the theories of armies and of war. The personal appearance of the men, their picturesque uniform, their polite bearing, and their heartiness to the cause of the allies, soon won for them the respect, good feeling, and good opinion of the whole host. Their future history will be blended with the general narrative of the siege and its attendant actions.

## CHAPTER LXV.

### THE WAR IN ASIA DURING THE EARLY PART OF 1855.

"I am arm'd,  
And dangers are to me indifferent."—SHAKSPEARE. *Julius Cæsar.*

DURING the first months of 1855, Prince Bebutoff retained the chief command of the Russian armies in Asia, but as spring advanced that commission was consigned to a more skilful general named Mouravieff. The reputation of this officer was very considerable, he had the art of command, and all about him promptly respected his authority and revered him. M. Gallet de Kuttare, who was secretary to Prince Demidoff, calls him "the first of tacticians." In the war of the Caucasus Mouravieff distinguished himself greatly, and won the highest commendations from Prince Woronzoff. After making for himself a renown in the war with the Daghestans he returned to St. Petersburg, and was "the lion" of the hour. The Emperor Nicholas was desirous to test in some way the abilities of the great general, and accordingly he one day said to him (we quote a Vienna writer)—"As you play the professor in the Caucasus, I must judge for myself whether your pretensions are well founded. Take the command of a corps, and manœuvre against another which shall act under my directions. Do your best; for I do not intend to spare you." The manœuvres had hardly commenced, when the emperor lost sight of the corps opposed to him. Some hours passed, and no Mouravieff appeared, the imperial force retired towards the Neva; but unfortunately for the military reputation of the sovereign, the corps of his adversary was concealed behind some high ground close to the spot to which he had withdrawn. Mouravieff suddenly appeared, pushed forward a column which overpowered the czar from the gros of his corps, and eventually managed to get the latter be-

tween his artillery and the river. On seeing this, General Yermoloff, who officiated as *juge de camp*, galloped up to Mouravieff, and thus addressed him:—"I congratulate you, *mon cher*, on a victory which will prove to be a defeat." The sequel showed that Yermoloff knew his master. Mouravieff was under a cloud, and nothing more was heard of him until very recently, when he re-appeared on the scene as commander-in-chief of the separate corps in the Caucasus."

During the command of Mouravieff in Asia Minor, in 1855, the reputation of the Russian arms was greatly redeemed, and the moral influence of Russia in Asia effectually restored. The conduct of this general to the English and Turks was nobly generous, and he served the cause of Russia nearly as much by his conciliatory disposition and mild administration, as by the force of his sword and the skill of his arrangements. General Williams and his brave companions in arms, when the war had terminated, bore to this officer's genius, wisdom, humanity, and generosity, the strongest testimony.

During the month of January, Schamyl, the bold chief of the mountains, was not idle. In the snow-covered fortresses of his hills he was safe from Russian surprise, but the land below was not secure from the sudden swoops of the chief, who repeatedly descended upon the plains, seizing convoys, or sweeping off small detachments with the sword. *The Danube* related an instance of this which occurred in the month of January, when the climate is very severe in Georgia. The Russian general (Rede) had charge of the Daghestan prisoners

in Tiflis, but sent them for better security into the interior of Georgia; Schamyl hearing of this from his scouts, intercepted the escort, slew the Russian infantry (Georgian militia), dispersed the cavalry, and brought back the redeemed prisoners in triumph to their highland homes. The accounts from the whole of that district were, however, very conflicting and unreliable. Intelligence of Schamyl's feats travelled by way of Trebizond and Constantinople, and were doubtless often exaggerated. Thus, a letter in the *Porta foglia Maltiese*, gave a very detailed account of the plan of a spring campaign resolved upon by Schamyl, but which was not put into execution, if it ever existed in the prophet warrior's mind:—"Travellers arriving from the Caucasus state that the famous Naib Mohammed Emir Effendi is in Abesch, and keeping up a very active correspondence with Schamyl. The plan of the two mountain chiefs for the next campaign will be to invade the Crimea on the side of Anapa and the Sea of Azoff, and thus to co-operate with the allies in driving the armies of the czar from the peninsula."

The Russian accounts came to Western Europe through the St. Petersburg press, and there were no records in its columns of surprises, defeats, cutting off convoys, &c., such as were received by way of Constantinople. On the contrary, according to the *St. Petersburg Journal*, and other organs of the Russian government, the winter in the Caucasus was one of unprecedented activity by the Russians, and surprise and loss by the Circassians. The following is a specimen of these narratives from the *Invalide Russe*:—"On the 16th of January, Baron Nicolay surrounded the strongest fort held by the Tchetchan, called Schonaih-Capon, and took it by storm. This fort is described as the Gibraltar of the Caucasus, and its capture is represented as the heaviest blow yet dealt at the power of Schamyl."

According to accounts from Constantinople subsequent to this announcement, the Russians experienced a defeat in the attempt, and incurred a heavy slaughter; according to intelligence from Trebizond direct, no such attack had ever been made, and the story in the *Invalide Russe* was merely to keep up the warlike spirit in the Russian capital. Such are the difficulties of determining the course of events in the Caucasus during that period. In like manner stories were put into circulation concerning the progress of the Russians in Central Asia, which would lead Western Europe to suppose that, in spite of all her reverses, Russia could still muster large armies for Asiatic enterprises; and that, while the English withered away before Sebastopol, Russian legions were in triumphant march towards Hindostan! The bombastic announcements to

this effect of the Russian journals, and the pro-Russian journals in other parts of Europe, were amusing throughout the spring and summer of 1855. There was no doubt, however, that the intrigues in Central Asia which Russia had conducted the previous year, and the menacing attitude assumed towards Persia, continued. At the beginning of January, letters received in England from respectable sources at Trebizond, alleged that "the Russians have razed the forts of Bayazid, and were closely watching the frontier of Persia." They further stated, "The heavy falls of snow which have taken place near Kars render it very improbable that hostilities can be resumed until the spring. The Russian garrisons of Schamkoi and Anapa will be, it is said, marched to the Crimea." According to these authorities also, the Russians were marching in force on Khiva, and were using every effort to shake the neutrality of Persia. The result of such communications was resumed discussions in England, and in the English press, as to the practicability of the Russians ever reaching India, and how far a successful issue of the Asiatic campaign of 1855 would prepare the races of central Asia to be Russia's auxiliaries in such an enterprise. "What," it was asked, "are the frontiers of Russia in Asia to be? The Araxes? or the Persian Gulf? or the river Indus?" Elaborate articles appeared in some of our periodicals upon the neutralisation of the Caspian Sea, the protection of Khiva, the re-establishment of British *prestige* in Persia, the subsidising of Schamyl, and the exclusion of Muscovite influence from Kurdistan. It was natural that the latter topic should command attention, for the insurrection there was kept up during the winter and spring by Russian emissaries. On the 18th of January, the Kurdish chief was represented as at the head of 1500 dashing cavalry, and a motley band of infantry, threatening Sachogeziere, and preventing the passage of couriers who traverse Mesopotamia to Constantinople and Bagdad. There could be no doubt that in disturbing Turkish power in Kurdistan, Russia supposed she was clearing for herself the high road to Bagdad. The Russians had officered Kurdish regiments, and obtained detachments of Spahis, once the flower of the Turkish cavalry.

Mr. Richard F. Burton, of the Bombay army, a distinguished oriental traveller, gives the following humorous but instructive summary of the history of these discussions concerning Russian aggression in Asia for a number of years, and which in 1855 were renewed with such fervour in England:—"Early in the present century two great military routes according to Sir J. McDonald, connected Russia with Northern India. The line of least resistance, if we may trust Eldred Pottinger

through Mushed, Herat, Cabul, and Candahar, to Peshawur. The other, passing by Bokhara, Balkh, and the Hindoo Kush, was deemed impracticable until General Harlan's 'aropamisan march with artillery in 1838. This subject engrossed the attention of Stirling, Conolly, Burnes, and Abbott, Mouravieff, Goltz, Zimmermann, and a host of others. Captain Grover complained that the British public believed Bokhara to be in Persia. But in 1836, Mr. M'Neill went to Teheran as minister, and Mr. David Urquhart became secretary of embassy at Constantinople, while Mr. B. Fraser remained as oriental reporter in Downing Street. The Eastern question was written up, skirmishers were thrown out in the daily papers, the monthlies swept the field of serried files, cavalry and artillery succeeded in pamphlets and reports, the heavy quarterlies acted as support, and a huge portfolio the 'Progress and Present Position of Russia in the East.' M'Neill, Chesney, and their followers proved the northern apophthegm—'The road to the English lies through Persia.' They showed that an invasion of India was not only possible but probable. To the frigid apathy of 1828 succeeded the fever fit of 1838, and relapses of xiphophobia through the five subsequent years. Presently the question of Indian invasion via Persia, chameleon-like, changed its colour. In 1839, Perofsky advanced upon Khiva, 'to lengthen in that part of Asia,' said his master's manifesto, 'the lawful influence to which Russia has a right.' *Honneur oblige!* At the same time, England prepared to push a spider's web beyond the Hindoo Kush, for the purpose of entangling Dost Mahommed. It is noted that Baron Brunow then remarked to J. Hobhouse,—'If we go on at this rate, John, the Cossack and the Sepoy will soon meet upon the banks of the Oxus;' and that the president replied with spirit, 'Very probably, baron, but, however much I should regret the collision, I should have no fear of the result.'

During January, February, and March there was skirmishing in the neighbourhood of Barmah, and in one instance a body of Georgian militia were suddenly fallen upon by a detachment of Turkish cavalry from the latter place, and put to the sword.

The chief interest of the contest in Asia is, the British mind, associated with Kars and Erzerum. During the latter part of the winter Colonel Williams and the chief of the medical staff remained at Erzerum, in frequent conference with Consul Brant and the pasha of that province, and busy organising and arranging the opening of the campaign in spring. Teesdale, Colonel Williams' aide-de-camp, during this same period at Kars, in con-

stant communication with the muschir and correspondence with his own chief. The exertions of Mr. Teesdale were very great to secure supplies and effect organisation in the destitute and disorderly garrison. The objects to which Colonel Williams addressed himself were chiefly—the supplies of food to the two garrisons (Kars and Erzerum), the acquisition of military depots, the organisation and discipline of the troops, and arrangements for hospital supplies—as by far the largest portion of the Turks who perished in 1854 were lost for want of medical attendance, appliances, and care. The importance of this last point, so sadly neglected by Lord de Redcliffe on the Bosphorus, and Lord Raglan in the Crimea, was never for a moment lost sight of by Colonel Williams, or his active chief of the medical staff, Dr. Sandwith. More than a year afterwards, when the war was over, Colonel Williams (having acquired higher military rank) was invited to take the chair at an examination of the medical students of the London University, when he showed how strong was his impression of the necessity of judicious medical arrangements for the welfare, efficiency, and success of an army. He delivered on that occasion a remarkable speech, from which the following is extracted:—"He said his reason for taking the chair on this occasion was that he should be enabled to say a few words to his young friends around him, as well those who had received prizes as those who had not, in reference to one of their fellow-students, Dr. Sandwith, who accompanied him during the whole of the recent struggle in Asia Minor, whose zeal and virtues he hoped they would emulate, and when they arrived at his age he trusted they would be held in the same estimation by the British public. It had been hinted that he (General Williams) might bear some testimony to the value and efficacy of the medical profession, from his experience as a soldier in a remote region, and under circumstances with which, he did not doubt, they were all more or less familiar. When he went into Armenia he found the poor Turkish soldiers, amounting to some 400 or 500, stretched on straw, in the most wretched state of filth and degradation, and without comfort or consolation of any kind during sickness, or while suffering from wounds received in battle; but Dr. Sandwith, notwithstanding that he himself was suffering at the same time under a most severe illness, by his zeal and ingenuity completely changed the condition of the hospitals, and when he (General Williams) left, he saw the poor invalid soldiers laid upon clean beds, instead of straw, and surrounded by every comfort that humanity or medical skill could dictate; and, instead of lying on the field of battle after being wounded, by the same tact

and consideration on the part of Dr. Sandwith, ambulances and mules were provided, and every other thing necessary for the accommodation and comfort of the wounded soldier. He (General Williams) would hold that gentleman up to his young friends around him as a pattern, and hoped most sincerely that they would imitate his example. There was another very distinguished member of this hospital with the army in the East, Dr. Parkes, and, although he was not personally known to that gentleman, he had heard from various sources of his great worth from those who had witnessed his efforts, and who esteemed him for his virtues as a medical man. He (General Williams) begged to offer his very sincere congratulations to the young men to whom he had that day distributed medals, which he trusted would operate as an additional incitement to exertion in attaining skill and knowledge in their profession, and be regarded by them as the foundation of their future fame. Those, on the other hand, who had been unsuccessful he counselled to persevere, in the hope that on a future occasion they would be among the competitors who bore away the rewards of merit."

In a former chapter, when recording the events which occurred in Asia in 1854, a correspondence among several great notabilities—Colonel Williams, Lord Clarendon, Lord Raglan, Lord de Redcliffe, Consul Brant, &c.—was given, illustrating the general condition of Turkish interests. In January and February, 1855, the correspondence continued, and was still unsatisfactory; but it is unnecessary to print the voluminous epistles that were interchanged, having already sufficiently shown the spirit in which the whole affair of despatches was conducted. The ambassador saw that the "ferik," as Colonel Williams had now become, was a power; that the government and public at home would support him; that further opposition on his part was hopeless; and that no coldness or neglect would be allowed: still he continued to do nothing for Williams or the army.

The Kurdish insurrection, incited by Russian agents, was quelled early in the spring by the firm conduct of the British commissioner. In February, Vassif Pasha was appointed grand muschir of the army of Kars. Lord de Redcliffe had stated to Lord Clarendon, when the latter urged a change of muschirs, that such changes in Turkey were only from one form of demerit to another; that corruption so prevailed there was no prospect of promoting by such changes the welfare of the army, or the success of any enterprise. This opinion was exemplified in the appointment of Vassif, for although an honest man, he had no knowledge of military affairs. Like the English general in the Crimea, he had never commanded any

large body of men previous to his appointment to the high, responsible, and difficult task of commander-in-chief of an army. Dr. Sandwith describes him as having no more experience of military affairs than a Fleet Street shopkeeper, but this is an exaggeration, and the doctor sometimes sacrifices accuracy to the affectation of an off-hand style of writing. Vassif was a soldier, but his military knowledge had not been gleaned or tested in war, and he had none of the requisites for a great command. The pasha yielded to the firmly-expressed demand of the English commissioner to Shukri Pash, Hussein Pasha, and Ahmed Pasha, to be tried for peculation at Constantinople. So now a procedure struck terror into the hearts of the corrupt pashas, which nearly paralysed the hatred and revenge. Still, throughout January and February, the obstacles raised at Constantinople to Colonel Williams' proceedings severely impeded his usefulness; and at last he wrote to Lord Clarendon, informing him that it was his conviction Rizza Pasha, the minister of foreign affairs, really desired to ruin the army of Asia. Rumours were extended that the wish was not confined to Rizza; that the British embassy was very conversant with Rizza's secrets, and a great deal too lenient to its motives. Several of the pashas at Kars became attached to the commissioner, professing to admire his boldness—at all events they adhered to him in his attempts to correct disorders and root out peculation. Vassif, Tahir, and Kerim, were almost as zealous reformers, to all appearances, as Colonel Williams or Mr. Teesdale. Kerim was a grey-bearded, round, soldierly-looking man, brave as a lion; and was curious to see him with the youthful Teesdale, in close conference about the various reforms in progress. The intrepid old chief did nothing without the opinion of his young friend, to whom he closely attached himself.

When the snows began partially to break up throughout the theatre of approaching strife, the state of the Turkish army and garrisons was still wretched, notwithstanding the labours of Captain Teesdale at Kars, and of Williams and Sandwith at Erzerum. The central government utterly neglected the army of Armenia, and the allied generals in the Crimea had too much work around them, and miseries too numerous and appalling to contend with. Besides, the ambassador at Constantinople was a great man, and it was his proper province to look to such matters. For two years up to the end of February, 1855, the Turkish soldiers quartered in Armenia had no pay; their equipments were worn out, and they were often obliged to mount sentry barefooted in the snow. Their clothes could be no longer distinguished as military uniforms, being tattered and discoloured;

large portion of them were afflicted with curvy, and many suffered from dysentery even in the winter. Dr. Sandwith attributed this to their ill-ventilated huts, long confinement within them in the severe weather, and the want of nutritious food. By the end of February 10,000 deserters were reported, and these did their best to induce the other soldiers to desert. On one occasion a whole battalion revolted, and insulted their officers, to which they were driven by the latter having robbed them of their food and apparel—with this they upbraided them while refusing obedience; yet it does not appear that either the charge was investigated, or the revolt punished.

Of all departments of the service the least fit to open the campaign of 1855 was the cavalry; they looked like beggars on horseback; the worst cab horses that refuse the coaxing, and are invincible to the lash of the London coachman, are dashing-looking animals compared to the chargers which were mounted by the forlorn-looking horsemen of Kars. In spite of the moral authority and vigilance of Williams and Teesdale the pashas carried on systematic plunder on a large scale, so as to destroy the market both for provisions and horses, although for both, Kars and Erzerum ought to be amongst the best marts in the world.

In March three other British officers arrived at Erzerum—Lieutenant-colonel Lake, Major Apherts, and Captain Thompson, all of whom proved themselves worthy of their country and their leader. Captain Teesdale was then ordered to join the commissioner at Erzerum, while Lake and Thompson were dispatched to Kars. General Williams and his aide-de-camp then vigorously applied themselves to the fortification of the garrison. Late in March the snow thawed; and in the beginning of April the warm genial sun of spring began to soothe the country with light and beauty, and to remove, by its genial influence, some of the sufferings of the hapless soldiery of the sultan. General Williams and Captain Teesdale were then oppressed with labour beyond the meanest soldier: from dawn to sunset they were occupied fortifying the heights around the city.

General Williams called together the city council, and requested the bishops and other dignitaries of the Armenian and Greek churches to be present. The general then addressed them, warning them that Mouravieff, at the head of a powerful army, was at Gumri, and could soon assail the Turkish positions. The council did not seem apprehensive of this, they supposed that Mouravieff would do as Kutsoff had done—act upon the defensive; and if he was minded otherwise, why Allah was great, and so was the prophet. General Williams exhorted them to the duty of self-defence and exertion, whatever might be the

prospect of supernatural assistance which they cherished. Having complimented the courage of the true Turks, he turned to the Christians, and expressed his reliance upon them also, assuring them that the Porte had ceded to them equal rights, that they were now citizens of the great empire, and bound in honour to study and to promote its greatness:—the general wisely, however, invited them to try the spade first rather than the sword, and commended to them at that period the milder glory of digging at the batteries, however important it might become for them afterwards to meet the enemy with instruments of defence more martial. The Christians were morally electrified by the appeal; the archbishop rose and said with gravity and deep earnestness:—“O English pasha, we are your sacrifice! we will work—dig—die for you! Are we no longer dogs—no longer Giaours, although Christians? Then, as fellow-citizens, we will fight like free men!” This address was still more effective than the general’s; the Turks heard it with amazement, and considered it an additional reason for exclaiming that “Allah was great,” a piece of philosophy with which all difficulties were resolved. The greatest wonder of all to the Turkish mind was the severe labour to which General Williams addicted himself. Was he not a pasha? and was it meet that a pasha should work? Pipes, coffee, and the harem, were for pashas—work for the poor; but the English seemed to think that the higher they rose in rank the more incumbent it was upon them to work—this was incomprehensible to the Turks, poor or rich, pashas or slaves.

The government at Constantinople had ordered a levy of horses throughout the Turkish Asiatic provinces; the horses were brought forth, but the pashas stole all the barley—so the poor animals arrived lean, lank, spiritless, and often too much exhausted to recover; many of them had to be shot. When, however, it was discovered that the general was willing to give his guarantee for the payment, the country people brought good draught animals for sale—the word of the English pasha was sufficient; in their own pashas they had no confidence, they knew that they were liars and rogues. Mr. Churchill worked hard to lay up stores of rice and corn, and was able to forward considerable quantities to Kars. General Williams, finding that in one form or other everything was plundered which came through the custody of the pashas, became commissary-general himself, and laboured with the same indefatigable industry and observant intelligence in this as in every other department. The general wrote to the British ambassador at Constantinople, craving the removal of the incompetent and dishonest; his despatches

were no longer treated with disrespect, but little practical benefit ever followed. Dr. Sandwith says that but for the encouragement afforded by Lord Clarendon, General Williams, with all his vigour and courage, must have given up his labours in despair.

A speech of General Williams' has been given on a previous page, showing the importance of medical supervision to an army, and in commendation of Dr. Sandwith. The doctor has himself published an account of his difficulties and successes in his department. The following is an interesting picture of his position, and the state of things with which he was more immediately concerned:—"In the month of February, 1855, I had been appointed, at the instance of General Williams, inspector of the hospitals; and, as a brief account of this department of the army may not be uninteresting, I shall endeavour to describe my duties, and state a few collateral circumstances springing out of those duties. In the first place, my staff consisted of about fifty persons, including physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries. These were divided into three classes: the *hekims*, or physicians; the *jerachs*, or surgeons; and the *ezadjees*, or apothecaries. The physicians (*hekims*) were of various nations, French, Hungarians, Poles, and Italians; but the greater part were pure Turks, or Osmanlis, who had been educated at the Galata Serai, or medical school of Constantinople. The hekims were considered the most educated part of our force: the best of them, by far, were the Turks; the Europeans were, for the most part, ignorant pretenders—perfect Sangrados—without diplomas, or with very doubtful ones. I now found myself at the head of a body of officers who were, in truth, the only educated part of the army. Some of the Turkish physicians who had been instructed in Constantinople could speak French fairly. . . . Some few of the Turkish hekims were very fair operators, and were well grounded in the principles of their profession. They were, moreover, most modest and anxious for that improvement which increased facilities, and an enlarged intercourse with more advanced nations, cannot fail to bring within their reach. The surgeons, or *jerachs*, were of quite another class. These were ignorant barbers, who professed to bleed, draw teeth, and dress wounds, but whose surgical knowledge went no further. Nevertheless, among these were many docile and tractable, who, with fitting opportunities, would soon far surpass the old class of Turkish practitioners. The medical department was, in truth, at a very low ebb; less on account of the inefficiency of the staff than because they were, as usual in that land of plots, split up into numerous factions, and intriguing against each other. Moreover, they had been habitually insubordinate to their former chief, and enjoyed

little, if any, consideration from the superior military officers among their own countrymen."

Dr. Sandwith found croton oil sufficient to purge the whole population of Armenia, and linseed sent from Constantinople, at ten times its intrinsic value, which was a product of Armenia. He found sufficient chloroform for 100,000 operations! All these things were supplied by a medical purveyor, who poisoned the sultan's troops by wholesale for a profit which he shared with certain officials about the Porte. The doctor began to form a pharmacopœia for the Turkish army, but found an excellent one which had been thrown aside by the drug purveyor, and had been neglected, and at last forgotten. Dr. Sandwith again thus writes:—"No ambulances, or any means of conveying the wounded, existed indeed, a sort of deathlike inactivity pervaded this department, for the commanders-in-chief had invariably turned a deaf ear to the suggestions and representations of its former inspector general. My appointment was useful, inasmuch as it brought the matter within the sphere of General Williams' influence, who was the terror of pashas, large and small; whose visit would at any time cause a cold perspiration to start from the great officials, and inspire a singular and galvanic simulation of activity in themselves and their myrmidons. I represented to the general that an ambulance corps for the field was essential: ambulances were made, horses and mules were purchased. I ordered such and such individuals to different out-stations, and my authority was at once backed by the terrible English pasha: and although I cannot deny that very serious difficulties did meet me, some of which were insurmountable, yet most of these disappeared under his energy and will. My aim in the management of the medical corps was not to remodel and reconstruct on my own plan, but to build upon old foundations, and to ensure proper discipline and order. I moreover did my utmost to utilize the resources of the country, and render myself independent of Constantinople; since the time required to obtain necessaries from thence was generally extended over months, and the articles received were of the worst description. To General Williams' iron will and determination in all matters of hygiene in the camp must be attributed in a great measure the happy exemption; while to Salish Bey and Yilt Agha, names unknown beyond the scene of their labours, and to several other earnest working men, whose noble qualities shone brighter and brighter as the siege advanced, would I here record my gratitude and admiration."

From the time that General Williams obtained a full recognition of his authority from Constantinople, his power over the pasha









feriks, beys, &c., considerably increased, and he was enabled to make more way in the progress of reform. It was not until the 25th of February that he was invested with full Turkish rank, and he soon proved to the other officers of the sultan that his was not to be worn as mere nominal honour.

During the spring Colonel Lake corresponded with the general, giving him ample information of the state of things at Kars, and the colonel's representations were forwarded to Constantinople and to London, but no help came. On the 20th of April Colonel Lake wrote—"There are only fifteen days' provision for the troops now in garrison." A few days after he wrote again to the same effect, pressing urgently for relief. On receipt of these letters General Williams thus addressed Lord Clarendon:—"Neither land carriage for the army at Kars nor the provisions for that force are to be had in sufficient quantities, and I have this day received intelligence from Colonel Lake drawing my attention to these points, and echoing the prayers I have in vain addressed during the winter to Constantinople." The general then assures Lord Clarendon that he had used every effort to get sufficient food in the neighbourhood, and requests that directions be given to the governors of Diarbekir, Kharoot, and the more remote provinces, to send food, especially grain. Lord Clarendon forwarded these requisitions to the English ambassador, but no good result followed. On the first

of May, before the heat of summer, so oppressive in those regions, supervened, and the inconvenience occasioned by it in transmitting supplies would be experienced, General Williams addressed a strong appeal to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, it being the third of a similar nature between the first of April and that date:—"Several weeks ago I addressed your lordship on the necessity of my having authority to take an active part in the purchase of provisions for this army; but, although Lord Panmure has expressed his decided sentiments on this vital point, I have not received a line in allusion to it from your excellency, and I have to state that this army cannot be supplied with provision without I can control those who have this matter in their hands. Colonel Lake informs me that the provision has dwindled down to ten or twelve days' supply, and I have not authority to oblige the medjlis to expedite food to our force, which I may soon have to designate as a starving army." If Lord Stratford de Redcliffe acted upon this urgent appeal in any way, there is no record of it in the Blue-books, nor anywhere else accessible to the historian. On the 5th of May, General Williams had sent from Erzerum a considerable supply, and so did the general work, that by the 3rd of June there were four months' provision in the place. To pursue the subject of Kars further in this chapter would be unnecessarily to anticipate events elsewhere to be recorded.

## CHAPTER LXVI.

### DIPLOMACY FROM THE BEGINNING OF 1855 TO THE MEETING OF THE VIENNA CONFERENCE.

"Everybody is mystified, and dreadingly does his best to mystify his neighbour. It must be allowed also that everybody succeeds pretty unsatisfactorily."—ROVING ENGLISHMAN.

WHILE the early months of 1855 were signalised by preparations for war on the part of the belligerent powers, yet each hoped to jolt the other by the various agencies of diplomacy. Austria was the most active in pressing on peace negotiations. There was a certain dignity to be maintained by the powers actually at war that fettered them in any degree they might entertain to stretch out the hand of amity; but Austria had not yet drawn the sword, was unwilling to draw it, and was therefore anxious to save her own honour, by making it appear that recourse to arms on her part was not necessary, and that the time had arrived when those engaged in hostilities might abandon them. She, however, made great show of military preparation in the beginning of 1855. A correspondent from Vienna thus notices them, and the motives of Austria in restraining her armies from any warlike overt act:—"The public has recently heard so much

of the armaments of Russia that some information respecting the Austrian forces may not be out of place. The whole of the fourth army will be concentrated in Galicia by the end of January, but the different corps will be posted in such positions that they may without difficulty be directed to any given point. According to a reliable estimate, some 180,000 men, with 50,000 or 60,000 horses, are now in the Bukovina and Galicia. The Vienna correspondent of the *Augsburg Gazette* writes that not long since 45,000 men were at Cracow, 45,000 at Lemberg, 30,000 in the country lying between those two cities, and about 70,000 in East Galicia and the Bukovina, but such intelligence deserves no great credit, as only the persons employed in the emperor's military chancellerie can speak positively on such matters. The third army, in Transylvania and the eastern part of Hungary, consists of about 130,000 men, while the corps in

Wallachia and Moldavia may be about 50,000 strong. It is supposed the whole active army under the command of Baron Hess may consist of 360,000 men and some 100,000 horses, but the estimate is probably somewhat exaggerated. There never was an army better supplied with all the necessaries of war than the Austrian, and it is well that it is so. The political world, and your Vienna correspondent with it, has often loudly complained that Austria has held back so long, but it must not be forgotten that she has between 1300 and 1400 miles of frontier touching on Russia, and seven fortresses to besiege if she carries the war into the enemy's country."

In keeping with these preparations was the tone adopted by the Austrian ambassador at Constantinople. Baron Bruck gave a diplomatic dinner there, at which he proposed the toast, "The Sultan," and added, "and to the Turkish troops—the conquerors of the Russians, the defenders of their country against Muscovite ambition. With them and their allies Austria will gladly draw the sword for the rights of Turkey, of Europe, and of justice. Russia is not to be feared; she will find that she has suffered defeat, whatever may be the final settlement of the present difficulties."

These words were carried through Europe, and read everywhere with avidity. It was felt that the turning point of the war was the junction of Austria with the allies, and her great military preparations and resources, viewed in connection with this bold speech, greatly excited all Europe. In Russia alone did it appear to take no effect—there Austria was better understood than anywhere else, even in Prussia. The czar had accurately measured the motives and means of the *kasir*. Austria had her own reasons for speaking through Baron Bruck in this defiant way against Russia, and expressing herself so cordially to the Ottoman Porte. The Danubian provinces had not only grown weary of Austrian armies, but so intolerant of their presence that the people would have risen and attacked them had there been the slightest hope that valour could achieve victory. The state of things was ripening, which a few weeks later was thus described:—"A very extraordinary event has taken place at Bucharest. Mr. Colquhoun, the British consul, was seated quietly in his cabinet, when four men, with masked visages, rushed into the room, and laid upon his table a variety of documents, after which they rapidly withdrew. These documents, on examination, proved to be revelations seriously implicating Prince Stirbey, who is said to have been in correspondence with Russia; and other papers revealed the unprincipled atrocities committed by the Austrians during their occupation of the Danubian Principalities. These documents

referred to persons who, it was alleged, could substantiate all the accusations brought against Stirbey and the Austrians. Unfortunately, such proofs were wanting, as the facts are patent to all who are at all conversant with Danubian affairs."

This state of matters in "the provinces" gave much uneasiness in England, and led to many remonstrances at the Porte, that Austria anxious to hold these provinces in an iron grasp thought it good policy to flatter Turkey, and placate Great Britain. The Porte too had, as was believed, resolved upon dismissing the Prince of Wallachia, Stirbey, and appointing Prince Ghika Karmakam as governor in his place. It was also rumoured in Constantinople and in London, that the governor of Moldavia had received from the Porte an official notification of the approaching arrival of French troops. On these subjects great reserve was practised by the Turkish and French governments, and it was observed so closely towards Baron Bruck to give him considerable uneasiness, and cause some foreboding that measures were deliberated which it was known would be unpalatable to his government.

The forward conduct of the gallant little kingdom of Piedmont made Austria at once jealous and apprehensive. She was jealous of her moral power in Europe, and apprehensive lest Sardinia should leave the Western powers under so much obligation to her, as to be a guarantee for her independence against an Austro-Lombard invasion, or any persecution or annoyance which she might be disposed to offer to a kingdom which she hates so much. Prussia was also attempting to open up separate negotiations with the cabinets of London and Paris, the drift of which was not thoroughly comprehended at Vienna; and Austria, always jealous of Prussia, was anxious to forestall her in the supposed offers of some kind of alliance, which, through M. Von Usedom, she was supposed to make. By calculations of this nature the court of Vienna was solely influenced, and there was no sincerity in its warlike words.

Prussia, unwilling to enter into the treaty between Austria and the Western powers, called the treaty of December, sought to accomplish a separate one with France, or failing that, with France and England, which would leave her position to Austria more loose, and not bind her so stringently to take up arms against Russia, as it appeared to her the treaty of the 2nd of December bound the southern German power.

The mission of Von Usedom failed. According to the *Wurtemberg Staate Anzeiger* (an official paper), the French reply to the Prussian despatch proposing a separate treaty struck to the heart the Prussian monarch, and greatly disconcerted his court and cabinet. The French

minister gave M. de Manteuffel, the Prussian minister, to understand, that any despatch or mission having for its object a separate treaty was no longer seasonable. The French foreign minister inquired, in an indignant form of expression, why new negotiations should be opened to effect what could without further loss of time be accomplished, if Prussia intended any military co-operation with the West. M. Drouyn de Lhuys was of opinion that if France consented to enter into a second treaty, in order to attain one and the same end proposed to be accomplished by that of the 2nd of December, the world would be justified in coming to the conclusion that she sought to create a schism in Germany. France, therefore, declined to enter into any separate treaty, seeing that Prussia had been invited earnestly to join in that of the 2nd of December. This put an end to the projects of Von Usedom, at all events for that time, and left Prussia "to chew the cud of bitter disappointment." Her real object was to create a schism between the Western powers, and between the Western powers and Austria, and to play the game of Russia among all the powers of the coalition against her. Austria was not sincere to the allies, and Prussia knew that, but she also knew that neither was Austria sincere to her nor to Russia. The Prussian king might, when he reflected upon the czar's dealings with the czar, and the efforts to entangle Prussia in connections and treaties for Austria's interest solely, address him in the language of Byron's betrayed lover—

"Thou false to him, thou fiend to me!"

Prussia, finding that the Western powers were not to be deceived, showed the most bitter feeling, especially to England; and, indeed, while M. Von Usedom was speaking honeyed words in the ears of M. Drouyn de Lhuys, at Paris, means were taken to woo the smaller German states into sympathies hostile to the Western alliance. It was by her influence that the minor German states forbid the exportation of horses, as it was understood England wished to purchase largely for her augmented cavalry forces. Prohibitions of foreign enlistment were intended to withdraw from England the means of recruiting her foreign legions. Russia was intensely anxious to carry out this object all through northern and central Germany. The governor of the province of Posen issued the following notification:—The criminal code of Prussia prescribes that whoever enlists a Prussian into the military service of foreign states, or introduces him to their recruiting agents, likewise whoever intentionally seduces a Prussian soldier to desert, or knowingly assists his desertion, will be punished with from three months' to three

years' imprisonment. Any attempt at the above will be visited with a similar punishment. As offices are about to be opened in the Netherlands and free towns, for the purpose of enlisting men into foreign service, I take this opportunity of bringing the above penal law to mind, and call upon all the police authorities of the province immediately to arrest any recruiting agent, and hand him over to the state prosecutor, to take from him his papers, and if he is a foreigner, to take measures for his being sent over the frontier after undergoing his punishment. I require to be informed of each separate instance."

In these measures the Prussian king was supported by his cabinet, army, aristocracy, merchants, and by the middle classes of his people to a large extent. The masses sympathised with England, and many Prussians enlisted in her legions in spite of opposition and menace. A Berlin journal declared at this time that the young men of the city flocked to the British embassy anxious to enrol themselves in the English service, while the Russian ambassador could not secure accessions to the medical staff of the Russian army, although the Prussian government gave every encouragement to medical gentlemen to take service in that army. This was not only a proof of the general feeling of the *people* in favour of the allies, but a specimen of the kind of neutrality preserved throughout the war by that power. The policy of Prussia was described with admirable precision in a letter from a Prussian gentleman, in Berlin, at this juncture:—"No doubt the dominant party here is well disposed to 'old' England, but it is better disposed to young Russia. No doubt it entertains the most just respect for her wise and patriotic queen; but it entertains infinitely greater admiration, mingled with a due quantum of fear, for the 'emperor.' (No doubt, also, it would be rejoiced to form a triple alliance with the aforesaid old England; but then the trifolium must be made up with Russia as the centre leaf. This would save Sebastopol, Cronstadt, the Russian navy, and Russian supremacy in every coloured sea, and in every land throughout Europe. This would attach Germany to the Russo-Prussian car. This would neutralise Austria; and then a fig for France, and perhaps a 'third march to Paris,' to re-proclaim the elder Bourbons. All this, and more, exists in the dreams of those who pull the strings of Prussian policy, and will continue so until their hold of the strings be cut asunder."

While Prussia was endeavouring to form a separate treaty with France, or with France and England, she was also coquetting with Austria to draw that power away from the alliance, or to induce it to form conventions with her—

self which would neutralise the treaties with the West against Russia. It will be recollected by the reader that on the 20th of April, 1854, a convention had been entered into between Austria and Prussia, binding them mutually to arm in case of their respective territories being endangered by attack from any of the belligerents. The Austrian government called upon Prussia to fulfil this obligation, as, by virtue of the treaty of December the 2nd with France and England, Austria would soon be at war with Russia. To this the Prussian foreign minister replied. The following is the despatch *in extenso*, transmitted by that functionary to Count Arnim, the Prussian minister at the court of Vienna:—

Jan. 5, 1855.

YOUR excellency will find enclosed a copy of a note addressed on the 24th of December, 1854, to Count Esterhazy, in which the imperial Austrian cabinet more closely defines the military measures which, in its opinion, Prussia and the other German governments ought to take in virtue of the treaty of April 20, and of the additional article of the 26th of November. Count Buol very justly remarks that it is necessary the contending parties should come to an understanding in respect to the exigency which presents itself, and on which the efficacy of the conditional military obligations into which Prussia has entered depends. As your excellency will readily conceive, his majesty has from the same point of view uninterruptedly directed his attention to the course of events, and long before this matter was brought forward, in the way done in the despatch of December 24, his majesty had conscientiously taken into consideration the obligations which he had taken on himself. It does not appear to be my duty now to enter more fully into the dispositions made by his majesty the king—dispositions arising as well from a regard to the interest of his country and people as from the undeviating attention which he has paid to the gravity of the circumstances—in order with noiseless progress to effect an increased preparation for war and a more speedy development of force. By the measures taken, larger bodies of troops can be ready for action within a much shorter period than that conditionally appointed in the Military Convention of April 20, and we might therefore suppose that we should in some degree be able to tranquillise Count Buol in regard to the heavy blow of the Russian military force on the Austrian Empire, could we share his opinion that Russia entertained the idea of proceeding aggressively.

However, after having dispassionately examined the general state of affairs, we should be obliged to do violence to our own conviction before we could arrive at the conclusion that Russia will assume the offensive if she is not attacked. I have more than once had occasion to direct your excellency to make such confidential communications to the imperial Austrian cabinet as in our opinion would most positively refute any such supposition. Besides, our intelligence respecting the movements of the Russian troops is by no means of a nature to justify the apprehensions alluded to. I attach the greater importance to what has above been said, as it appears to be the object of a part of the press to lead public opinion astray in this matter. Indeed, the recent conduct of Russia, in respect to the endeavours made to bring about negotiations for peace, is of such a nature that it would be difficult for a dispassionate observer not to remark her sincere wish to come to an understanding. Russia has unreservedly accepted the four points as they were proposed to her. After the conclusion of the treaty of December 2, she not only did not retract her acceptance, but she gave a fresh instance of her readiness to conclude a peace by granting fuller powers to Prince Gortschakoff. His majesty the king has the satisfactory consciousness of having always so employed his personal and diplomatic influence at St. Petersburg, that the imperial Russian cabinet should declare itself ready to

treat on the basis of the four points, although this basis of peace goes beyond that which the two contracting powers (Prussia and Austria) had considered the object of their alliance when the treaty of April 20 was concluded. A confidential conference has already been held in order more nearly to specify the four points. We do not know the result of that conference, and because we do not know it, and as long as we do not know it, we shall consider it an imperative duty to take the simple and unmistakable conditions of the treaty as our inviolable rule of action, and keep the circle of our obligations free from any extension which we cannot clearly overlook. I respect to the military matters, which are pointed out to us as duties, we shall hold fast to the leading and fundamental principles of the April treaty, which also find their expression at the close of the military convention inasmuch as the object of mutual assistance is stated to be the warding off of an attack. Even the obligation which Prussia took on herself in the additional article of November 26, 1854, bears this defensive character, although they confessedly go beyond the fundamental principles of the treaty of April. They (the obligations) are, besides inseparably connected with the pre-supposition of a mutual endeavour to procure the acceptance of the four points. It is self-evident that there cannot be any mutual commotion as long as Prussia has no share in the interpretation of those points, and exercises no influence on them. The right to such participation, in as far as regards definitive arrangements which, though made with the declared intention of maintaining the balance of power in Europe, change the whole of the international relations of Europe, and seem to modify treaties which Prussia has also signed—this privilege Prussia does not find on her being a sharer in any stipulation connected with the present Eastern complication, but on her quality of a great European power, which, by its own well-earned right, has participated in the treaties that regulate the legal state of things in Europe. The assurance need hardly be given that his majesty the king will, with the utmost tenacity, cling to this view of things, and in order to maintain it, should it be in danger of being disputed, he will not shrink from sacrifices and dangers which his faithful subjects will share in with their well-tested resolution, and with the whole force and perseverance which arise from true patriotism. It is least of all necessary to give such an assurance to his majesty the Emperor Francis Joseph, the illustrious relative and ally of the king. Neither need it be given to the sovereigns and the leading statesmen of the other states, as, in spite of divergent views and interests, Prussia reckons with confidence on the just appreciation of her claims, and is willing to procure their recognition (*anerkenntnis*) of the same by means of explanation and mutual agreement (*vereinbarung*).

From the foregoing remarks on the principles which actuate the king in respect to his own military attitude, your excellency will readily perceive that his most gracious majesty does not consider himself called on to take the initiative in the German Confederation in respect to an immediate arrangement for the preparation of war of a separate contingent. The draught which was specially recommended by us and Austria to the Bund as a firm basis is positively established, both by the proposition of the committee and by the resolution which was taken at the Bund on the 9th, but Prussia, from consideration for her other German allies, believes herself bound not formally to return to the same, as by so doing she would anticipate the duties of the military commission. On the other hand, it is self-understood that the royal military plenipotentiary will always be furnished with the necessary instructions for demanding the activity of the military commission on the basis of that part of the Federal Constitution which makes provision for war, and also for bringing the matter to a conclusion in a proper way. By thus acting according to the Federal Constitution, those objections will be best removed which, as we confess, present themselves to the proposals of the Austrian cabinet, as intimated in its despatch of the 24th of the last month.

Your excellency will be pleased to make to Count Buol a written communication of the present instructions.

Accept, &c.

MANTEUFFEL

This excited, according to some accounts, great indignation at the court of Vienna; others pretended to know that these angry appearances were simulated, and that the Austrian court was really glad to have a pretext for holding back, in the infidelity of Prussia to her engagements. Be this as it may, the despatch was met by the following rejoinder from Count Buol, the Austrian minister:—

*Vienna, Jan. 14.*

AFTER the resolution taken by the German Confederation on the 9th of December, we considered it our bounden duty directly confidentially to confer with the royal court of Prussia on the subject of the practical result to be derived from the decision of the Bund.

The instructions which were given to our minister at Berlin to this effect, your — has learned by my communication of the 26th of December. It is evident from the reply now received, of which I have the honour to enclose a copy, that the views of the cabinets of Vienna and Berlin do not coincide in some essential points.

The whole Confederation acknowledged the threatening state of affairs; but Prussia questions the correctness of the decision of the Bund, on the ground of the reiterated assurance of Russia—for which there is no guarantee—that she will confine herself to the defence of her own territory. We neither undervalue such a promise given by a power involved in the war, nor the effect which it may possibly have on its limitation; but no binding, no securing quality which could exercise any positive influence on the execution of the resolution taken by the German Confederation can be attributed, either by the German governments or by Austria, to a promise which has been accepted by no one. If proof were necessary that Russia herself does not believe that it (the promise) can be made subservient to the necessities of her military position, it could at this very moment be found in the conduct of Russia towards Turkey on the right bank of the Danube.

Even if we do not refuse to share in the hopes which Europe attaches to the concessions recently made by Russia at the conference held on the 7th, the object to be attained is still too distant—the opinions as to the practical accomplishment and the application of the four preliminary points may differ in such manifold ways, and the chances of war may exercise so much influence—for the imperial court to yield to the hope that in the preliminary results which have already been obtained, it has in hand a sure guarantee that peace will really be restored.

We appeal to the good sense of the German governments, and demand whether they can deceive themselves by fancying that the situation of affairs has until now lost anything of that threatening character which the Bund itself recognised. His majesty the emperor, our illustrious master, considers it necessary to remain in a state of complete preparation for all contingencies, and the approaching negotiations for peace will therefore, as long as the certainty of a favourable result is wanting, neither exercise any influence on the military measures of Austria, nor can they, in the opinion of the emperor, be allowed to interfere with the engagements entered into with his majesty's German allies for the attainment of common (mutual) objects. Such an attitude can but serve the interests of peace, and increase the chances of a favourable issue to the negotiations.

It is our most firm conviction that our German allies ought also now to place the whole of Germany in a position calculated to command respect. It appears to us that the interests of the German nation and its princes urgently require that Germany should, as well as ourselves, be sufficiently prepared for all possible contingencies. Whatever expression may in future be given to the resolutions of the Bund in its quality of a political power, we must again propose that whatever is requisite for the development of its military force may be cared for without delay. You will readily conceive that, entertaining such opinions, we could not otherwise reply to the communication of the Prussian cabinet respecting the

armaments of Russia and the German Bund than by those instructions to Count Esterhazy of which a copy is annexed.

The imperial presidial minister to the Bund will accordingly propose to the respective committees that a motion be made in the Diet that at least one-half of the several contingents shall be made *mobile*, unless the opinion should prevail that it would be more advisable to place the whole of the federal army in readiness for operations. The question whether, in the first case, two combined army corps or one complete corps should be formed, which the second half of the contingent would have to follow in case of need, as well as all other matters of a like nature, ought to be made the subject of consultations which should be held as speedily as possible, and of resolutions on the part of the authorities of the Bund.

The election of a federal commander-in-chief will also be necessary, in order that the union of the different parts of the federal army may, agreeably to the act of confederation, be united under one command. We are, therefore, of opinion that the Diet should immediately occupy itself with this matter, and take the necessary steps for electing a commander-in-chief of the military forces of the Bund, while in the several states the necessary measures should be taken for placing the federal corps prepared for war at the disposal of the commander who is to be elected.

Your — will communicate these instructions, as well as the documents which accompany them, to the courts of —, &c., and request of them to have the kindness to make known to us the resolutions to which this communication may give rise, as also the instructions which they may be pleased to give to their representatives at Frankfort, in order that they may co-operate in the accomplishment of the important duty which the organ (the Bund) of the will of the whole of Germany has to fulfil.

Accept the assurance of my perfect esteem.

COUNT BUOL.

Baron Manteuffel's despatch to Vienna was communicated to the cabinets of London and Paris; the result was a despatch to the Prussian government, from the French minister for foreign affairs, refusing to Prussia the right to be represented in the approaching conference at Vienna, unless she joined loyally in the treaty of the 2nd of December. The reply of the French government was peremptory and explicit, and produced in Prussia and in all Germany the greatest excitement. It is as follows:—

THE cabinet of Paris establishes that Prussia explains her refusal to mobilise her army:—1st, because she does not believe in the imminence of an attack upon Austria by Russia; 2ndly, because the support which she would have to give ought to be preceded by an *entente* between the contracting parties upon the feasibility of carrying out the eventual conventions. Prussia adds, moreover, that there can be the less objection to suspend the execution thereof, because if it was really necessary to place the Prussian army on a war footing, it could be done within the period fixed upon. The Prussian government, therefore, is resolved not to change the character of its obligations. The additional article may have extended them, but it has not modified their nature, and Prussia only engaged herself towards Austria to a *defensive* alliance. The two great German powers, moreover, ought to unite their efforts to obtain the adhesion of Russia to the four points specified in the notes of the 8th of August, and it would be necessary for the realisation of that community of action, that Prussia herself should participate in the definition of those first bases of a future peace.

As regards the acts the object of which would be either to consolidate the balance of power in Europe, or to modify existing treaties, and which Prussia had signed, her right to participate therein does not depend upon this or that accidental stipulation; it is due to the rank she

holds in the world. King Frederick William, to maintain it, will not be deterred by dangers and sacrifices, which the nation would share with as much devotion and energy as patriotism.

Another despatch from M. de Manteuffel (the above is the analysis of that of the 5th of January) brings out in more prominent relief the principal points where Prussia establishes that, the more she intrenches herself behind the strict interpretation of her engagements by the resistance to the pretension made to extend them against her will, the more, on the contrary, will she be disposed to enlarge them by means of negotiation, provided her position and her dignity as a great power are respected.

The cabinet of Paris beholds in the *exposé* given in M. de Manteuffel's despatches two distinct orders of ideas:—the one special to the relations of the Prussian government with the court of Vienna; the other concerning the *ensemble* of its position in Europe. On the first point, France is resolved not to interfere in questions which exclusively concern the German Confederation; on the second, the cabinet of Paris is willing to explain itself.

The cabinet of Paris does not pretend to contest to Prussia the rank she holds. Nay more, during the last two years it has often reminded her of the obligations of that high rank of which she is so justly proud. But it feels it a duty to observe that the quality of great power is permanent—it cannot be cast off when it implies onerous duties, and be resumed when it only offers advantages. Privileges and duties of this importance are absolutely correlative. The one is inseparable from the other. It is not to be supposed that England and Austria take a different view of the case from France. But so much is certain—that France will never allow that a power which, from its own free will, took no part in the great events which are taking place in the world, shall afterwards maintain a claim to regulate the consequences thereof. The advantages arising from the war are only for the belligerent powers. And the advantages of the present (essentially moral advantages) consist in the right of participation, in the interests of Europe, in the regulations of peace. Prussia has not done anything as yet for that object. She has refused to proclaim her neutrality. That resolution does her honour. But, in reality, on what side is she? If hostilities continue, will she be with or against the allied powers? This is what no one can tell.

Can Prussia reproach France for her confidence in Austria? The lines of conduct have been so different. By a movement which she declares purely a strategic one, Russia evacuates the principalities; Prussia immediately declares herself satisfied, while Austria, on the very morrow of the day upon which that evacuation is communicated to her, exchanges the notes of the 8th of August with France and England. On the 28th of November, Prince Gortschakoff announces the adhesion of his court to the four points; Prussia congratulates herself on having obtained the object of her efforts, while Austria signs the treaty of alliance of the 2nd of December with the Western powers. On the 7th of January, Russia accepts the interpretation of the four guarantees; Prussia, fancying the success of her policy complete, rejects the appreciation made by Austria of the treaty of the 20th of April, and refuses to call out her contingent; while Austria spontaneously hastens to recognise the case provided for by Art. 5 of the treaty of the 2nd of December is realised, that the re-establishment of peace is not assured, and offers to combine her plans of military operations with the allied powers.

Is there a wish of maintaining that Austria finds in the alliance of the 2nd of December advantages not shared by Prussia? What are they? This observation of Prussia doubtless does not imply an assent; but yet, as a proposition is made to conclude a *Prussian* treaty, beside the *Austrian* treaty, it would be well to explain the exact meaning of the proposition. Was that the object of M. d'Usedom's mission to London? That mission was wrapped up in so much mystery that its real object is not yet known in Paris. But the more endeavours were made to conceal it, the more were made to discover it. All that has been discovered is, that Prussia exerted all her efforts to prevent the allies from waging the war upon the vulnerable point of the enemy, and to prevent the passage of their troops through Germany. What did she offer as

a compensation? To place a *corps d'armée* on the Polish frontier—that is to say, that Prussia with one hand would turn aside the sword of the allied powers, and with the other cover Russia as with a shield. Might one not be authorised to suppose that M. d'Usedom had different treaties in his portfolio, and took out by mistake the wrong one at London—that which was to have been produced at St. Petersburg?

The French government has not the intention, you may be assured, of hurting the feelings of Prussia. It expresses itself thus in a loyal and sincere expression (*épanchement*); and if it desires its language to be heard at Berlin it is in the hope to see Prussia at least give up a position in which, if it had been happy enough to see its efforts crowned with success, she would not have been to-day.

The attention of all Europe was directed to the sittings of the German Diet, and its resolutions to arm on the 8th of February were accepted in such different lights by all the powers concerned, as to form a very curious feature in the aspect of the times, strikingly illustrating the language with which this chapter is headed. When the resolutions of the German Diet came under the consideration of the Austrian cabinet, it ordered a diplomatic circular to its agents at the different German courts, which excited extended discussion in all the cabinets of Germany, especially in that of Prussia, and led to much diplomatic turmoil between the greater and lesser German states, and between the two leading German powers themselves.

Our previous communications do not permit your excellency to doubt that the resolution of the Diet of the 8th, by which all the principal contingents of the federal army are to be ready on the first appeal to enter upon a campaign within a delay of fifteen days, has been received with satisfaction by the government of the emperor. In fact, we see in the resolution of the Diet an event of great importance, if only for the reason that the schism which the question of military preparations threatened to cause in Germany has been fortunately avoided for the moment. Considered in itself, however, this resolution does not appear to us to arise logically from the reflections caused by the present situation of things, or to respond to the indispensable necessity of keeping the federal army completely prepared to take up a strategic position without loss of time. It is true that we have not been able to admit the motives on which the united committees based the proposition which has been converted into a resolution. It will be understood that on our part we could not present our accord with the Western powers in the light of a demonstration directed at the same time against the two belligerent parties; but the confederation itself, which on this question is no longer placed exclusively on the ground of the federal act, but is also placed on that of the offensive and defensive alliance of the 20th of April, and of the resolutions subsequently attached thereto, has in our opinion assumed an attitude much too decided to be accepted as the motive of the measure at present resolved on, as far as regards the generally menacing situation of European affairs. In the meantime we believe that we may expect that these motives, insufficient in our eyes will be corrected by the situation *de facto* and *de jure* of the question, and especially by the nature of the relation with the powers with which we are allied by a solemn treaty. Your excellency will express yourself in a general way as regards the resolution of the Diet on the indications which we have just given. The immediate and as energetic as possible execution of that resolution is now a question of honour for Germany, and we have no doubt that all the governments of the Confederation will endeavour, with the same zeal, to carry into execution the measure resolved on, and that they will do all in their power that the military constitution of Germany

shall, under these circumstances, respond to its object and to the mission of a great federal power. As far as concerns Austria, the emperor our august sovereign has deigned to order that in the delay of fifteen days, given to the different governments to notify the measures which they shall have taken, the statement of all the troops placed on a war footing, and under the superior command of Field-marshal Baron von Hess, shall be communicated to the Diet, and that a proof will be furnished that the preparations for war made by Austria will far exceed what has been demanded by the Diet. It is scarcely necessary for us to formally express on this subject our conviction that the complete inadmissibility of the proposition made during the vote by the representative of Prussia, not supported by any other government, to the effect that the placing of troops on a war footing must take place within the limits of the federal territory, has not escaped the appreciation of the German governments, the said proposition completely losing sight of the fact that the measure now adopted by the Diet is only a consequence of previous resolutions, according to which the common defence with which the Confederation has charged itself, in consideration of the dangers which threaten German interests, is not only to protect the German federal territory, but also all the territory of Austria and of Prussia, and even our position in the Principalities. There will be no impropriety in your excellency communicating this despatch confidentially to the government.

Accept, &amp;c.,

BUL.

In the sittings of the Diet on the 22nd of February these questions occupied that assembly most painfully. A letter dated Frankfort, 9th of March, in the *Nuremberg Correspondent*, says:—

“We are enabled to give almost textually the discussion which took place between the representatives of the two great German powers in the sitting of the Diet of the 22nd of February. M. de Prokesch (the Austrian representative) declared that he was charged by his government to submit to the Diet the state of the troops assembled and ready to take the field to cover the territories placed under the common protection of the confederation, in virtue of the resolutions of the 24th of July and 9th of December, 1854.

“M. de Bismarck (the Prussian representative) replied:—‘The declaration we have just heard from the imperial representative appears to rest upon the supposition that the principal object of the contingents which are to be placed upon a war footing, in virtue of the resolution of the 8th of February, should be to cover the territories which have been placed under the protection of a common defence by treaties to which the confederation acceded by decisions of the 24th of July and the 9th of December last. The Prussian representative does not think that that supposition is in accordance with the contents of the resolution of the 8th of February, nor with the debates which preceded it. He feels himself, on the contrary, obliged to observe, that if an ulterior interpretation of the resolution was necessary, and if the substance was to be found in the motives that dictated it, it would be seen in those very motives that the circumstances that would render necessary the defensive measures provided for by the resolution of the 9th of De-

cember, 1854, had not yet taken place, but that it was the obligation imposed upon the Diet by the second article of the federal pact to watch over the internal and external safety of Germany, the independence and inviolability of German states, which induced the Diet to make preparations to meet that obligation, and that the forces of the confederation might be brought to bear on any quarter.’

“M. Prokesch von Osten replied to this:—

‘The government of the emperor considers doubtless the resolution of the 8th of February, which converted into a resolution the propositions submitted to the Diet by the united committees on the Eastern question, and in execution of the resolution of the Diet of the 9th of December, as an ulterior development of the resolutions of the Diet of the 24th of July and 9th of December. As the representative of Prussia takes another view of the case, it is the more important that Austria should not allow any doubt to exist as to its view of the matter. It will be for the Diet to judge whether it thinks it necessary to reply to the question as to which view is the right one.

“‘The representative of Austria, moreover, thinks it right to observe that not the motives of a proposition of the committees, but that it is the propositions themselves, which form the object of the deliberations, and that in voting a proposition it does not necessarily follow that the motives are accepted. Austria, moreover, thought fit to declare in her vote that she did not appropriate the motives of the committees. As regards the necessity of proceeding to the fulfilment of the defensive obligations contracted by the resolution of the Diet of the 9th of December not being proved according to the mooted of the committees, it does not follow that that necessity does not exist; and certainly it was not the wish of the committees to affirm that fact, as they themselves declared that they were not yet in a position to form a judgment on the question as to whether hopes favourable to the re-establishment of peace could be founded upon to pending negotiations.”’

The effect upon Austria of the Russian manifesto and general call to arms was to increase still more her armaments, and to drive her still nearer to the Western alliance. Baron von Hess, and Generals Letung and Crawford were directed to report upon the military situation; they recommended the augmentation of the Austrian army to 800,000 men. But indications of financial inability to sustain such a tremendous force greatly disturbed the cabinet, and rendered it really solicitous to bring about a peace. The German *Journal of Frankfort* gave a very minute account of the interview of the Russian minister with the Austrian em-

peror, arising out of these new phases of the complication:—"Prince Gortschakoff on Tuesday last demanded an audience from the emperor for the purpose of giving, in the name of the Emperor of Russia, explanations on the new manifesto of the czar. The prince declared that the sovereign had been constrained to take that step by the extension, more and more considerable, of the coalition against Russia, and that the calling out of the whole forces of the empire was only a measure of defence necessitated by the warlike preparations of the West. This measure, added Prince Gortschakoff, was not intended to exercise any influence on the conferences for peace, the czar being disposed now, as before, to treat with the Western powers on the basis of the four points. The Emperor Francis Joseph did not, we are assured, consider this explanation satisfactory, and he frankly stated to Prince Gortschakoff that the proceeding of the czar inspired him with less confidence, from the fact that up to the present moment no other power has had recourse to measures of such gravity. In a word, the manifesto of the Emperor of Russia has produced a very unfavourable impression in our official circles; and it is asserted that our emperor will not leave without replying to this demonstration of the czar."

Hitherto in the progress of the war Russia had no sincere friend but the King of Prussia, and, even irrespective of his monarchical bigotry and dread of ultra-liberalism, his friendship for the czar was disinterested. In her dealings with Turkey, Austria, and the West, Russia had been diplomatically defeated, as well as defeated in the field, except so far as she succeeded in influencing the Aberdeen ministry to doubt her intention to do more than make a demonstration in the provinces. The *Oesterreichische Zeitung*, after the interview between Prince Gortschakoff and the Austrian emperor, observed:—"Russia still holds her own where the contest is one of arms, but her diplomatic defeats have been severe, and it is upon that field she is after all most likely to be beaten. Her moral power is everywhere so entirely broken, that there is not a state in the world which dare declare that it approves of her policy." Although the above was written by a gentleman well informed in German politics, and in Russian policy so far as it is apprehended in Germany, yet it held in too low an estimate the dexterity of the Russian diplomatists, for, notwithstanding her previous diplomatic defeats and the friendlessness of Russia in Europe—except in Germany north of Vienna—she continued to gain her ends in the intrigues which then everywhere prevailed. Finding Austria armed along her whole frontier, and the German states about to call out their federal contingents, she made overtures of

peace so plausible, and in a spirit apparently so conciliatory, that the Vienna conference was entered upon with most sanguine expectations that peace would follow its deliberations.

The British and French ministers at Vienna were authorised to negotiate a peace which it was professed there and at Berlin, and even in London, that Nicholas was willing, with new born moderation, to make. There was, however, good reason to believe that his real object was to throw Austria off her guard, while the Cossacks attempted to make another Sinope at Tultscha—an attempt, which, although defeated by the bravery of the Turks, enabled their aggressors to make considerable slaughter, and to keep up the prestige of the Russian army for alertness and courage. To produce a lulling effect upon Austrian military preparation, and sow discord in Germany by the help of Prussia, was another object to be gained by renewed negotiations. This proved successful. Austria began to talk confidently of peace, and had gone so far as to inform the Thuringian princes that they need not mobilise their contingents as Russia was sincere. Meanwhile Russia redoubled her exertions. From Bessarabia and Southern Russia troops were hurried to the Crimea, which Russia dare not move thither, if she had not made sure of sheathing the sword of Austria by the peace pretences of Prince Gortschakoff. It could hardly be said that in the negotiations which attended the opening months of the year 1855, Russia experienced diplomatic defeat, whatever her previous reverses in this way.

The Western powers made considerable exertions to draw Sweden and Denmark into the alliance. The ministerial press of Stockholm laboured incessantly to show the disadvantage of such a course, while the popular feeling, as in the previous year, was altogether in its favour. The influence of the King of Prussia in the Swedish court was very great, and it prevailed to recommend a temporising policy, and a real neutrality. The Swedish merchants, profiting by the contraband trade, sustained by their influence the ministerial policy. Denmark resolved also upon neutrality, and the king, professing to fear the coercion of the Western powers, ordered a new conscription, and strengthened his small but well-ordered fleet and army.

Amidst this hubbub of diplomatic rumours, negotiations, hurrying to and fro of ambassadors and agents, and general arming of the nations, a publication issued from the Belgian press, professedly written by a French general officer, which took all Europe by surprise, and produced everywhere a great sensation. This work was attributed to Prince Napoleon Buonaparte, cousin of the Emperor of the French. It will be seen by referring to the account

given of the dispatch of the army of the East to its destination, that Prince Napoleon commanded a division. The prince is a quasi-republican, and disapproved, it is alleged, of the *coup d'état*. When in command of his division in Turkey he preserved a severe reserve, and held little intercourse with Marshal St. Arnaud, whom he considered incompetent to the great task he had undertaken. The prince was invalided in the Crimea, and having remained in Constantinople without any material improvement of his health for some time, he was ordered home by the emperor. On his arrival he was the centre of a clique at Paris from which emanated the most contemptuous reflections upon the management of the expedition, and the policy of the war—everything which went wrong being attributed to the self-will and inordinate self-esteem of the emperor, and the incompetency of the generals selected by him to carry out his schemes. At last the pamphlet appeared which produced such a painful impression throughout Europe. It was entitled, *De la Conduite de la Guerre d'Orient — Expédition de Crimée — Mémoire Adressé au Gouvernement S. M. l'Empereur des Français, par un Officier Général*. It contained critiques upon the management of the war, which were as just as they were severe; but it also contained many things which, even if written by a prince of the imperial house, proved that he was not fully acquainted with the facts or the policy arraigned. The policy of the French emperor towards Austria is thus described:—"It was the hope of securing the alliance of Austria, after having secured that of England—it was the desire of forming a coalition of sovereigns against the czar, instead of forming a coalition of peoples against despotism, which misled that artful and circum-spect policy, and which destroyed in one single campaign the forces of the Western powers. Austria could not but be a hindrance, and her alliance an insurmountable obstacle. Austria saw an inevitable danger in the continuation of French uniforms on the Hungarian frontiers, and at a short distance from Poland. That continuation might give hopes to the Hungarian national party, and provoke insurrections powerful enough to shake to its roots the scarcely planted tree of the Austrian monarchy. Already the Hungarian and Polish emigrants were on the move; they formed legions destined to join the allied powers, and to combat the czar, in whom they saw the impersonation of absolutism and tyranny. In the heart of the French army there were Hungarian and Polish refugees. Now, what Austria was anxious to avoid, at any cost, was the appearance of a French flag on those Hungarian frontiers; it was the agitation which might result from that, in provinces ever ready to rebel. Her

adhesion was on that condition, and on that condition, as we have already stated, it could not but be unacceptable. And yet it was accepted. The Emperor Napoleon III. was peculiarly anxious to secure the alliance of Austria; he had particularly at heart to make himself acknowledged and accepted, as a peer and an ally, by the last descendant of the ancient house of Hapsburg."

The treaty between Turkey and Austria signed on the 20th of June, 1854, it will be recollected, enabled the latter to occupy the Moldo-Wallachian territory, and this treaty was cunningly completed by the Austrian minister at Constantinople without, it was alleged, so much as consulting the ambassadors of France and England. According to "the general officer" (who writes of Prince Napoleon as though it was not his hand who held the pen), Marshal St. Arnaud was the real author of the treaty, acting under the secret instructions of the Emperor Napoleon, and that when the army heard of the treaty they were filled with indignation, Bosquet loudly exclaiming, "treason!" At Varna the delay is attributed to the secret influence of Austria, which became so obvious that Prince Napoleon on that ground demanded his recall, which the emperor refused. It appears that "the general officer" forgot that the want of transport, and the prevailing sickness, rendered it quite impossible to move the French army upon the Danube. One division which entered the Dobrudscha was decimated by disease, and hardly a man returned to Varna in health. Still, as the reader may find in the pages of this History recording the transactions there, the inaction of the allies was suspicious, transport might have been—ought to have been provided; and unless some diplomatic end was to have been arrived at, it is unaccountable that two great nations should leave, in summer, armies of no great magnitude, unable to proceed even a few days' march for want of transport. Allowing Silistria to remain so long unrelieved, will ever throw a dark shade of suspicion over the cabinets of the Western powers.

The Crimean expedition was, according to this author, wholly the design of the French emperor, in order to gratify the wish of Austria to remove the forces of France from a field of action by which Poland and Hungary might be excited to revolt. If this be true, the emperor proved himself more far-sighted than his censor, for he succeeded in his enterprise, and conquered a peace by it; while, in selecting such a field of action, he removed all pretext for a junction of the forces of Germany with those of the czar, which would have prolonged the war, and have cost multitudes of lives and many more millions sterling. "The general officer" thus accounts for the expedi-

tion:—"It was in the private apartment at the Tuileries that the idea of that expedition originated: it was conceived in solitude. The emperor, bent over a map, and with eye intent, and a compass in his hand, spent long hours in elaborating the plan, and he sent it to Constantinople entirely written with his own hand, and without having previously communicated it to anybody. The emperor distrusted the observations which Marshal Vaillant would not have failed to proffer, and which he would have listened to only with a sacrifice of judgment."

When the counsel of war at Varna, convened by St. Arnaud, discussed the expedition to the Crimea, the votes of the members were equally divided. Against the expedition were Prince Napoleon and the Duke of Cambridge, Admirals Hamelin and Dundas—the duke being the least opposed. On the other side were St. Arnaud and Canrobert only—but Lord Raglan and Bosquet gave affirmative votes, declaring that it was contrary to their own convictions. These were the timid counsels to which the emperor referred in his celebrated letter to the widow of Marshal St. Arnaud. Lord Raglan and Bosquet were both supposed to be influenced by the urgency of the French marshal, who pleaded the desire and authority of the emperor. Bosquet, suspected of disloyalty, was perhaps actuated by an unwillingness to oppose the emperor's wish, having accepted honours and command at his hands. The decision was referred back to the two cabinets, who were swayed by the desire of Austria to remove French uniforms from the paths to Poland and Hungary. The Crimean expedition sailed, and Austria was conciliated. Such is substantially the story of the French "general officer." According to this writer, also, the army of Omar Pasha was left unsupplied in Bulgaria by Rizza Pasha (through whom the army of Asia was destroyed, and Kars lost), under the influence of Austria; and if the allegations of proof be true, it would appear that the whole policy of Austria at Constantinople was to play upon the corruption of the pashas to leave armies unsupplied, in order to get her own armies thrust upon the provinces; while her influence in Paris was wielded to flatter the dynastic pride of the emperor, and work upon his fear of democracy, to induce him to direct his armies from the provinces of the Danube for the reasons already detailed.

It is of course impossible to confute the statements of the "general officer," when he professes to reveal what were diplomatic secrets, until he revealed them; but if his accuracy in these respects is to be tested by his accounts of the actions in the Crimea, little reliance is to be placed upon any of his revelations. Let the following suffice to illustrate this: in describing

the battle of the Alma he is anxious to detract from the glory of the victory, in order to inveigle the more successfully against the policy of the emperor. He thus describes it:—"On the left the English made their preparations but slowly. They were not in line till ten o'clock when they advanced with their habitual coolness. But they were attacked by cavalry, crushed by the fire of artillery on the heights and compelled to withdraw behind the Alma to re-form their ranks. The position was becoming critical for them, and consequently for us. But the Russians, threatened in front by the Napoleon division, and a brigade of the Forey division, in flank by the divisions of Bosquet and Canrobert, felt a hesitation that decided the day. The Zouaves threw themselves on the Russians with the bayonet. At the same time the divisions of Sir de Lacy Evans and General Brown *re-appeared* on the other side of the Alma, and attacked the Russians in front. The Russian cavalry fell back under the fire of Cathcart's division, and before a brilliant charge of the cavalry, under *Major-general* Lord Lucan."

This whole paragraph is a tissue of inaccuracy and misstatement. The English were not crushed by artillery on the heights; they were not charged by cavalry; they never retired behind the Alma, nor recrossed it again, but as victors; the Russian cavalry did not fall back under a fire of Cathcart's division, nor did the Earl of Lucan and the British cavalry make any charge, brilliant or otherwise. Yet these are only a portion of the errors contained in this absurd passage. It must be no matter of surprise if, with the reputed authorship of the emperor's cousin, the pamphlet obtained a vast circulation, notwithstanding errors so gross as these here exposed. The prince denied any connection with it, but he was not believed, and the production is attributed to his intimacy with the leaders of "the nationalities." There are persons who think that, as in England it was found convenient, in reference to patronage, for the interests of certain noble conservative families, that some noisy member should be a whig, and for whig families of powerful pretensions that a conservative truant should be numbered among the circle—so, in case of changes in France, it is alleged that a democratic as well as an anti-democratic member might subserve the imperial family interests. There are no proofs to sustain such a surmise; but as these speculations largely influence the feelings of men, and shape their political conduct, some account of them is necessary in a narrative of the political and diplomatic intrigues of the period.

As the spring advanced, the plenipotentiaries, for the Vienna conference, to decide on terms of

peace, were definitively nominated; and public attention in England was directed to the antecedents of Lord John Russell, while discussing his fitness for the post. By a careful reference to these, Lord John did not appear to be a man on whom the country might rely in such an emergency. His feelings against Russian policy were not at all so strong as his parliamentary war speeches would lead persons to suppose. His correspondence with Sir Hamilton Seymour establishes this. On the 9th of February, 1853, when minister for foreign affairs, he directed the English ambassador at St. Petersburg to read a despatch to Count Nesselrode, of which the following are extracts:—"Upon the whole, then, her majesty's government are persuaded that no course of policy can be adopted more wise, more disinterested, more beneficial to Europe, than that which his imperial majesty has so long followed, and which will render his name more illustrious than that of the most famous sovereigns who have sought immortality by unprovoked conquest and ephemeral glory." . . . "The more the Turkish government adopts the rules of impartial law and equal administration, the less will the Emperor of Russia find it necessary to apply that exceptional protection which his imperial majesty has found so burthensome and inconvenient, though no doubt prescribed by duty and sanctioned by treaty."

In this trimming, un-English, and unstatesmanlike communication, Lord John recognises the course long followed by the czar as one calculated to shed lustre on the name of his imperial majesty! Was not Lord John aware that the whole career of the man had been one of dissimulation and blood—the invasion of his neighbours' territory, and the suppression of the rights and liberties of nations? Had Lord John never heard of the Caucasus; of the treaty of Adrianople; of the suppression of Polish independence; of the robbery of Persia; of the invasion of Khiva, &c.? Was there ever a prince who "so long followed" a course of more signal rapine and injustice? And why was all this so tolerable to Lord John? Because the great emperor was the patron of order—as monarchical and aristocratical dominion in Europe is pleasantly entitled. Lord John recognises the protection of the Greek Christians as sanctioned by treaty: he ought to have known the treaties between the two powers better than to make such a concession. The foreign minister of England should at least be conversant with that description of lore. His lordship concedes, as a *fait accompli*, that right of protection which the emperor sought to exercise, as prescribed by duty, and therefore maintained although "burthensome" and "inconvenient!" How the wily Nesselrode must have laughed in his sleeve at the simple English

foreign secretary, unless he regarded him as "looking through his fingers," as the Russians say when they wish to describe a thing as very sly and mock innocent. Whether these paragraphs were penned in sincerity or hypocrisy, their writer was not a fit man to deal with the questions pending at Vienna, nor with the power whose minister he thus addressed, unless indeed he had very much improved since he held the seals of the British Foreign-office. How far that was the case will be seen in another chapter.

The most curious episode in the diplomacy of the period was a proposal made in the American legislature to offer the mediation of that power. Mr. Sumner brought forward a resolution, similar to one presented to the House of Representatives by Mr. Clingman, directing inquiry as to the propriety of the United States' government offering to mediate between Russia and the allied powers. Mr. Clingman's resolution, requesting the president to tender the mediation of the United States to the powers engaged in the Eastern war, was worded as follows:—"Whereas, the people of the United States see with regret that several of the great powers of Europe are engaged in a war which threatens to be of long duration, and disastrous in its consequences to the industrial and social interests of a large portion of the civilised world; and being, under the favour of Providence, in the full enjoyment of the blessings of peace, distant from the theatre of conflict, disconnected with the causes of quarrel between the parties belligerent, and as a nation having no immediate interest in the contest, and while, not recognising the right to interfere, either by force or by menace, nevertheless are of opinion that the controversy is susceptible of pacific adjustment through the interposition of a neutral and friendly power. Therefore, be it resolved, by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, that the president be requested to tender to the belligerents the mediation of the United States in such manner as, in his judgment, may seem most likely to lead to a pacification."

America was probably the last state in the world which the allies would be likely to accept as an umpire. Russia would in all probability have accepted it, for the impression in Russia that the Western European powers might be thwarted and counteracted by American instrumentality, was very strong. The *Englishwoman in Russia*, whose interesting publication we have already quoted, thus refers to this subject:—"It was extraordinary how the Russians clung to the idea that they had secured the aid of America to save them from their embarrassments. They spoke of the help they were to receive with as much assurance as

if a treaty had already been signed on the subject, and they appeared to regard the president of the United States with as much respect as a sailor does his sheet anchor in a storm. To do the Americans justice, they took all the advances in perfectly good faith, and rather encouraged the hope. They were courted in all companies, feasted, petted, and as they say, 'made much of,' and seemed rather pleased than otherwise. It is odd that citizens of a republican nation, such as that of the States, should have so great a reverence for titles, orders, stars, and the like trumpery; for surely, if a person be a gentleman in the proper sense of the word, it is not necessary that he be ticketed as such, like a prize ox in a cattle-show; and in Russia, above every other country, a glittering star, or a cross suspended by a scarlet riband round the neck, would be a most fallacious criterion that the wearer merited so high an appellation. Indeed, it often happens that the subjects of the czar, the breast of whose coats is like a cushion on which the family jewels are pinned, have the vilest souls and the blackest hearts, together with the most empty heads in his dominions. I do not know if a foreigner would not really form a more correct estimate of their character, if he judged of their baseness by the number of orders they display. The Americans in St. Petersburg did not seem to think so, for the very morning I left it, one of the *attachés* of their embassy showed my friends, with the greatest exultation, the Easter eggs with which the Princess So-and-so, the Countess Such-a-one, and several

officials of high rank about the court had presented him; he also exhibited the portraits of the whole of the imperial family, which he intended to hang up, he said, 'as household treasures, when he returned to New York,' whither he was going 'right away,' as he assured us. The Russians, upon the strength of their hopes, were always threatening us with the American fleet in the Baltic, which would place the allied fleets between two enemies. Is the old adage about extremes meeting really so near the truth? Whether there were any substantial foundations to all these castles in the air, we had no means of knowing."

The cross-purposes, blandishments, intrigues, and treacheries of the various agencies at work in connection with the war thus performed their criminal round during the early months of 1855, until the conference, so anxiously expected, opened its dreary details at Vienna. On another page of our story, the history of that event shall be recorded, and we now once more turn to Sebastopol, and see what occurrences there were likely to quicken negotiations or defeat hopes of peace. The feeling of the English people was, like that of the Turks, unfavourable to negotiation *yet*:—they desired to see justice done to the wronged and plundered ally, by prompt, frank, honest, open treaty, if the enemy were willing to offer or accept righteous terms; but, otherwise, they were ready to welcome continued war and its consequences, however formidable. The spirit of the people was—"Fiat justitia, ruat cælum."

## CHAPTER LXVII.

THE SIEGE IN FEBRUARY TO THE BATTLE OF EUPATORIA.—PRESENCE OF THE RUSSIAN GRAND DUKES WITH THE ARMY ON THE BELBEK.—ARRIVAL OF RUSSIAN REINFORCEMENTS AND MUNITIONS OF WAR.—ARRIVAL OF CROATS AND OTHER LABOURERS TO ASSIST IN MAKING THE RAILWAY.—REINFORCEMENTS FOR THE ALLIES.—CONTINUED SICKNESS, CONTESTS, AND SORTIES.

"And in this seat of peace tumultuous wars  
Shall kin with kin, and kind with kind confound;  
Disorder, horror, fear, and mutiny  
Shall here inhabit, and this land be called  
The field of Golgotha and dead men's skulls."—SHAKSPEARE. *Richard II.*

The first intelligence received in February from the armies in the Crimea was by a telegraphic despatch from Admiral Bruat, which communicated the arrival of 1350 French soldiers, with a large cargo of provisions, camp articles for the French army, and apparel for the sailors. It also announced that at Eupatoria the roads, hardened by the frost, afforded excellent opportunity for action in that neighbourhood. By the same medium intelligence was announced that the Russians had received large reinforcements, and that the grand dukes were in the Crimea, either at Simpheropol or

Sebastopol. From St. Petersburg the news was transmitted to Western Europe that Prince Menschikoff received the grand dukes at Simpheropol, on the 4th, in great military state. Thence they proceeded to the encampment on the Belbek to encourage the troops, who had suffered much from cold and exposure, and were said, notwithstanding the patience and submission of Russian soldiers, to be very discontented and desponding. About 30,000 men were assembled there whose only shelter was the wretched holes they had dug in the earth, behind the works which had been formed at

the close of 1854, between the Belbek and the Katcha. General Osten-Sacken was entrusted with keeping open the communications with Perekop, and Liprandi still threatened Balaklava. Prince Menschikoff, writing on the 8th, informed the emperor that the general situation was unchanged; that he continued to disturb the besiegers; and that the English army was incapable of defending their own trenches, which were now held to a considerable extent by the French.

On the 3rd of February, Lord Raglan sent home the following despatch:—

*Before Sebastopol, Feb. 3, 1855.*

MY LORD DUKE,—Nothing has occurred in front of the British lines since I wrote to your grace on the 27th January.

Before daylight, on the morning of the 1st, the enemy made a vigorous sortie on the most advanced works of the French right; they were repulsed, after a sharp contest, in the most gallant manner by our ally, who, however, sustained some loss.

The weather, which had latterly been fine, broke yesterday; and, after a rainy evening, there was a fall of snow during the night, and there is again a frost, with an exceedingly cold wind.

The materials for the railway continue to arrive, but I fear it will not be possible for me to supply the amount of military labour which Mr. Beatty would seem to require.

Nearly 200 Croatians, who were hired at Constantiople, have arrived, and been handed over to him, and more are expected, and, as a matter of experiment, I have obtained 400 Tartars from Eupatoria.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN.

*His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, &c. &c.*

Again, on the 6th of February, his lordship addressed the secretary-of-war in the following despatch:—

*Before Sebastopol, Feb. 6, 1855.*

MY LORD DUKE,—I mentioned to your grace on Saturday that the weather had broken. The frost was very severe on that night, and the thermometer down at 13°, and the wind was very high and piercingly cold.

Sunday was rather milder, and yesterday was fine. Today the glass has fallen, and there is every appearance of rain.

I am happy to state that the medical officers consider that the general condition of the men has improved, although apparently there is no diminution in the number of the sick.

The enemy has made no movement of importance, but great convoys of waggons have been observed to go into Sebastopol laden either with ammunition or provisions. I enclose the casualties to the 4th inst.

Lieutenant-colonel Collingwood Dickson, of the Royal Artillery, an excellent officer, whom I have before had occasion to bring to your notice, was slightly wounded on the 4th inst., when making a reconnaissance in company with some French officers.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN.

The opening of February was characterised by certain amenities which contrasted happily with the previous asperities of the war—the French leaving little gifts of white bread for the Cossack videttes, who placed a note in Russian in a cleft stick, declaring how acceptable such supplies were.

The preparations for laying down the electric telegraph made satisfactory progress, as did also the railway; and the mild weather cheered the

troops, although clouds and high winds gave sufficient indication that the mild temperature could not be expected to last.

During the first week in February many sick were sent away to Scutari from the British camp; they were brought down to Balaklava in a deplorable condition, literally covered with filth and vermin. There the blankets had to be removed and burned, and the poor invalids were supplied with many comforts from the *Times'* Fund. Hot brandy and water, tea, rice, arrowroot, sago, and other nutritious and gentle diets appropriate to the sick, were provided for them, which had been sent by Mr. Macdonald (the *Times'* commissioner) from Scutari. Mr. Russell records in his journal the following fact in connection with these benefactions:—“An officer said to me yesterday, with tears in his eyes, ‘the things I have got from the *Times'* Fund out of the *Bride*, will save many of my poor fellows’ lives. My God! what would I not have given for them a month ago. Many of our best men would now be alive if I had had them.’”

Although the British troops were in so much need, and large stores of every comfort were in Balaklava or in the harbour, delays were perpetually interposed by the officials, and the men continued to die for want of these comforts. The ship *Sir George Pollock*, heavily freighted with various commodities by the government, remained in the harbour day after day without an effort to unload the cargo and distribute it. “The Crimean Army Fund” was a little less slowly administered, the administrators having opened their stores at the beginning of February. The gifts of the public were, however, not distributed to the soldiers as gifts; it was deemed more proper by the authorities to *sell them*, in order to defray the cost of carriage and administration—a mean and unnecessary policy. The soldiers were entitled to receive gratuitously whatever the fund supplied; whether they were likely to use their pay wisely or otherwise was no affair of the authorities of any description—the men should have been supplied with what the public intended them freely to receive.

The British slowly received reinforcements. On the 4th the *Medway* arrived with the 71st regiment. Lord Rokeby assuming the command of the Guards, inspected them on that day, when it is said he was moved to tears by their wan and wasted appearance, and by the absence of the many brave he had seen pass through the Bosphorus to that scene of desolation and death. Lord Raglan was unusually active, more so than the short and sparse despatches we have just given would encourage the reader to suppose. On the 5th he made a long inspection of matters at Balaklava. Perhaps his lordship deemed this especially neces-

sary as the harbour was full of shipping—and yet orders were given to the harbour-master to prepare for the reception of a portion of the French ships, Balaklava being nearer than Kamiesch to a newly landed French division which had taken ground near to the British right.

The loss of life among the Turks continued to be most appalling. It was at once painful and pleasing to observe how our Ottoman allies cared for their dead, turning the old vineyards into burial-grounds, and finding out retired and picturesque spots among the hills where they might lay their plague-stricken brethren. Laboriously, silently, and solemnly did they toil in the performances of these offices; and every spot where their dead was laid was marked by a decorous respect and sound reverence for the place of the departed.

Great exertions were made to get up the planking for the huts, so that, as an eyewitness described, "miles of men, and of mules and ponies, all struggling along through the mud with boards—nothing but boards—might be daily seen."

Although the days were very sunny and genial through the first week of February, the nights were extremely cold, and the men, not acquainted with the climate, did not take suitable precautions; this may have accounted for the continued mortality. Warm clothes, which had been issued with some show of industry since the third week in January, were still not dispensed to all. Many were obliged to do duty during the long cold nights in thin and tattered garments. A store of warm clothing brought out at the end of December was removed from one ship to another, and remained in the harbour; the time and toil expended in changing it from ship to ship would have been better employed in dispersing it among the men. What was distributed proved generally to be very bad—the shoes parted with their soles after the wear of a week or ten days. The sufferings for want of fuel were felt through the whole month of February. Requisitions were indeed made for charcoal, but the commissariat could not always supply it—and when it could, no transport could be procured. The following remarkable statement is inserted in the journal of the *Times'* correspondent, and will illustrate the general condition of the army at this period:—"The light division, although it has been one of the hardest worked, is one of the healthiest in the camp. The Guards are now reduced to 500 men fit for duty. It must be considered that when the condition of a regiment is noticed to be better than that of another, if they have been an equal length of time in the campaign, it will be found invariably that the result is the work of three men, the colonel, the doctor,

and the quartermaster. Efficiency, zeal, and activity on the part of the last-named class of officers produce the best effects; and I have been a witness of the extraordinary amelioration which one of them can bring about in the state of a regiment by his almost unassisted labours."

At this period a crime was committed upon an English soldier which astonished the whole camp. A man named Cullen, a servant of Lieutenant Harvey, of the 9th regiment, was the unfortunate victim. He was found dead and naked, near the new Turkish camp. The Turks laid the offence to the account of some Spanish muleteers, who in turn shifted the crime upon some Italian sutlers; but the amount of evidence was to the disadvantage of some runaway Greek servants—a class who infested the camp, and were ready for any crime. Among the English bad acts were very rare, perhaps no army was ever so free from offences against order, justice, or morality. The commission sent out by government to inquire into the state of the army in the Crimea thus reported upon its moral condition:—"It has only been a slow degrees that we have been able to form any adequate conception of the distress and misery undergone by the troops, or fully appreciate the unparalleled courage and constancy with which they have endured their sufferings. Great Britain has often had reason to be proud of her army, but it is doubtful whether the whole range of military history furnishes an example of an army exhibiting throughout a campaign, qualities so high as have distinguished the forces under Lord Raglan's command. Suffering and privation have frequently led to crime in armies as in other communities; but offences of a serious character have been unknown to the British forces in the Crimea. Not one capital offence has been committed, or even alleged to have been committed by a soldier, and intemperance has been rare: every one who knows anything of the constitution of the army, must feel, that when troops so conduct themselves throughout a long campaign, the officers must have done their duty and set the example. The conduct of the men, therefore, implies the highest encomiums that can be passed upon their officers. They have not only shared all the danger and the exposure, and most of the privation which the men had to undergo, but we everywhere found indications of their solicitude, and of their constant readiness to employ the private means in promoting the comforts of their men."

The Russians worked with great assiduity their batteries; and especially upon the works at the rear of the Malakoff. On the 7th they had as many as 1200 men employed at the earthworks, and on the slopes and parapets of the

batteries. Mr. Russell, looking down upon Sebastopol on that day from a favourable situation, saw "the small steamers and boats in the harbour particularly active; and one portion of the place, containing some fine buildings, and a large church with a cupola, as seen from the picket-house, put me in mind of Greenwich, from the Park Observatory, seen through a diminishing glass."

Circumstances favourable to the health and convenience of the army followed the demolition of a portion of Balaklava, the active superintendence of Major Hall, Colonel Harding, and Captain Powell, in effecting the expulsion of sutlers and other filthy idlers, and the cleansing of the place. The "navvies," perhaps, did more to put nuisances out of the way than any other agents, however effective.

The allies continued to work at their third parallels, and their redoubts there had been placed with such skill, that, although all the batteries were not mounted, they had already done the exterior works of the place more harm than the firing from the second parallel during the whole winter.

While the Russians were so busy with their works and batteries, they were not unmindful of the progress of their enemies; their cannonade was hot for some portion of every night, and sorties were perpetual: our allies had to bear the brunt of these. Thus, on the early morning of the 1st, before dawn, the Russians, after a heavy cannonade, made a rush upon the French trenches, where they were met with a prompt and bloody repulse, but the fighting for a time was very severe, and our allies lost 400 men, including officers and non-commissioned officers. After this repulse, the Russians again opened a heavy cannonade along the French lines. Soon after dawn, Canrobert moved 16,000 men down the declivities towards Inkerman; the Russians cheered loudly, but did not accept battle. On the 3rd, there was another sortie; but after two volleys of musketry from the French, the Russians declined any attempt upon the trenches, and retired unpursued. On the 5th a severe fire was sustained and returned by the French with considerable loss, and as deserters afterwards informed them, with still heavier loss to the enemy. The French scouts kept up a dropping fire all night; the Russians repeatedly sallied out, but fell back under the heavy roll of the French musketry.

Our allies continued to scarp the Woronzoff Road, and to strengthen all their works; their mortars began to tell upon the masonry of the defence, and to scatter portions of the earth-works. The English guns of this description were considered superior, and Lord Raglan lent our ally ten of our 13-inch mortars. This was one among many instances in which the English aided their coadjutors in *matériel* of

war and artillery; while it is the fashion to magnify such assistance as was afforded to our troops, justice demands that English aid to the French should not be unmentioned.

At the end of January, General Niel, the distinguished French engineer arrived, and immediately inspected the works, and gave a formal opinion to the French chief of the prospects of the siege. This general had a high reputation in France, and was aide-de-camp of the emperor. He was the engineer officer who made the capture of Rome, when the French republic sent an expedition thither to reinstate Pio Nino: the conquest of Bomarsund, under General d'Hillier, in conjunction with the British engineer, General Jones, enhanced his fame. Under his influence, General Canrobert adopted new views in several matters bearing upon the prosecution of the siege. After a council held on the 1st, it was resolved that approaches should be effected in front of the Malakoff Tower, by the engineer corps under the direction of General Bosquet; in order, says Bazancourt, "that by this commanding point we might attack the Karabelnaia at the moment when an assault should be made upon the west of Sebastopol. The basis of the first works was laid; the officers of artillery and engineers who managed them were instructed to confer with the heads of departments in the English army, for the purpose of ensuring their immediate execution." From the "Journal" of the French Siege Corps we extract the following:—"Two batteries shall be constructed: one of eight pieces at the point where our works join those of the English; another, of fifteen pieces at least, on the east slope of the Careening Basin. The batteries must direct a cross fire upon the Tower and the Mamelon situated in front. Under the protection of these two batteries, and the English batteries, there shall be opened approaches leading, on the west to the Central Bastion, and on the east to the parallel which must crown the Mamelon situated to the south of the Malakoff Tower. A battery of fifteen pieces shall be afterwards constructed near this last parallel. After this, there shall be made ways of approach upon the two elevations which enclose the Dock Ravine, in order to reach the Redan and the Tower. For the execution of these works the commander-in-chief appoints Lieutenant-colonel Laboussinière of the artillery, and Major St. Laurent of the engineers."

The concluding passage of General Niel's report was as follows:—"Whatever plans may be adopted as to investment, and despite the danger of extending our lines towards the right (in which direction they are already so far developed), the place *must* be attacked on the side of the Malakoff."

General Canrobert, in his letter to the French

minister of war, under date of the 3rd of February, thus notices the opinions of the newly arrived chief of engineers:—"Since his arrival General Niel has not ceased to observe narrowly the fortress of Sebastopol, which from its immense extent partakes of the nature both of a strong city and an intrenched camp. His experience has enabled him to appreciate the difficulties of the position, and the manner in which these difficulties have contributed to the weakening (so much to be regretted) of the valiant English army, in conjunction with which we have undertaken the half of the siege of Sebastopol."

On the 7th of February 1200 labourers were set to work by our allies to trace the communications, erect epaulments, carry up balls, rockets, and material for a vigorous prosecution of the siege in the new direction. Major Renson, an experienced staff-officer, was appointed as major of the trenches. While the real interest of the siege was transferred to the new attack, the Russians, perceiving the design of the allies, set to work with the most indefatigable labour to strengthen this position. Not that they had ever neglected it, they had all along seen that the Central Bastion, and Flagstaff Bastion, were not the positions where attack brought most peril—they had never mistaken the key of the defence; but now, when menaced upon this point with formidable power, as they saw it begirt with cannon, and the approaches worked with redoubled energy, they met this new danger with commensurate exertion and vigour. Several times the French engineers and sappers and miners were counterworked by the Russians, and blown up or suffocated with smoke balls; but the Russians paid dearly for those attempts, as the French now generally brought up fieldpieces to command the approaches, in such a way that the parties making the sortie were obliged to retire, when repulsed, under showers of grape and other missiles, which made havoc among them. While the French were opening these new arrangements, the original attack was worked with renewed energy, until the numerous batteries which it comprised were all finished and armed. These batteries were thirty-two in number. No. 33 was a field-battery, placed in the line of circumvallation. Indeed, the exertions of the French at this juncture were prodigious, and those of the enemy were equally energetic. The British attack did not, from the nature of the ground, give opportunity for similar displays of engineering, as on the French attack was afforded to both assailants and defenders. One well competent to pronounce an opinion upon the subject, and who examined all the ground after Southern Sebastopol had fallen, and the docks were destroyed, thus graphically sketches the appear-

ance of the works, which were to a considerable extent in existence at the period of which we write, but which afterwards increased to a surprising magnitude:—

"Our approaches to the defences of the place afforded no opportunity to our engineers of developing the use of mines against the enemy and were not assailable by the same agency on their side for the same reason, as it is obvious that where mines can be used by the attacking force, they can also be adopted by the defenders. The French had not the same sort of ground, and the system of French mines in front of the Bastion du Mât presents the most astonishing instance of labour and skill ever witnessed in any siege. To the Russians, however, belongs the credit of the most important and extensive operations of this nature. Our engineers have in their possession plans of both the French and Russian mines and galleries, and the tracings resemble a section of a honeycomb. The enemy's mines consisted of two series of shafts or galleries and magazines, the first being twenty-seven feet below the surface, the second being no less than forty feet below the first. The workmen were supplied with air by means of force pumps, and in one magazine at the end of one of these galleries, there was found no less than 8500 lbs. of powder, all tamped in and ready for firing by electric wires. This magazine would have formed an *étonnoir* far in the rear of the French advance, and its probable effects may be estimated, when it is considered that the destruction of the docks was effected by a smaller quantity of gunpowder than was contained in this one mine. Many of the shafts spring out of the counterscarp, and there are numerous chambers cut into the same portion of the ditch of the bastion, which were used as bombproofs by a portion of the garrison. It has also been discovered that the Russians had cut a subterranean gallery from inside the parapet, under the ditch, to an advance work which they used as a *place d'armes* in making a sortie, and hitherto it had puzzled the French to understand how the men used to collect in this work without being seen. The effect produced by the French mines in their saps can only be conceived by those who have looked down into the yawning craters of the *étonnoirs*, after stumbling over the wild chaos of rocks cast up all round by the explosion, just as though the Titans and the gods had met there in deadly combat. Some of these gulfs resemble the pits of volcanoes. The Russians only intended to fire some of these mines in case of an assault on the Bastion being repulsed under circumstances which gave them a chance of occupying the enemy's advanced saps; others would have been fired only in case of a retreat from the city, in order to destroy as many of

the enemy as possible, and to check pursuit; and the explosion was intended to destroy not only the French parallels, but the works of the Bastion itself, so as to prevent the French turning the guns. There were two or three mines inside the Redan, and there were some extensive galleries and mines in front of the Malakoff, but it was at the Bastion du Mât, or Flagstaff Battery, that the French and Russians put forth their strength in mine and countermine. The galleries are pushed for fifty yards through the solid rock in several instances. These labours are of the most stupendous character, and must have proved very exhausting to the garrison."

In the journal of the French Siege Corps is the following entry under date of January 7:—"Commandant St. Laurent informs General Bosquet that the Russians are actively working at the defences of the lighthouse, where they have raised five epaulments covering seventeen pieces, and three mortars to be directed against the battery at the bottom of the harbour. At the request of Colonel de Laboussinière, the engineers will finish the battery at the bottom of the harbour, in order to check the Russian works, and to silence the fire of the five batteries."

On the same night information was brought to Sir Colin Campbell of a meditated attack by the corps under Liprandi upon Balaklava, and preparations were made to suit the occasion. All the various approaches to the works were covered with artillery, and the troops were ordered to the heights. The steam sloop, *Vesuvius*, landed all her men to guard the town. Admiral Boxer and Captain Christie, with alertness and promptitude, formed a corps of the crews in the harbour, and these were placed in suitable positions in the houses of the town, so as to give the enemy a decisive reception should he conquer an entrance. In this way all stood to their arms during a bright moonlight night, in which musket barrels and bayonets gleamed in long successive lines, until the dawn broke in mist over the cold bleak plateau. Mr. Russell considers that all this apprehension and vigilance was under the influence of that active chief, "General Rumour;" but the pun was not well placed, for on the morning of the 8th, the Russians appeared in force, and took possession of the redoubt No. 1, of which their previous occupation was so memorable. They also endeavoured in the course of the day to bring heavy guns up to Canrobert's Hill, during which operation they perceived the preparations made to receive them, and converted the intended attack into a reconnaissance.

While all this preparation was going on at Balaklava, Sir Colin and his troops taking up their position upon the heights, and Admiral

Boxer and Captain Christie displaying skill and energy in the town and harbour, a cannonade boomed heavily from the French attack, and the Russian defence opposed to it, over the silent hills. At Balaklava suspense reigned over the watchers, who listened every moment for the sound of the enemy, and peered through the vivid moonlight for the sheen of their bayonets. At Sebastopol the rage of a fierce artillery battle filled the air with violent concussions, and sent the sounds of the conflict far out upon the calm bright sea.

On the night of the 8th and 9th another awful cannonade shook the earth around Sebastopol. A feint was made against the English lines, which found their guardians too vigilant to be surprised. A sortie was directed against the French, much in the usual way, and, as usual, repulsed. During the day masses of Russian infantry were seen moving along the Tchernaya heights, in the direction of Sebastopol and northward, while a large force hung upon the British rear, and the whole force at Balaklava was again turned out to repel the expected foe. The British watched under the drizzling mist of a chill and miserable morning, until all chance of an attempted surprise had passed away: our troops experienced—

"The feigned retreat, the nightly ambuscade,  
The daily harass and the fight delayed,—  
The long privation of the hoped supply,  
The tentless rest beneath the humid sky."

On the night of the 9th there was a storm and a heavy fall of rain. Sir Colin Campbell and a French general were to have effected a reconnaissance of the large force which harassed the British rear, but the weather prevented them.

The morning of the 10th broke in dimness and dreariness over hill and vale, rendering the enemy's movements obscure, but at last a gleam of sunshine enabled our people to discover his soldiers hard at work at some earth-works on the brow of the hill near Kamara. On the top of Canrobert's Hill, one of their videttes remained watching the British. After some time three columns were seen moving along the bank by Kamara in the direction of the high grounds above Baidar. Between Kamara and the road to M'Kenzie's Farm clouds of Cossacks passed to and fro, and every indication was presented of a large army in observation of our positions. On the heights overlooking the Woronzoff Road the Cossack videttes never for an instant relaxed their "look out," and it became necessary for the British to be on the *qui vive* incessantly. Our heavy dragoon videttes were doubled, but the Cossacks increased in boldness and in numbers, and approached so close that our artillery shelled them.

The reports of Tartar spies, who were em-

ployed successfully by the French, and of deserters who made their way to the British camp, agreed in representing a grand attack upon the lines, and upon the flank and rear of the British, as daily imminent. The incessant rains flooding the Tchernaya, and laying the whole country deep in either mud or water, perhaps prevented such an attempt, or else these reports were given out in the Russian army to deceive the deserters and spies, and mislead the allies, while the point of attack really intended was Eupatoria.

On the 9th the general-in-chief of our ally made known to his army, by an order of the day, the arrangement of the French emperor for the permanent division of his army into two corps (an arrangement which had provisionally existed); the one to be commanded by General Pelissier, the other by General Bosquet. This idea was the suggestion of General Canrobert to the minister of war; and, in consequence, Pelissier was sent from the army of Africa to take the command of the first *corps d'armée*, which was to conduct the left attack; while Bosquet's corps should still remain a corps of observation as before, but also to sustain the new attack—that against the Malakoff. Each of these corps was comprised of four divisions, while the imperial guard and the 9th division, under Brunet, were placed near head-quarters, so as to be directed in reserve of either corps as circumstances might require.

The entire force of the French army on the 9th of February was 83,000 men. The arrangements of the two *corps d'armée* were as follows, according to the journal of the Siege Corps:—

#### FIRST CORPS.

Commanding officer—the General of Division, Pelissier.  
*Artillery*:—Commanding officer—the General of Brigade, Le Bouf.  
*Engineers*:—Commanding officer—the General of Brigade, Tripiet.  
 1st Division—The General of Division, Forey.  
 2nd   "                   "                   Levaillant.  
 3rd   "                   "                   Pâté.  
 4th   "                   "                   De Salles.

#### SECOND CORPS.

Commanding officer—the General of Division, Bosquet.  
*Artillery*:—Commanding officer—the General of Brigade, Beuret.  
*Engineers*:—Commanding officer—the General of Brigade, Frossard.  
 1st Division—The General of Division, Bouat.  
 2nd   "                   "                   Camon.  
 3rd   "                   "                   Mayran.  
 4th   "                   "                   Dulac.

The superior command of the engineers remained in the hands of the General of Brigade Bizot, and the superior command of the artillery with General Thiry. General Niel returned to Paris to make his report to the emperor.

The French have taken all the credit to themselves for the adoption of the new and ultimately

successful attack upon the Malakoff, as the key of the place; and have, in several of their publications, insinuated, and even expressed the idea, that the first and erroneous direction of the attack was to be attributed to the English engineer general. The reverse was the case. General Burgoyne, the British chief of the engineer staff, from the very first pointed out the true attack; but the French brigadier in charge of that department of Canrobert's army objected so strenuously, that General Burgoyne was overruled. That gallant and wise old general at once indicated the mode in which Southern Sebastopol must be conquered; and had his views been carried out, much suffering would have been spared in both armies, and many lives saved. In the British House of Commons, Captain Vernon, moved by the incessant attempts on the Continent to discredit every scientific branch of the English army, brought the matter under the notice of the representatives of the British people. The following report of his speech places the matter in its true light:—

"I rise pursuant to notice to call the attention of the house to the services of the corps of Royal Engineers in the Crimea. I do so because there is a disposition abroad to depreciate the services of the British army in the Crimea. We think it high time that something should be done to counteract this tendency to detract, and my statement this evening will be a step in that direction. No detractor has ventured to question the courage and the conduct of the British soldiers of the general service. So far as the special corps are concerned, I have never heard any one bold enough to say the British artillery was second to any in the world, and my statement this evening will show that the British engineers were equal, to say the very least, to any engineers that took the field. The war that has just terminated, unlike any other modern war on record, narrowed itself into one mighty siege. The victory of the Alma was but the introduction to the siege of Sebastopol, and the battles of Balaklava, of Inkerman, and of the Tchernaya, were but futile attempts on the part of the Russians to raise that siege. A fortress important rather for its uses than for its strength—a fortress so low in the scale of scientific defence that it was supposed, erroneously enough, to be open to a surprise, so moderately fortified that it was considered liable to the affront of a *coup de main*,—became under the pressure of circumstances, and by the mere force of earthworks erected by the genius of Todleben, one of the strongest places on record, and held at bay for eleven months the chivalrous valour and the military science of the world. This war, then, being a siege, it follows that the battle was fought by science. It was a war of engineers, and I rise in my

place to claim for the British engineers their full share in the achieving of that great result which has brought about the peace. There were three great turning points on which the success of the war depended. First was the election of a place of landing in the Crimea; secondly was the decision as to which front of Sebastopol should be attacked—for we were not in a condition to invest the whole, according to the real acceptance of the term; third, and most important, was the discovery of the key to the position of the front to be attacked. Now, sir, I may at once avow that I claim for the British engineers the decision on all these three points, and I shall confine myself as much as possible to proving that this was the case. I must trust to the indulgence of honourable members while I place historically before them these three questions in their relative positions. It will be seen at a glance that this question widens itself from a corps question to a national one. What I now say, by the light of the press, will be spread far and wide. What I now say will, doubtless, by many be repugned, and it therefore behoves me to start a proper base, and to go on adding fact to fact in order to be able to defy all contradiction. In January, 1854, on account of the appearances in the East, Colonel Vicars, with three engineers, left England to place themselves under the orders of Admiral Dundas, who commanded in the East. At Gibraltar Colonel Vicars was taken ill, and the command devolved upon Captain Chapman, now Colonel Chapman, whose distinguished services I have had occasion before to bring under the notice of the house. These officers joined the fleet in the Bosphorus, and were dispatched to reconnoitre the strong position of Maidos, near the Dardanelles. Now, at this juncture the home authorities were without any precise information with regard to the East. In this dilemma, Sir John Burgoyne, whose high position as Inspector-general of fortifications might well have excused him from the arduous undertaking, volunteered his services, at this inclement season, to proceed to the East, to make military observations of such forces as should be sent by allied French and English armies in support of the Turks, in the event of a war with Russia which then appeared imminent. His services were accepted with eagerness. On his way through Paris the Emperor Napoleon associated with him Colonel Ardant, an officer of French engineers. These two proceeded together to the Dardanelles, and inspected the position of Maidos, and afterwards of Boulahir, referring which latter the officers of engineers were withdrawn from Maidos to reconnoitre Boulahir, which they did in that inclement season, the snow being then deep on the ground. Sir John Burgoyne and Colonel Ar-

dant then proceeded to Constantinople to reconnoitre the position of Bujukhekedj, about twelve miles from Constantinople, a strong position, intended to be made the base of operations and to cover Constantinople. Colonel Ardant went forward to examine the position of Kara-su, where strong lines of defence were available, connecting the Sea of Marmora with the Black Sea. Sir John Burgoyne meantime went to Shumla, to confer with Omar Pasha, and he reconnoitred and reported upon Varna. Thence he returned to England, leaving Colonel Ardant at Gallipoli. Now, while Sir John Burgoyne was at Constantinople, there was presented to him a project for the defence of that town by certain French officers attached to the embassy—these lines of defence were to pass from the Sea of Marmora to the Golden Horn, and from that to the Bosphorus, passing within a mile of the suburbs of Constantinople. The ground was ably taken up, but Sir John Burgoyne at once pointed out that it was faulty, because it passed close to an enormous population and a city liable to conflagration as was Constantinople; but the principal objection was, that it abandoned to the enemy the Bosphorus, which was our only means of communication with the Black Sea. This plan of defence, therefore, was abandoned in favour of Kara-su, which in every point resembled the lines of Lisbon, with a similar advantage of the stronghold of Bujukhekedj. War was now declared; the allied army was sent to Gallipoli, and took up the intrenched post of Boulahir; they then proceeded to Constantinople, leaving a small force to occupy Gallipoli. The Russians having made no impression on the Danube, notwithstanding their vast military resources, and the allied armies having advanced to Varna, in support of the Turks, the proceedings of Sir John Burgoyne and of Colonel Ardant were criticised as being too cautious and unenterprising, by taking up a defensive position for Constantinople and the Dardanelles; but it must be remembered that at that time the war had not begun, and it could not have been supposed that the Russians, who, in so arrogant a manner, had forced on the war, should have been held entirely in check by the Turks; and it was therefore requisite that Constantinople should be protected, and the Dardanelles, without which there were no means of communicating with the Sea of Marmora, the Bosphorus, or the Black Sea, which latter was at that time in the possession of the Russian fleet; in a word, it would have been impossible to trust an allied army in that country if such a strong position as Gallipoli and its adjacents had not been found. Such was the opinion of the Emperor Napoleon, and, what is more to my purpose, such was the opinion of Sir John

Burgoyne. In August Sir John Burgoyne was sent out to command the engineers in the Crimea, and was placed upon the staff. In September the army embarked at Varna for the purpose of invading the Crimea. And now, sir, I come to the first point I wish to prove—namely, the selection of the part of the Crimea in which the landing was to be effected. A council of war assembled on board the *Caradoc*. It was attended, on the part of the French, by General Canrobert, by Colonel Trochu, one of the French staff, and by General Bizot, the French engineer; on the part of the English, by Lord Raglan, by Sir George Brown, by Sir Edmund Lyons, and by Sir John Burgoyne. The French held the opinion that the best place to land was at the mouth of the Katcha, and I believe that Sir George Brown coincided with that opinion, but he said, 'Before coming to a decision on this point, I think we ought to know the opinion of Sir John Burgoyne, who has had more practical experience than any other officer present.' On this Sir John Burgoyne declared that the Katcha was not the proper place to land, that it was a difficult and defensible ground, and close to the resources and reserves of the Russians, and he pointed out, on the other hand, that the safest place to land was at the Old Fort. Sir John Burgoyne's representations were made known to Marshal St. Arnaud, who at once grasped the idea, and consented to the move. The landing, therefore, was safely effected at the Old Fort, and Eupatoria, in the rear, was seized and occupied. The abandoning of the idea of landing at the Katcha was very distasteful to some officers of the French staff, but when that place fell to our position it was seen that Sir John Burgoyne's estimate of the difficulty was right, and that an attempt to land there would have been followed by failure and disaster. I think, sir, I have proved now my first point, and that I have a right to claim the selection of the place for landing for the British engineers. I now come, sir, to my second point—that is, the selection of the side on which Sebastopol was to be attacked. After the battle of the Alma the troops advanced towards Sebastopol, across the rivers Katcha and the Belbek. Now, the intention of the French, and for which they had prepared projects, was to attack Sebastopol on the north side. Sebastopol on the north side was situated on a promontory, and its defences were placed on rocky heights, having in front of them strong ground of a very defensible character, narrowed by the bay of Belbek on one side and the broad and deep valley of the Tchernaya at the head of the harbour on the other side, the promontory being dominated by a strong permanent work called the 'Severnaia.' Now, Sir John Burgoyne did not think that the north side of

Sebastopol was the side to be attacked; he rather held to the opinion that it should be attacked on the south side, and he wrote a report to Lord Raglan, giving his reasons for holding that opinion, an extract from which report I will now, with the permission of the house, proceed to read:—

"The communications with the fleet, when all resources were necessarily obtained, would be from the fine bays and harbours of Balaklava, Kamiesch, and Kazatch, instead of from an entirely open beach, which was alone available on the north. The fronts that were exposed to attack were extensive, and, though naturally of great strength, were not more so than that of the north, which was limited, and consequently, admitted of defence after defence. The south side covered the docks, barracks and all the great establishments of the place; whereas, if the north promontory were obtained, there was the harbour still intervening which could not be crossed by any means; and the only resource would have been a bombardment, and not possession. In rear of the encamping ground to be occupied by the allies in front of Sebastopol on the south side was a compact and most powerful position facing the country, and the communication to it from the harbours was direct and comparatively short, while on the north there was no favourable position on the land side; the ground to cover the camp and landing-place must have been of enormous extent, for that landing could not have been nearer than the Katcha, as the Belbek was commanded by the enemy's batteries and the communication would have been much longer, and over two heights instead of one. The enemy, if attacked on the north, having but one front of the garrison, of moderate extent, to cover, could have greatly increased the outer field army for raising the siege. I thoroughly reconsidering every circumstance it is impossible to conceive how the operations could possibly be sustained against the north side; nor how the army, were it to remain there, could avoid some frightful catastrophes."

"This report, sir, was sent to Marshal St. Arnaud, and that officer, with his usual sagacity, accepted the idea, and consented to attacking Sebastopol on the south side. The came the question, how was that to be done? If there be one axiom in war more cogent than another, it is that an army should never separate itself from its base; and if there is another axiom equal to that in cogeny, it is that a flank march should never be made in the presence of an enemy. And yet, at first sight it would seem that the proposition of Sir John Burgoyne embraced both these military errors; but it was not so in fact. He proposed to leave one base, but the base moved, so that he should

upon it again; and the flank march to enable him to reach the south side of Sebastopol was in the rear of a flying and disorganised enemy, and it thrust the army between Menschikoff and Sebastopol. The movement was therefore undertaken, and the army sat down before Sebastopol, never to rise from it until it left that place and its defences a hopeless ruin. I think, sir, that I am entitled to say that I have proved my second point, and that I have a right to claim the action of the side on which Sebastopol could be attacked for the British engineers. The siege was now commenced with scanty military means. There were 300 or 400 saps where there should have been as many thousands—for it should be remembered that in the earthworks at Sebastopol was engaged the whole military power of Russia—where, if there had been as many thousands, it would have saved thousands of lives and millions of money. There were eighty sappers of engineers sent to the Crimea; of these forty-three were killed, wounded, and *hors de combat*—a wholesale slaughter with no parallel. Many of these officers passed in the inclement season, and under what the French call ‘fire of hell,’ 100 nights, making nearly a third of the whole time of the siege. Under that fire the executive officers, Chapman and Gordon, erected batteries of so substantial a character that they were not damaged by the fire of the enemy. The British artillery defied the fire of Todleben, the Russian artillery swept from the face of the earth the French batteries, but no missile hurled against the English batteries stopped for one single moment their steady, sure, and onward course. In the first reconnaissance of Sebastopol, Sir John Burgoyne perceived that the Malakoff was the key to the position of the front attack, and he so represented it to Lord Raglan. After the battle of Inkerman he again impressed on the authorities that the Malakoff was the place to be attacked. Upon the arrival of General Canrobert, the French aide-de-camp of engineers to the emperor, a council of war of the allied engineers was held; at that council of war Sir John Burgoyne again represented that the Malakoff was the key to the position, and that it could be attacked. After the council of war had been held, wishing to place on record his opinion he reduced it to writing, and, through Lord Raglan, sent it to the French engineer General Niel. The following day General Niel called a council of French engineers to take under consideration Sir John Burgoyne’s memoir—prepared a *procès verbal* of what there was said, and sent a copy of it to Lord Raglan. Sir John Burgoyne’s information. The paragraph of that *procès verbal* stated that the Malakoff should be attacked in compliance

with the opinion of Sir John Burgoyne. The words used were these:—

“Il résulte des dispositions adoptées en conseil, et suivant le vœu exprimé par le Lieutenant-général Sir John Burgoyne, que des travaux d’approche devront être exécutés devant la tour Malakoff, afin de pouvoir attaquer, par ce point dominant, le faubourg de Karabelnaïa, en même temps qu’on donnera l’assaut à la partie ouest de la ville.”

“I think, therefore, sir, I have a right to say that I have made out my third point, and that I am justified in claiming the discovery of the key to the front attacked for the British engineers. Now, sir, that I have established the claim of the British engineers to the merit of deciding on the three turning points of this war—they forming a part, and an important one, of the British army—what becomes of the case of those who would seek to depreciate the services of the British army in the Crimea?”

It will be perceived from the speech of Captain Vernon that General Niel, instead of suggesting the attack upon the Malakoff as his own original idea, treated it as the idea and proposal of Sir John Burgoyne, which he approved, overruling the contrary opinion, that of Brigadier Bizot, upon whose plan the siege had been hitherto conducted. Yet the Baron de Bazancourt, the French emperor’s private commissioner, who had access to every authentic document, and drew up the very report quoted by Captain Vernon, conceals the fact that the plan was General Burgoyne’s, while he represents General Niel as the person with whom the responsibility and honour of the Malakoff attack rested. This is a rare specimen of disingenuousness on the part of an officer of rank, and one holding a position of trust and consequence, and betrays a disposition towards an ally unworthy of a great people and a victorious army. We do not believe that France, its emperor, and its army, applaud these unworthy attempts at depreciation, which are the more to be deprecated because France and her army need no accession of military glory.

The state of affairs from the Russian point of view, during this period, was expressed by Prince Menschikoff in a despatch to his government, under date of the 12th; his references to incidents of the siege go no higher than the 8th:—“On the 30th we succeeded in discovering subterranean works of the French leading towards the fortifications. With the aid of artillery we destroyed, on the 2nd, a portion of the enemy’s gallery. On the 6th the French, trying the same means, attempted our countermines; the attempt turned to their own disadvantage. On the 8th the play of a new mine enabled us still more to destroy the enemy’s works. Meantime our artillery successfully replied to the fire of the besiegers. At night

detachments of volunteers continually harass the enemy in their trenches, and by obliging them to beat to arms, compel them to suspend their works."

The following despatch of Lord Raglan reveals the enemy's movements as they appeared in the British lines:—

*Before Sebastopol, Feb. 10, 1855.*

MY LORD DUKE,—I have nothing material or important to report to your grace since I addressed you on the 6th. There was rain yesterday and the day before, and in the course of last night there was a considerable fall of snow, which remains on the ground; but it does not freeze, and the country is again saturated with wet. It is reported from the front that great activity prevails in the town and harbour of Sebastopol. Large convoys of apparently sick men were observed to be moving out of the place, and numerous carts, with one horse, to be coming in. The enemy appear to be breaking up hulks in the Arsenal Creek, and to be using the material for platforms and *chevaux de frise* at the Battery "du Mat." We are proceeding with the armament of the works on the right. The health of the troops continues to improve in some slight degree. They are amply supplied with warm clothing and with provisions. Forage is our only want, and this arises chiefly from the commissary-general not receiving from England the supplies of hay upon which he has reckoned. I enclose the return of casualties to the 5th inst.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN.

*His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, &c. &c.*

It is a most painful thing to be obliged to animadvert upon the despatches of a man possessing such qualities of excellence as Lord Raglan; but there is frequently no way of reconciling his lordship's despatches with truth and honour, but by supposing him ignorant of the real state of things in his own army. His lordship in the foregoing despatch represents the health of the troops as improving in some slight degree, and all the supplies for the men abundant. Under the same date, the *Times'* correspondent, who was much more about the camp than Lord Raglan, and as all the world now knows, much better informed as to the true state of the army, gives this testimony:—"I regret to state that sickness does not diminish in the camp. Scurvy and low fever extend their action every day. Now scurvy is mainly caused among debilitated men by the use of salt meat and the want of vegetables. Even fresh meat alone will develop it among men worn out by excessive labour, should they have no leguminous diet. I believe there has been only one cargo exclusively of vegetables ever sent up here, and that came in the *Harbinger*, which lay in Balaklava for weeks, till her load of potatoes and onions began to rot and become putrid, so that much of it was unfit for use, and had to be thrown away. Whoever had an order got a sack of potatoes; but who could carry a sack of potatoes to the front? Meantime, ships chartered by government for the use of the service come in day after day to Balaklava, with quantities of vegetables for sale, and with stores of provisions to be sold for the private profit of the stewards

and adventurers at great prices, though charter-party of these vessels expressly forbids any such use to be made of any ship, or of private property to be conveyed in her while she is in the employment of the government."

Had "our own correspondent" known the contents of the English general's despatch, designed to write a reply to it, he could not have more effectually carried out his intention.

On the 13th, Lord Raglan sent another despatch:—

*Before Sebastopol, Feb. 13, 1855.*

MY LORD DUKE,—I mentioned to your grace in my despatch of the 10th inst., that there had been a return of bad weather, and that the country was saturated with wet. On Sunday it rained or snowed from morning till night, and the wind was very high, and though it subsided yesterday, still the ground was in a worse state than I had seen it for some time. The enemy has made no movement. Major-general Jones, Royal Engineers, arrived a few days ago, and is busily engaged in making himself acquainted with the position occupied by his army. Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown has returned, and I have great satisfaction in adding, that he is in excellent health. His wound is healed, and with the exception of not having entirely regained the full use of his elbow, he no longer suffers any inconvenience from it. He will resume the command of his division with the loss of time. I enclose the return of the casualties to the 18th inst. (One killed and two wounded.)

I have, &c.

RAGLAN.

*His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, &c. &c.*

It is not surprising to those who read such despatches, that Lords Aberdeen and Newcastle should have declared that they gained their first correct intelligence of the state of the army from the London newspapers. His lordship informed the minister of war that the enemy had made no movements; the correspondents of the London morning papers represented the enemy as making remarkable movements, which proved to be of great importance and after—as they were indications of the march upon Eupatoria, rumours of which had reached his lordship's camp, and were heard by the correspondents of the press, although beyond his lordship's knowledge. In illustration of this statement the following, from the correspondent of the *Morning Herald*, will suffice:—"During the 10th and 12th their (the Russians') force again diminished, and the enemy were observed moving north, along the ridges of Inkerman. Almost at the same time, intelligence was received that a large part of Liprandi's corps, with other troops, were advancing against Eupatoria. This was on the 13."

Either the British general wished to conceal from the minister of war the occurrences that took place in his own camp, and in that of Liprandi, or his lordship knew less about it than the civilians who accompanied his army, and the moderately well informed connected with it. At all events the despatches of the general, and the letters of the "correspondents," of the very same date, contradict one another on matters which are now all

known to have been as these correspondents declared them.

The arrival of Sir George Brown was encouraging to the army: as second to Lord Raglan, he was extremely efficient, and made up by his vigilance and activity for the want of those qualities in the commander-in-chief. It is but justice to his lordship to observe that his health was extremely delicate, and no officer with health so imperfect could have put forth the physical vigour necessary in such a command. Sir George Brown did not appear to be quite recovered from the effects of his wound; he was pale, and age seemed to creep upon him, in spite of the indomitable vigour by which the hardy and gallant veteran was so strongly characterised.

The condition of the artillery horses caused anxiety not only to the arm of the service which more immediately suffered in consequence, but to the whole army. For several days up to the 13th, a short ration of barley and a little chopped straw was their only food—the hay had been expended: four months previously Commissary-general Filder had urged upon the authorities at home that means should be taken to procure fodder for the horses, but attention was not paid to his requisitions. Lord Raglan had authority to procure what was required; ships of large tonnage lay idle in the harbour, and the shores of the Euxine and Bosphorus abounded with what was wanting so badly in the Crimea. At a board of veterinary surgeons, 140 horses of the artillery were condemned as no longer serviceable; “the mounted staff corps was reduced to twenty-eight effectives.”

On the 13th the Russians made a successful cannonade, blowing up a French magazine within the batteries; this was followed by “six tremendous salvoes of artillery” before the French returned fire. The Russians mounting the parapets gave loud cheers, to which the French responded by an overwhelming shower of shells, which burst over and amongst the Russian gunners, and the sailors who manned the batteries. Some of the shells falling on the walls of the admiral’s house rent it, and the Russian battery No. 3, at the Flagstaff Fort, was silenced. The French mortar batteries had now become very destructive to the enemy, having been advanced to within 1300 metres of the inner batteries of the Russians. A sortie followed, which was quickly repulsed, the French losing only five men. Great secrecy was ordered in the arrangements connected with all the attacks, French and British. The engineers and artillery officers were directed not to give information to officers of the line, or to any one not strictly authorised to demand it.

The recall of the Earl of Lucan, the com-

mander of the British cavalry, was at this period the subject of discussion in the whole army, and the general impression was that his lordship was a badly used man. That his care of the cavalry horses was deficient, has been proved by the inquiries on the spot of the Crimean Commissioners, and at the Chelsea Commission of general officers appointed to hear his lordship’s defence; but the discussions between Lord Lucan and Lord Raglan, which arose out of the light cavalry charge at Balaklava, were the real cause of his recall, and on that ground we are unable to see its justice. The orders to Lord Lucan, given by Lord Raglan, were inconsistent, and inappropriate to the actual situation of affairs, and his lordship had no alternative but to obey.

On the night of the 16th a fierce storm tore down tents and huts on the heights along Balaklava, and swept them, along with piles of loose battery *matériel*, down the steep. The temperature rose considerably, the wind having been described as “hot” and “tropical;” and the crocus, hyacinth, and other flowers, of which the soil and climate of the Crimea is so productive, burst forth with their bright green shoots, under the influence of the warm atmosphere. There was another sortie that evening against the French, the loss of the latter being slight—thirty-five men in killed and wounded.

A powerful reinforcement to the corps of observation of General Bosquet gave assurance for the protection of the British right. This accession of force consisted of 8000 men. The Russians at the same time unmasked their batteries which they had erected on the Inkerman heights, over the Tchernaya, for the purpose of playing upon the English right flank; the distance was too great, the messengers of vengeance fell short of the British position. On the 17th men were seen working in the Russian batteries on the north side of Sebastopol: about 2500 were engaged in making a trench from the end of the bay at Inkerman towards the Belbek.

Lord Raglan visited the lines, and was engaged in their inspection throughout the day; as the weather grew milder, his lordship’s health enabled him to visit more frequently the posts which required his supervision. “All our lines,” says the *Times*’ correspondent, “towards the sea road from Yalta, have been much strengthened, and the profile of the works, which was certainly not satisfactory before, has been altered and improved.” The oxen which had been introduced to supply the troops with fresh meat had been dying for want of fodder, and the mortality among them became so great by the date of which we write, that the speedy extinction of the whole became certain.

On the 17th General Canrobert, writing to his government, stated that the French army was impatient for an assault, that he expected in a few days to be ready again to open fire from his whole line, and hoped his ally would be ready to open a general fire also. In this attitude we must leave besiegers and besieged while we turn to another sphere of combat; but before we do so, it may be instructive to place before the reader an American estimate of the conduct of the British, and the condition of their army throughout the campaign. There is a tone of boasting, and a disposition to depreciate everything English in the passage; but it is a sketch of the British military system from an American point of view, which shows us how our Transatlantic brethren regard it, and must be important to us, because it is the general view of a people with whom we may yet be at war. Referring to the privations and sufferings recorded in this History, and the causes by which those evils were produced, the American editor observes:—

“Nothing less than this would have convinced Great Britain of the utter folly and absurdity of the system on which the British army is conducted. It has long been usual for officers of the British infantry and cavalry to buy their commissions, and to buy promotion from grade to grade afterward. The artillery and engineers pass a sort of examination, and when a man in these corps is really anxious to learn his profession, some poor facilities are afforded him to do so. But it is contrary to the practice of the service for officers of the line to interfere in such matters. They are expected to be rich or noble—in every case to be gentlemen, but nothing more. The consequence is, that for many years Great Britain has not contained a more thoroughly incompetent and useless set of men than the officers of her army. Perfect gentlemen in manners—when they do not fall into the habit of gambling, drinking, and so forth,—they know positively nothing. Their lives are spent in the drawing-room or at the mess-table. Delightful companions and very popular with young ladies, as soldiers they are as worthless as the wooden target at which their men are taught to fire. Like that counterfeit, they never flinch from danger, but stand firmly to be shot: but like it, to expect counsel from them would be ridiculous. Of the science of war, of the duties of an officer in the field, of the thousands of matters with which a soldier should be conversant, in order to make head against the enemy and protect the lives of his men, they are wholly, helplessly ignorant.

“These are the men whom England sent out to command her brave soldiers. In their hands she placed their lives, and the consequence is that after a campaign of a few weeks, 40,000

out of 54,000 are under the sod or in the hospitals; and though three battles have been won, the failure of the campaign has come to be admitted on all sides, and the expediency of the withdrawal of the troops openly debated. From day to day a fresh Inkerman may be expected, and though it is hard to say what may be the issue of a combat between the Russians and French, no one can doubt what would be the effect of a bold sortie on the weak English lines. There are doubtless other points besides that one on which an attack might be made. There are, indeed, many reasons for believing that the withdrawal of the force under Liprandi from the line formerly occupied in the valley of the Tchernaya has been nothing but a *ruse* intended to delude the besiegers into an extension of their ground.

“That these things are well known and fully appreciated in England will be seen by the speeches republished elsewhere, and the cabinet movements which have just taken place. Whether they will lead to the correction of the real evil remains to be seen. The spirit of conservatism is very strong in all European countries; and the Horse Guard have strong friends in parliament. For years and years enlightened men have urged the reform of their system, the abolition of the plan of selling commissions and promotion, and the adoption of some rules obliging officers to learn their business. But the aristocracy has been too strong for the reformers. The army was a convenient nursery for the stupid sons of the scions of nobility; they would not give it up. So long as peace lasted the most ignorant lord's son was competent to discharge the duties of an officer; and the rulers of England thought it would be time enough to think of change when war broke out. They resisted reform accordingly; rather increased the diminished power of rank and wealth in the army; sold ensigncies, companies, colonelcies; and now they find they have sold their arms and their country's honour into the bargain.

“We have no wish to draw invidious comparisons, but contrasts will force themselves on the mind on such occasions as these. It has long been a favourite answer of Englishmen, when questioned about their costly war establishment, to say that their position in Europe required them to maintain 100,000 men in arms to defend their country, at an expense of 100,000,000 dollars a year more. They have sneered at the insignificant army of the United States, and expressed a common curiosity to know what we should do if we became involved in war. It is not many years since that contingency happened. (On that occasion the total available force of the United States was something like 7000 men

Before a year was over, more than 300,000 had volunteered to serve; and we were enabled to make two invasions of the enemy's country, to fight three battles in one, and six in the other, to storm three of the strongest forts in America and the world, and to seize the enemy's capital. The country invaded was full as unhealthy as the Crimea: indeed, the cold at Balaklava is not nearly so deadly as the fevers of the Rio Grande or the vomito of Vera Cruz. Yet not one disaster occurred to

check the ardour of our troops; and the mortality from disease was not much greater than it would have been had they been quartered in barracks in the same latitudes. In comparing this simple record with that of the British campaign in the Crimea, the true secret of the difference is disclosed at once. Our officers were mostly West Point men; theirs idle noblemen or the sons of rich merchants and landholders, who know nothing of their trade. This explains everything."

## CHAPTER LXVIII.

### THE BATTLE OF EUPATORIA.

"I think by some odd gimmals or device  
Their arms are set, like clocks, still to strike on.  
Else ne'er could they hold out so as they do.  
By my consent we'll e'en let them alone."—SHAKSPEARE. *Henry VI.*

It was a remarkable circumstance, that either the allies nor the Russians, in the earlier part of the campaign, estimated the position of Eupatoria as it ought to have been valued by both. The allies appear to have sooner discovered its strategical importance, and to have strengthened the defences there, before the enemy could bring a force to attack so powerful as to awake great apprehensions for its safety. It was strange that the Russian Government, and its generals in the Crimea, should be so ignorant of the relation of Eupatoria in a military point of view to the Crimea, so remiss in providing against its occupation and strength by the allies. The czar himself, it is alleged, was the first to perceive the danger of its possession by his enemies, and to have ordered its capture at any cost. For this purpose the army of Liprandi was quietly drawn away from the Tchernaya, and after a harassing march of six days, occasioned by the wet state of the ground, was joined before Eupatoria by a strong force under Osten-Sacken. What the precise strength of these united *corps d'armée* as it is difficult to determine, for the reports of the Russian generals were fabulous; their numbers and losses were underrated with shameless falsehood; and the desperate and repeated attempts to storm the place, which met with signal defeat, were designated by Prince Menschikoff "a successful reconnaissance." The estimate formed of their numbers by the Turkish generalissimo, upon data supplied by the prisoners and from his own observation, was, that they consisted of thirty-six battalions of infantry, six regiments of cavalry, 40 Cossacks, eighty pieces of artillery in position, and a few troops of horse artillery which were held in reserve. It is not easy to estimate the numerical strength of either battalions of infantry or regiments of

cavalry, as the rules applying to such matters in the Russian service were relaxed by the contingencies of war. Perhaps 50,000 men may be a tolerably correct computation of this army.

The forces of the defenders are differently represented: the historian is as much at a loss in this case as Prince Menschikoff, who thus described the object of the attack:—"To ascertain accurately the number of the hostile forces that occupied Eupatoria, and to see whether there would not be a possibility of expelling them." If this were all that was intended by the prince, there was much more attempted by Osten-Sacken and Liprandi, without discovering after all how many men Omar Pasha had at Eupatoria. The Baron Bazancourt states the number in the defence as 40,000; Mr. Woods describes the army under Omar as consisting of 25,000 Turks. There were also a few French, and the crews of the English fleet. Probably 30,000 would be a correct estimate of the numbers of the defending force.

Omar Pasha had only been a few days in the town before the assault was made. He found on his arrival the Turkish infantry, with forty-five guns, under the command of Suleiman Pasha and Selim Pasha; and a small body of cavalry, not exceeding 400 men, under Skender Beg. Skender was a famous man in the Turkish army, "a Polish renegade," and a most intrepid soldier. He was not like Cassio, who

"Never set a squadron in the field,  
Nor the division of a battle knew  
More than a spinster."

He had been engaged with the Russians ninety times, at the head of troop, squadron, regiment, or brigade, as chance or duty led. There were about 200 French sailors and marines of the crew of the *Henri IV.*, wrecked in the storm of the 14th of November, and the crews

of the French frigate *Veloce*, the Turkish frigate *Scheckfaer*, and the English ships *Furious*, *Valorous*, *Curaçoa*, and *Viper*. The ships of war were so drawn up that the right flank of the defence was completely covered by their guns, so as to render all attempts on that side too desperate to give the least hope of success: although bravely tried, it failed.

Before entering on the detail of the battle, it may be desirable to present the reader with Prince Menschikoff's despatch of the 19th of February:—

"On the 17th the troops cantoned in the vicinity of Eupatoria were employed in a reconnaissance of the town, at a distance of 250 toises. They opened a cross-fire of artillery upon the works, and in a very short space of time had dismounted and silenced several of the enemy's cannon, besides blowing up five ammunition tumbrils. Having satisfied himself that Eupatoria was occupied by 40,000 men and 100 pieces of artillery, General Churleff, who commanded the detachment, gave orders for it to retire beyond the range of fire, which was effected with the utmost order, the corps marching towards Sebastopol. The siege works at that place have not advanced; our artillery and sharpshooters gall them continually. On the 13th we blew up the French field powder-magazine in the trenches by a shell."

How far the representations in this despatch were correct the facts of the conflict reveal. On the morning of the battle the Turks ranged themselves behind their half-formed batteries with the most prompt alacrity, and with unbounded confidence in their general and their cause. Omar Pasha took up his post on a rising ground, from whence he could at once overlook the defence and the lines of the enemy. The position of the defence was in no respect strong. The little town is formed along the sweeping shore of the bay. The houses, with the exception of a few modern Russian buildings, are in the old Tartar style—square walls, plain and bare without, having in the inside verandahs looking into a court, in the true oriental style. The usual population of the place had been 10,000; but, in consequence of the severities of the Russian army, and the sympathy of the Tartar population with the allies, the inhabitants had increased to the number of 30,000. Such of these as were not in arms crowded the flat tops of their houses to see the battle, their curiosity gaining the mastery over considerations of personal safety: in this way some of them fell under the explosion of the enemy's shells. The town, in the state which its batteries and defences then were, was almost open. On the left, however, the *Henri IV.* and four French transports had

been stranded, and seemed as if sailing shore from their upright position. The sails and marines remained in the *Henri IV.*, as she was placed broadside to the enemy, as the vessel were at sea. This ship and the transports formed an admirable defence to the extreme left of the place, sweeping the range with the range of their guns, and rendering it impossible for the Russian cavalry, powerful as it was in numbers and condition, to enter. At both the north and south ends the English steamers and a Turkish ship took up positions which enabled them to cover with their guns both flanks of the defence. Beyond the town the country presents the appearance of a vast arid plain. An old Russian barracks in ruins was a short distance in front. The space, however, is not a perfect level, for the ground rises gradually from the front to a line of tumuli which lie nearly parallel with the town, the left tumulus being nearest to the right of the defence. From these lines of tumuli, three miles in number, the ground again descends into the vast plain beyond. On the left of the defence there was nothing peculiar in the aspect of the ground: on the right, Lake Sasik almost fringed the town, the lake being separated from the bay by a narrow segment of land. On the small space between the lake and the town were some corn-mills, which were comprised within the lines of the defence; and nearer to the Russians, between a curve of the Simpheropol Road and the Sasik, was the Greek cemetery, behind the further wall of which the Russian infantry formed, and through which they rushed forward to the attack. The anchorage of Eupatoria is very unfavourable to shipping, whether martial or mercantile—worse than any occupied by the allies in the Black Sea, not even excepting Varna. The sea was rough on the morning of the engagement, and had a gale sprung up, the shipping could not have contributed so materially to the defence. The Russians generally chose a misty or foggy morning for offensive operations against the allied positions in the Crimea. The 17th of February favoured them in this respect: under cover of its gloom they were enabled to form along the line of the tumuli, and behind them unseen. Their cavalry was so numerous, that of Omar Pasha numerically so inferior, and the morning light so imperfect, that the Russians were able with impunity to push up their light horse in reconnaissance to the very works, and to bring forward their fieldpieces, and several powerful thirty-two pounders, to desirable positions without losing a man. Their first operations were upon their own right; here the cavalry in great force charged up the road leading into the town on that side, but were met by so galling a fire from the guns of the English steamers, and of the stranded French

ships, that they suffered severely; a portion of them hesitated and turned, some charged boldly on, until the musketry of the French sailors and marines, as well as showers of grape and canister, compelled them to retire and re-form beyond range. The cavalry then moved gradually towards the right centre attack. The cannon opened along the whole line, and for two hours played upon the defence. It was a splendid battle of artillery, and the gloom of the morning heightened the interest of the scene, giving to the flashes of the guns so much more brilliancy. It appeared as if the little town were begirt with lightnings, the flashes of which never intermitted, while innumerable thunders burst upon the earth, and rolled forth over city and sea. Upon the centre of Omar's position the greater force of the enemy's artillery was directed, and there many of the brave defenders fell. The Russian advance was worked well, but that of the defence better. The Turks stood to their batteries, not only with unflinching courage, but with patriotic and soldierly enthusiasm. The British officers scattered amongst them covered themselves with glory, and the confidence reposed in them by the Turkish artillerymen knew no bounds.

Notwithstanding the smoke of so many pieces of cannon, as the morning advanced the scene became more extended and picturesque. The sky was not cloudy, although a haze covered the dawn, and as the wind freshened it dispersed. From the position occupied by Omar Pasha the long dark lines of Russian infantry were distinctly seen behind the artillery, their cavalry preserving a watchful and menacing attitude to their right and right centre. As the rising day gradually disclosed the imposing forces of the Muscovites, the Turks from the batteries, and the Tartars from the house-tops, strained their eyes in the direction of their heavy masses, but there was no blanching—on the contrary, as the enemy became more distinctly seen, the enthusiasm of the soldiery of Omar increased, and shouts of "Allah! Allah!" rolled along the flaming lines. The discipline of their chief was stern, and when the first few shouts, as if of joy on at last seeing the foe with which they had to contend, subsided, the men remained silent at their guns, and only the voice of command, or the call of the bugle, or the roll of the Turkish drum, could be heard through the din of the cannonade, until the clamour of battle rose amidst the close and fierce contest which, after two hours' artillery combat, was waged upon the extreme of the Russian left. During the cannonade, the scenes at the rear of the Turkish batteries were exciting. Tartars running to and fro, carrying ammunition and bearing away the wounded and the dead; women and children piercing

the uproar of the conflict with their cries; and out at sea the ships moving as new advantages of position demanded, while from their broadsides were vomited streams of fire as shot and shell were hurled upon the foe. Every moment of the combat the enthusiasm of the defenders rose higher, and, without any exaggeration, it may be written that the whole line was impatient to grapple closely with the enemy.

It appeared for a short time as if the Russians hesitated as to the wisdom of an assault, and expected a sally from the garrison. The cavalry of Omar were too few—only 400 men—and the cavalry of the enemy too numerous, amounting to several thousands, for any such movement on the part of the Turks. Besides, the position taken up by the Russians forbade that: their extreme left, consisting of infantry and fieldpieces, rested upon a small lake separated by a narrow piece of land from Lake Sasik; their right rested on the line of tumuli; and near it their cavalry was massed, rendering a sally in that direction as hazardous as on the other flank it was impracticable; while along their line, and especially on the centre, their guns played with most formidable power—and to protect these guns from a *coup de main*, earthworks were thrown up, behind which were detachments of rifles. From their right several attempts were made by their cavalry after the first repulse, which ended in skirmishes. On one of these occasions they came on, emboldened by the slackness of the fire opposed to them; the *Viper* gun-boat threw two Lancaster shells, which burst among them with fearful havoc, and they rapidly fell back upon their main body.

It became at last obvious that the grand effort was intended to be made on the extreme left; and, as soon as Omar Pasha perceived that their infantry was manœuvred for that object, he sent to Captain Hastings of the *Curaçoa*, the senior officer on the station, a request that he would send the *Viper* to that flank. While this order was being effected the enemy, perceiving the movement, again threw his cavalry forward against the left of the defence; but the place of the *Viper* was taken by the *Valorous*, which opened a well-directed fire upon the cavalry, compelling their rapid retreat, leaving many of their fallen upon the field. The *Curaçoa* and the Turkish steamer were both very effective in their fire.

The Muscovs at last brought a reserve of eight heavy guns, which inflicted serious injury upon a redoubt near the centre, from which they had suffered much during the morning. The English Colonel Ogilby opened fire in another redoubt with a single gun, to draw off the cannonade in some measure from the point on which it was so heavily concentrated.

This he effectually accomplished, for four of the eight pieces were directed upon his single gun, which they did not succeed in silencing, nor did a man who worked it fall, although the works were shattered, and the men covered with *débris*.

Finding all attempts to silence the batteries of the defence in vain, the enemy determined upon a storm. They selected for the point on which to execute this purpose the extreme right of the place. Their reasons for its selection may have been that there was less to fear in that particular direction from the fire of the Turkish artillery; the outworks at the windmills between Lake Sasik and the town appeared to be more vulnerable, and the wall of the Greek cemetery afforded a shelter in approaching those works. Here the third and fourth battalions of the regiment of the Azoff infantry, the battalion of Greek volunteers, three sotnias of the regiment No. 61 of Cossacks of the Don de Jeroff, under General Chruleff, emerged from behind the wall of the burial-ground, advanced rapidly through the cemetery, and attempted to storm the outworks above described. While General Chruleff was forming his Greeks and Cossacks for the assault, the *Furious* British war-steamer landed a rocket party on the extreme right of the town, who, coming round among the windmills, opened their fire precisely on the head of the Russian column as it emerged from the broad gate of the cemetery. The discharge was point blank, the rockets tearing through the column, which nevertheless endeavoured to deploy, but was so broken by the inequalities of the ground, and the various impediments met from tombs of every size and shape, that they necessarily lost time under the unexpected and destructive fire of the little rocket brigade; a portion of the column never left the burial-ground, or came out only in a struggling and confused mass. Those who did come forth were met by a deadly volley of musketry from the intrenched position of the Turks, from which they precipitately sought shelter in the cemetery once more. A ringing cheer broke from the windmills and the redoubts, in which the British tars, and Turkish infantry and artillery, mingled their shouts. General Chruleff, undismayed, rallied his men; the Russian regiments obeyed his orders without any show of reluctance, but without enthusiasm; the Greeks and Cossacks rallied with heroic alacrity. Field-pieces meanwhile opened fiercely upon the mills, which were broken beneath the cannonade, and soon brought in ruins among the defenders.

The conduct of General Chruleff was most intrepid. He rode a large and conspicuous horse, and wore a uniform more showy than is customary with the Russian officers under

fire. Rallying his Cossacks and Greeks again led them on, and this time in better order; the Turks awaited the onset in silence and allowed the assailants to approach within seventy or eighty feet of the works, when fire of musketry was poured with fatal effect among them: the Russians reeled back under the shock of that dreadful volley, and again sought the refuge of the cemetery. The general exposed himself most recklessly in his attempt to preserve order among his troops, and to rally them yet again. Strongly reinforced, he advanced a third time against the position with apparent determination to conquer it. Scaling ladders and other means of gaining access were carried by detachments, and the whole came on with better order and more rapidity than in the second attempt. They this time advanced to the works and endeavoured to plant the ladders, but fell so fast under the steady fire of the defenders, that the attempt was abandoned in despair, and the friendly cemetery was sought once more for shelter. On this occasion it was not permitted to afford a respite from the Turkish rifles, for Selim Pasha, at the head of the regiment of Roumelia, supported by an Egyptian battalion, sallied out in pursuit, penetrated the cemetery, shot down or bayoneted many of the fugitives, who fled in utter disorder upon their main body—the Roumelians and Egyptians retiring with little distance within their works. In this gallant charge Selim Pasha, a *ferik* or lieutenant-general, and a most gallant and skilful soldier, perished; a musket-ball pierced his body, and he fell dead, cheering on his gallant followers. In his second in command, Ismail Bey, was wounded also, in consequence of his too forward valor; only a few other officers were slightly hurt. The result of this dashing charge was instantaneous upon the whole Russian line; they retired for about two miles, and there bivouaced. The retreat was executed with order and skill, and as it commenced the sun burst out brilliantly over the field, and was reflected by the arms and uniforms of the fine army, as the artillery limbered up and covered the retiring infantry and the cavalry in turn covered the retiring guns. Scarcely had the Russians retreated more than the Tartars, to the number of about 2000, rushed from the town into the cemetery, and rendered the scene of horror there still more horrible. The dead and dying were strewn thickly among the tombs, many of which were torn up and shattered by cannon balls and shells. The Tartars stripped the dead, and in several cases mutilated them—a work in which some of the Turkish soldiers participated. Two of these ruffians presented themselves before Omar Pasha, one of them with the head of a Greek volunteer reeking in his hand, and the other with the head of a Russian

ludier. Omar at once put them under arrest, and made examples of them in such a way as was likely to deter their comrades from similar atrocities. It is but justice to the Turkish soldiery to state that they generally expressed their disapprobation of such acts.

Appalling scenes were not confined to the one which had been occupied by the Russians, or to the cemetery; the ground around the hills, and the works in front bore evidence of the superior weight of the Russian cannon. On one spot a number of artillery horses were crushed into a mass of blood and mangled flesh. Some similar instances of the effect of a closely-directed cannonade were presented by the fallen men; headless trunks were strewn about, and iron bodies lay among shattered guns and earthworks, marking the progress of the battle. The Turks showed a most laudable humanity to their wounded, and a decent reverence for the dead, in which they are unsurpassed by any people, notwithstanding the criminal departure from this characteristic which had been occasionally shown by their irregular soldiery in the treatment of slain Russians. Nor can we withhold from the Russians a large and honourable participation in this sentiment and feeling. It matters not what may be the religious rite of the people, in any portion of that empire—whether Greek, Latin, Armenian, Jewish, or Mohammedan—nor how various the obsequies practised, there is a consecrated care and an tranquil solemnity attendant upon the mouldering remains of the departed, almost unknown to us with all our boasted civilisation. Throughout the vast regions subjected to the government of St. Petersburg, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and from the Icy Sea to the shores of the Caspian, there are great public cemeteries at well-judged distances from the city populations; and so situated as to ensure inviolability, be compatible with health, and keep up such associations of thought and feeling concerning the dead as to promote the civilisation of the living. At St. Petersburg and in Moscow, the Greek church lavishes on its burial-places ceremonial and expense. The Greek cross is engraven upon the stone that surmounts the grave, or there is inscribed there the story of departed worth, and how the dead still is to surviving friends. All care and reverence, and the safeguard of imperial authority, impress the Western soldier with one trait of civilisation to which the unlettered Russ have attained. In Finland, Lithuania, and Poland, the hand of imperial rule has set apart the place of tombs—so that Lutherans, reformed and Romanist, may free within its precincts, each to honour his own creed, and see preserved in sacred quietness places so endeared. On no space of Russian soil is this paternal care for the living, as

to the depositories of the deceased, more conspicuous than in the Crimea. At Sebastopol, small as is the population, and open as is the country around it, the cemetery is extramural, so that it was held by the French army as a line of intrenchment. At Simpheropol the most picturesque objects in the vicinity are the places of burial, and they are so arranged that the health of the inhabitants shall suffer no injury, and the homes of the dead no indecency—equally preserved from levity of approach, and from inflicting any insalubrious influence in the neighbourhood. At Bagtché Serai, the Tartar capital, the cemetery, with its turbaned tombs, is preserved with as much jealousy as the antique palaces of the khan; and the attention, culture, and taste, as marked as in the garden of the Gheri, the old sultans of the vanquished race. The Jew devoutly seeks the spot set apart for the interment of his people; and although nothing besides which is his remains unmolested, where the Greek or Moslem holds ruthless sway, yet here at least his oppressions cease—they do not maltreat the depositories of his buried ones. In the untroubled quiet of the cemetery, secure from the footfalls of his tyrants, he lays the ashes of his fathers to rest; as of old, when Abraham set his race the example in the land of Abimelech, of providing for this sacred duty, and of regarding this tender accompaniment of a true civilisation. Descending along the meandering slopes and rugged precipitate declines, to the Valley of Jehoshaphat (for in the land of the Crimean Tartar, as in the mysterious land of his origin, the Jew has a valley so named), the traveller will find the homely, devout, and almost Christian Karite Jews, enclosing their last resting-place within the boundaries of a decent distance from habitations. Even the poor gipsy-boys, as they roam about with the characteristic wildness of their race, disturb the burial-places of no other race; and the rude gipsy horse-dealer, honest in nothing beside, would not pluck a bough from the overhanging cypress, nor ravish a flower from the tomb on which it drooped and breathed its life away, as if longing to die upon the breast whose sleeping sanctuary it was intended to adorn. The Tartar women, as they come from the woods laden with filberts, cease the clangour of their usual garrulity when they pass the gates of a necropolis, or even see at a distance the well-defined erections within it. There is in all the races of the Crimea some traditionary reverence for the dead. Our French ally, as well as our enemy, surpassed us in this quality. It is no surprise that our French confederates excel us in artistic taste, whether they decorate with offerings a nuptial altar or a tomb. But even the Germans are before us, both in the grace of a refined burial and the precautions of sanitary policy

connected with it. Surely our Evangelism teaches no disrespect or forgetfulness in these matters! Is it not a dreary picture, and filling with tones of acute anguish the sacred song of the Psalmist, when he describes the uttermost desolation of our nature thus:—"Our bones lie scattered at the pit's mouth?" It is in "the sure and certain hope of a glorious resurrection," that the Gospel teaches us to lay lowly beneath the green sod, or the sculptured marble, the lips that filled our sanctuaries with psalmody, and the hearts that thrilled with the emotions of Christian consolation.

In whatever foreign land the enterprising Englishman lays him down to rest in the last long repose, it will do no dishonour to our nation if it copy from other nations their respect and reverence for the spot where the ashes of the departed remain. Such was the force of national hostility, and such the demoralising effect of war upon the heart, that Turk and Tartar for awhile forgot their traditional emotions in their treatment of the Russian dead in the Greek cemetery at Eupatoria. Some few set up the displaced sepulchres of the Greeks, but in other instances the vindictive feeling entertained to that race was shown in the treatment of their broken tombs. Omar Pasha was enraged when, arriving at this spot after the battle, he witnessed these indignities to the graves of the Greeks and the bodies of the Russian dead, and he drove with violence the marauding Tartars away. The muschir, as he rode along the lines while the victory was no longer doubtful, was received with a wild excitement; the soldiery hailed him as if he were a god; some clung to his stirrups, others ran before him with gestures of fanatical enthusiasm, and loud exclamations of triumph. The sagacious chief commended the common soldiers, who are sensitive to the praises of a general whom they respect; and protestations arose on every side that if he would lead them out against the enemy, they would expel them from the vicinage. Omar was too wise to try their prowess in that way, knowing that, without cavalry, and a better equipped field artillery, he dare not pursue the well-appointed army of the enemy.

An incident occurred just as the retreat began, which has been variously related. A carriage was seen moving about during the battle, almost beyond cannon range. The cavalry officers and mounted orderlies were seen, from Omar Pasha's position, having frequent recourse to this carriage, as if receiving their orders thence. When Omar had some leisure to direct his attention from the general conflict to objects which did not immediately appear of vital importance, he entered one of the redoubts, and addressing the Turkish gunner, asked if he thought he could throw a shot

as far as that carriage. The gunner's reply was, "Yes, highness, with the help of God and your encouragement, I think I could." The order was given, and promptly obeyed; the instant the carriage, luckily for its occupants, moved away, for the shot fell upon the spot it had just left, scattering, slaying and wounding the cavalcade which was around it. It was reported by prisoners and deserters that it was the carriage of Prince Menschikoff, who it was said commanded in chief during the action. By others it was alleged that it was occupied by one of the grand dukes. Little information could be gathered from this description of prisoners, who were often ignorant of everything which it might be expected they would know, and sometimes pretended to be ignorant. There were many Austrian subjects in the Russian cavalry; one of these, a Croatian, was taken prisoner; this man belonged to the 12th division, commanded by Liprandi, and to the 32d regiment, called Arafsky; he had been at the battle of Balaklava, and had remained in the army of Liprandi in observation there, while his corps left to take part in the attack on Eupatoria. His information was to the effect that three days before his troop had left the environs of Sebastopol, with only six days' rations of bread in their canvas bags, and that the commissariat waggons were still forty versts behind, in consequence of the bad roads. This was important information to Omar, for he gathered from it that commissariat difficulties would probably compel a portion of the force to be sent before him to evacuate the neighbourhood. The prisoner either did not know, or would not tell, who commanded the Russian army, but alleged that the commander's rank was that of a prince, and that before the battle the prince harangued the troops, and promised them money if they should force their entrance to the town. This, which both prisoners and deserters confirmed, showed that the attack on Eupatoria was no mere reconnaissance, as Menschikoff's despatch so mysteriously put forth. The number of Russian slain who were found, and almost all of the wounded, were in and before the Greek cemetery; on every other part of the field there not only bore away their wounded but the dead, whom they buried at some distance; the object of this was to deprive the victors of the triumph of reporting a great number of Russians slain, and thereby increasing the courage of the Turkish soldiery.

During the battle, and the whole day after it was gained, and the next night, men, guns, and matériel of war were landed; these arrivals were opportune, for the Croatian prisoner referred to, informed Omar Pasha that the enemy had 100 guns, many of them 32-pounders, well horsed, and capable of being served

with great rapidity. The Turkish general continued to strengthen his defences, as soon as the men had removed the wrecks produced by the combat, and had buried the dead. The working parties were changed four times within that day and night. The pasha showed the utmost vigilance and diligence. It was surprising that the Turkish officers generally did not catch this noble infection; but all the native officers lapsed into their usual languor after the excitement of the contest had subsided. One of the colonels, very fat, and said to weigh eighteen stone, was an exception to the lazy gentry who bore the commission of the sultan—for no officer, Turkish, French, or British, equalled him in activity; he appeared to be ubiquitous, for at every point he inspired the Turkish soldiery with zeal, either to land munitions and supplies, or build up and consolidate the defence. Immediately upon the withdrawal of the Russians, Omar Pasha dispatched intelligence to Kamiesch and Balaklava, informing the Russians that Liprandi was before him with nearly his whole force, and suggesting the idea of a bold attack upon any corps lingering in observation at the rear and right flank of the armies before Sebastopol. The allied chiefs dispatched to the war two more vessels of war, in case a fresh attack should render their assistance requisite. The moral effect of the battle was everywhere great, beyond the magnitude of the contest itself. Within Sebastopol it had less influence than anywhere else; for the troops were unable to believe in a successful reconnaissance, which five Turkish waggons were blown up in the fiction which, if it had been a truth, would have been of little consequence. The number of Turks slain in the defence was also set down at a number amusingly fabulous. In the allied camps the effect was to redeem the Turkish reputation for courage, which, so far as the common soldiers are concerned, should never have been brought into question. Turbans are not Turks; the former, and not the latter, had fled from the redoubts at the siege of Balaklava. "Bono Johnnie" was himself again; and extra rations of rum were consumed by the British to toast the triumph of their Turkish confederate from the odium of cowardice, so thoughtlessly and wildly heaped upon him. At Constantinople the exultation of the Moslem knew no bounds; nothing could compare with it, except the rage and resentment of the whole Greek race, whether in Greece or Turkey. In Russia the consequences were more important than anywhere else, for while the people were deceived as to the real nature of the conflict, the czar was tormented and the anguish the defeat inflicted upon him had much to do in producing, or at all events aggravating, the illness which brought him in the prime of life from wielding the

sceptre of many dominions to bow, himself, beneath the sceptre of death.

The following, taken from the columns of the *Invalide Russe*, is a specimen of the way in which the affair was represented to the Russian public—"We knew by the report of Prince Menschikoff's aide-de-camp of the 12th, that on the 3rd the Turkish troops disembarked at Eupatoria had made an offensive movement upon the village of Saki, in numbers of more than 10,000. In order to assure himself of the exact amount of the enemy's forces in occupation of Eupatoria, and to ascertain if there was not a possibility of expelling them, Prince Menschikoff ordered Lieutenant-general Chruleff to execute, on the 17th, a strong reconnaissance upon that town, with a party of troops stationed in the vicinity. The troops destined for this operation approached Eupatoria within the distance of 250 yards, and opened a cross fire of artillery upon the place. The enemy responded with a lively cannonade from the fortifications which surround the city; nevertheless, the action of our artillery was so happily executed, that in a few seconds five ammunition waggons belonging to the Turks were blown up, and several pieces of cannon dismounted. Carried away by this success, the 3rd and 4th battalions of the regiment of the Azoff infantry, the battalion of Greek volunteers, and three sotnias of the regiment No. 61 of Cossacks of the Don de Jeroff, got nearer to the town, and profiting by the shelter which the locality offered, commenced a smart fusillade with the enemy: nevertheless, General Chruleff, being assured that the town contained nearly 40,000 troops with 100 pieces of artillery, and that further effort on our part promised no result, gave orders to the troops to retire. This difficult movement was executed with remarkable order. Our loss in this affair amounts to nearly 500 men killed or wounded. The loss of the enemy was in all probability much greater; for his troops, pent up in narrow streets, remained for a long time exposed to the terrible fire of our artillery, the projectiles of which had clear range of the entire town."

While the people were flattering themselves with the occurrence of a new event redounding to the honour of the Russian arms, the sick czar, in his palace, felt a deep and heart-blighting humiliation. To be beaten on his own territory by a Turkish army, after having been driven by Turkish bands from the Danube and the Pruth, was mortifying to his pride beyond all the disasters which his mad policy had entailed. From the hour in which he heard of the battle of Eupatoria his equanimity was never restored. Omar Pasha killed the czar! He was among the mortally wounded by the defence of Eupatoria.

Although there was no very great generalship displayed in this battle by Omar, yet there were no mistakes; the affair was competently conducted, the arrangements were safe, and the issues were satisfactory. The fame of the pasha was elevated and extended; this was felt from the gates of the seraglio to Lake Sasik—from the dreary steppes of the Tauric government to the dreary chambers of St. Petersburg. Western Europe acknowledged the claims of the adventurer to rank among the first generals of the age.

Such was the battle of Eupatoria, and such its moral effects; its political and military consequences may be traced in the events yet to be related in this History. The following despatches will place some matters before the reader unsuitable to introduce in the author's account of the engagement, and will show the light in which the event appeared in the judgment of the various actors connected with it, and the authorities concerned in forming a just estimate of its general relation to the campaign and to the war. The following is the despatch of the Turkish general to Lord Raglan:—

MY LORD,—I have the honour to inform your lordship that the enemy attacked Eupatoria on the morning of the 17th inst. The troops intended for this attack had left the camp before Sebastopol six days ago, and other troops from Perekop and Simpheropol had joined them in the night of the 16th, and the morning of the 17th, in the flat ground that lies behind the heights that are before Eupatoria. As far as one could guess, and according to the information furnished by prisoners, the enemy mustered thirty-six battalions of infantry, six regiments of cavalry, four hundred Cossacks, eighty pieces of artillery in position, and some troops of horse artillery, which were in reserve. The attack commenced at daylight by a strong cannonade, during which the enemy used even 32-pounders. At first the Russian showed themselves in great force along our whole position; but seeing that our left was protected by men-of-war, which went there when the first shot was fired, they concentrated against our centre and right. I then requested the senior officer of the English royal navy to send the gun-boat *Viper* to the right, and to take up a position near the French steamer *Vélocé*, and the Turkish steamer *Schehfaer*, on board of which was the Vice-admiral, Ahmed Pasha. At the same time I reinforced the right with some battalions of infantry and some pieces of artillery, which I withdrew from the left. The enemy continued his fire, without ceasing, from the position held by his artillery, supported by a powerful fire of skirmishers; and then his infantry, carrying planks and ladders, three times tried to storm the works. Each time it was repulsed, and obliged to retire under our fire; but it was enabled to effect this retrograde movement under cover of its artillery, and of heavy masses of cavalry. Our cavalry, which at the present moment only musters about 200 or 300 horses, and which charged the Russian infantry at the commencement of its retreat, did not dare to pursue it in the face of such heavy masses. The superiority in artillery and cavalry prevented our disturbing the Russians on their retreat. After four hours and a half's fighting, they commenced retiring in three different directions, towards the bridge of Lake Sasik, towards Top Mamai, and towards the Perekop Road. I have every reason to be satisfied with the conduct of my troops during the day. Although behind works only half finished, and not fully armed, they showed a bold front, and were very steady. Our losses are not very numerous, but they are to be deplored. We regret the death of Selim Pasha, lieutenant-general, commanding the Egyptian troops. We had, moreover,

87 killed and 277 wounded; 79 horses killed and wounded. Amongst the killed there are seven officers and ten are wounded, amongst them Suleiman Pasha, thirteen inhabitants of the town have been killed, eleven wounded. I consider it my duty to make honorable mention of the French detachment that is here, of the English men-of-war, *Caracooa*, *Furious*, *Valor*, *Viper*, of the Turkish steamer *Schehfaer*, and of energetic co-operation of the French steamer *Vélocé*, all contributed greatly towards frustrating the efforts of the enemy. The French detachment had four killed, and nine wounded: amongst the latter is a major officer. The Russians must have suffered a heavy loss. According to the report of the civil authorities of the town, who had to bury the dead, their number of killed amounts to 453; their artillery lost 300 horses. They carried away a great many of their dead, and almost their wounded. We have taken seven prisoners.

I have, &c.,

OMAR

Colonel Simmons, the British commissioner with the Turkish army, also addressed to Lord Raglan the following:—

“The enemy's artillery opened their fire about twelve hundred yards from the place, covered by skirmishers, and supported by heavy masses of infantry in their rear, and cavalry on their flanks. The artillery subsequently took up a second position more in advance, about four hundred yards from the small crown work which is being erected in front of the mills to the north-east of the town; and after continuing their fire for some time, the infantry advanced to the attack, having formed under the cover of a wall about six hundred yards from the right of the town. They were repulsed at this point, leaving from 150 to 200 dead on the field. On other portions of the field a number of horses were left dead, but the killed men were removed. At length, about 10 A.M., the whole force retired, covered by the artillery and cavalry. I am not able as yet to ascertain the number of men engaged, but I should think there were not less than 40,000 of all arms, with a very powerful artillery. As many as sixty of the enemy's guns must have been firing at one time, amongst them some 32-pounders. Prisoners report that they were accompanied by 100 guns. As yet, all the particulars I have been able positively to ascertain is, that Landrandi's division (the 12th) was present. At present I understand that they are in position about five miles north from this, their fire leaning on the Sasik Putrid Lake. It is a much pleasure I have to inform your lordship that the portion of her majesty's fleet under the Hon. Captain Hastings have rendered most efficient assistance. The *Valorous* threw many well-directed shells, and completely covered our left; whilst the *Viper* gun-boat, which was at first stationed on the left with the *Valorous*, by Captain Hastings' direction moved, and took up a flanking position on the right, near the mills.”

The despatch of Lord Raglan to the English government was a brief recapitulation of the

bove, and containing them as enclosures. The French general thus addressed the imperial minister of war. This despatch, in common with most accounts of the battle, refers to two assaults, while Omar Pasha mentions three. The enemy was thrice repulsed before the sortie which compelled his retreat.

*Crimea, February 19.*

MONSIEUR LE MARÉCHAL.—Yesterday, the 18th, an English steamer coming from Eupatoria brought the news that the enemy had vigorously attacked that place, and had been repulsed. That vessel left Eupatoria without taking the despatches of Commandant Osmont. I was without details. To-day only I received a report from Commandant Osmont, containing the precise details, which I subjoin:—

In the night between the 16th and 17th the Russians, taking advantage of the darkness, established round the place—the circumvallation works of which are not quite completed—a sort of irregular parallel, consisting of abatisments thrown up, intended to cover their artillery riflemen.

On the 17th, at eight, A.M., eighty pieces of artillery opened their fire. Behind this artillery there was a mass of 5,000 infantry, commanded (according to Commandant Osmont) by General Osten-Sacken. There were also some horse.

After a cannonade of nearly two hours' duration, the enemy made their preparations for an assault on the east side, where the smallest number of guns are mounted. Five battalions of infantry, provided with necessary materials for crossing the fosse and scaling the walls, advanced to within 400 metres, protected by a segment of a wall belonging to an old cemetery. Two of these battalions were then thrown forward. This column arrived within twenty metres of the fosse, but, fired by a brisk fire, was compelled to retreat. About a second time to the attack, it was vigorously repulsed by a Turkish battalion, which, making a sortie from the town, attacked it boldly at the point of the bayonet, and routed it, while the small body of Turkish artillery charged it on the flank. This column left 150 men in the cemetery.

Throughout the cannonade continued along the whole front. The fire of the enemy was chiefly concentrated on the hill (so called) of the Mills, where the Egyptian division, Selim Pasha, and the Egyptian general, Rustem Bey, were killed, nobly fulfilling their duty. At ten o'clock the Russians began to waver, and soon in full retreat.

The defence of Eupatoria confers the greatest honour on the commander-in-chief, Omar Pasha, and the officers under his orders. It inaugurates, in the happiest and most brilliant manner, the *début* of the Ottoman army in the Crimea.

Commandant Osmont estimates the loss of the enemy at 100 killed and 2000 wounded. Writing at the very moment of the event, he had not yet received the official report of the losses of the garrison. He estimates them at about 100 killed and a proportionate number of wounded.

The little French garrison of about 200 men of the 3rd regiment of marines, and a portion of the crew of the *Véloce*, figured honourably in the defence, under the command of their commander, Chef-d'Escadron of the Staff, whose intelligence and firmness are known to us. We had four men killed and eight wounded; among them Lieutenant Las Cases, who had command of the marine guns. His wound is not serious. He is a distinguished officer, full of vigour.

The steamers in the roadstead, among which I must mention the *Véloce*, Captain Dufour de Mont Louis, rendered good service to the defence of Eupatoria by a directed fire. I am, M. le Maréchal, &c.,

CANROBERT.

On the 22nd of February General Canrobert issued an order of the day, directed to his officers, in which he eulogised the conduct of

Omar and his army in terms highly complimentary to both. The address will be found in a subsequent page.

The naval despatches present the battle from the point of view in which the officers of that service regarded it.

*Royal Albert—off Sebastopol, Feb. 20.*

SIR,—I have the honour to inclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, copies of two letters which I have received from Captain Hastings, of the *Curacoa*, senior officer at Eupatoria, reporting an unsuccessful attack upon that place at daybreak on the 17th inst., by a large Russian force of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, and inclosing a letter from Omar Pasha, expressing warm acknowledgments for the great services rendered by her majesty's ships *Curacoa*, *Valorous*, *Furious*, and *Viper*, as well as his highness's thanks for the reinforcements of steamers which I had sent to him on hearing that the enemy was still in force in his neighbourhood.

Captain Hastings appears to have conducted his share of the defence with his accustomed zeal and ability, and to have been well and effectively seconded by Captains Buckle and Loring, and Lieutenant Brock, and the officers, seamen, and marines of all her majesty's ships present on that occasion.

Colonel Simmons, of the Royal Engineers, who is attached to Omar Pasha's staff, estimates the attacking force at 40,000 of all arms; and he states that as many as 60 guns, some of them 32-pounders, played upon the place at one time.

I understand that at nine o'clock the enemy's infantry formed under the shelter of a wall at 350 yards from the place, and advanced to the attack; but were repulsed with considerable loss, and soon afterwards retired, leaving nearly 200 dead on the nearest spot, and removing the rest of their dead from the more distant parts of the field.

Omar Pasha's army appears, from the latest and most authentic accounts, to have had nearly 100 men killed, and about 250 wounded, and to have had 80 artillery horses killed, and some guns much damaged.

The *Banshee* has brought me a report from Captain Hastings up to noon yesterday, at which time the enemy remained encamped about five miles from Eupatoria, with his left leaning on the Putrid Lake Sasik; while Omar Pasha, with the garrison, having been reinforced after the battle by further Turkish troops brought over from Varna in British transports, as well as by the *Dauntless*, *Curlew*, *Arrow*, and *Lynx*, sent by me hence, and by two French steamers sent by Admiral Bruat, awaited an attack with confidence in a favourable result.

I am, &c.,

EDMUND LYONS,

Rear-Admiral and Commander-in-chief.

To the Secretary of the Admiralty.

INCLOSURE No. 1.

*Her Majesty's ship Curacoa, Eupatoria, Feb. 17.*

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint your excellency that this morning, about 6.30 A.M., the Russians, in considerable force, attacked the Turkish troops which are encamped at this place under the command of his Highness Omar Pasha.

The ships under my command at this anchorage, which are named in the margin, immediately proceeded under steam to close the flanking position of the Turkish intrenchments—*Valorous* and *Viper* taking the left flank, and *Curacoa* and *Furious* the right. About half an hour after the commencement of the attack I received from his Highness Omar Pasha a request to strengthen as much as possible the right flank, as the enemy were pressing their attack upon that point.

The *Viper* was immediately recalled, and from her light draught of water was enabled to effect good service, as also the three other ships in their respective positions.

The conduct of the captains, officers, seamen, and

marines under my command on this occasion deserves your excellency's approbation.

I have, &c.,

G. F. HASTINGS, *Captain.*

P.S. The French and Turkish vessels also did good service in the respective positions which they took up.

*His Excellency Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Bart., G.C.B., K.C.H., &c.*

INCLOSURE No. 2.

*H.M.S. Curaçoa, Eupatoria, Feb. 18.*

SIR,—I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your memorandum of yesterday's date, relative to my report of the Russians having attacked this place on the 17th inst., as communicated by the steam transport *Queen of the South*, and I beg to inform you that the reinforcements of vessels mentioned therein have duly arrived here; and that I immediately informed his Highness Omar Pasha of the reinforcements being sent to his support, who begged me to offer to your excellency his warmest thanks.

In the late attack the Turks suffered a loss of 88 men killed, 250 wounded, and 78 horses killed. The loss on the part of the Russians cannot be ascertained.

No further attack has been made; but the Russians still remain in force about five miles from Eupatoria, and large reinforcements, both of men and waggons, are daily arriving from the road to Simpheropol. If the *Arrow's* services could be spared she would be of great assistance here.

I have, &c.,

G. F. HASTINGS, *Captain.*

*His Excellency Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Bart., G.C.B., K.C.H., &c.*

*Royal Albert—off Sebastopol, Feb. 24.*

SIR,—I have the honour to report, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that no attack has taken place at Eupatoria since that of the 17th inst., which, as their lordships will perceive by the enclosed copy of a letter from Colonel Simmons to me, was more serious than was at first supposed. Her majesty's ships are in eligible positions for assisting in the repulse of any future attack.

The weather, which for the last few days has been very severe, is now remarkably fine.

I am, &c.,

EDMUND LYONS,

*Rear-admiral and Commander-in-chief.*

*To the Secretary of the Admiralty.*

INCLOSURE.

*Eupatoria, Feb. 20, 9 P.M.*

SIR,—The bearer is an aide-de-camp of the Seraskier, bearing despatches from Omar Pasha to his government. His highness would be much obliged to you if you would kindly order him a passage to Constantinople by the first opportunity.

The position is much stronger here than it was; in fact, I should say doubly so, and nearly twice as many guns mounted as on the 17th. That affair was pretty sharp, and the Russians lost a great many men: we have interred 53, and there can be no doubt they carried off and buried many more who were killed at long ranges by our artillery. They also left nearly 300 dead horses on the field.

Our loss was 87 killed, 277 wounded, Turks; 4 killed and 9 wounded, French; and 13 killed, 11 wounded, of the population; besides 79 horses killed and 18 wounded. Our field battery had 19 men (Turks) killed, and every gun (six) disabled.

The Turks behaved very well. Selim Pasha, the Egyptian, who was killed, was a great loss; but his place is well supplied by Suleiman Pasha, who was wounded.

Omar Pasha is most gratified at the promptitude with which you sent up ships after hearing of the attack.

The exertions of the officers and men of your fleet disembarking troops, &c., here are beyond all praise, but, unfortunately, the weather during the last week ten days has not been propitious, and consequently transports have been detained longer than they otherwise would.

I am, &c.,

J. N. SIMMONS

*Rear-Admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, K.C.B., &c. &c.*

*Montebello, Kamiesch, Feb. 20, 1855.*

On the 17th the town of Eupatoria was attacked from the eastern side by the Russians, with eighty pieces of artillery, six regiments of cavalry, under the command of General Korff, and twelve regiments of infantry—at 25,000 men, under the orders of General Osten-Sacken. The battle lasted five hours and a half, beginning at 11 in the morning. The Russians were vigorously repulsed, their loss was reckoned at 500 men killed, and a proportionate number of wounded. The Turks had 88 men killed, and 250 wounded: they lost 70 horses in action. The general of the Egyptian division, Selim Pasha, Colonel Rustem Bey, were killed. Among the French, four marine artillerymen of the *Henri IV.* were killed, the wounded were seven, of whom three belonged to the *Henri IV.*, and four to the regiment of marines. The attack of the Russians has not been renewed. The steamers anchored in the roadstead energetically contributed to the defence of the place. I have dispatched the *Brandon* and *Megara* to Eupatoria. Admiral Lyons has also sent thither a frigate and a corvette, with 1000 artillerymen.

BRVA

*Vélocé, Eupatoria, Feb. 21, 1855.*

Since the defeat of the 17th the Russians have made no further attempt against Eupatoria. To-day columns of infantry and convoys of waggons are seen retiring from before the place, and taking the direction of Simpheropol. Many villages are in flames in the vicinity of Eupatoria. New guns of positions are being landed, and new defences in course of construction. The city is in a state of defence.

DE MONTLOU

In the battle of Eupatoria notice was taken of the death of Selim Pasha, the commander of the Egyptians. His history is as romantic as his death was gallant. He was generally known among the Egyptians by the title of "the last of the Mamelukes." This appellation was literally correct: he was the only survivor of that body when Mehemet Ali, in 1821, massacred them. They had been assembled at Cairo, and Mehemet, jealous of their power, and annoyed by their arrogance and occasional insubordination, ordered their indiscriminate destruction. Selim, who was then a mere youth, was one of the few who survived. Seeing that there was no other hope of escape from the means which Mehemet had taken to destroy his party, he mounted his horse, and forced him to spring from the lofty wall of the place into the space below. The horse was killed by the fall, but Selim survived, wounded and severely contused. Mehemet Ali, astonished at the youth's determination and escape, ordered him to be spared. He soon recovered, and his subsequent and brilliant military career was entered upon under the auspices of Coles Selves.

CHAPTER LXIX.

OPERATIONS OF THE CONTENDING ARMIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF EUPATORIA AFTER THE BATTLE OF THE 17TH OF FEBRUARY.

*Messenger.* West of this—scarcely off half a mile,  
In goodly form comes on the enemy;  
And by the ground they hide, I judge their number  
Upon, or near, the rate of thirty thousand.

*Mowbray.* The just proportion that we gave them out.  
Let us sway on, and face them in the field. SHAKSPEARE. *Henry IV.*

In the midst of the triumphs of Omar Pasha, consequent upon his victory, he was subjected to a serious domestic grief, which it is generally supposed ever after subdued his energy, and rendered him less fit for a large command. This was the loss by death of his nephew. Previous to the battle, this young man was attacked by typhus fever, which prevailed among the Turkish forces, and he was removed from Eupatoria to Constantinople. The young man, although but twenty-two years of age, had acquired a reputation for military talent; he was the adopted son of Omar, who was extremely fond of him.

In his grief, however, the famous soldier did not forget his duty. Precautions were taken against the return of the Russians, whom deserters (perhaps spies) reported were reinforced by fresh troops from Perekop, and were ready, with 30,000 picked men, to assault the place, aided by an increased artillery. It was rumoured that the troops encamped in the vicinity, and those at Simpheropol and Perekop destined for service against the place, numbered not less than 80,000 men. Accordingly, Omar caused his troops to work incessantly at the defences, while he dispatched letters to Kamiesch, Balaklava, and Constantinople, placing the English, French, and Turkish authorities in full possession of what information he could gather. In the two places last mentioned troops, provisions, and munitions of war were sent by day. Landing these stores from the ships impeded the progress of the defences, but the men of the English and French steam squadron in the roads, which was reinforced, aided in this work, while the officers made themselves useful in the fortifications.

Among the troops landed from Constantinople was a body of irregular cavalry (Bashibazouks); this description of force was much valued by Omar Pasha, as the plain around Eupatoria was peculiarly favourable for the use of cavalry, wherein the Russians were inferior, and of which the Turks were almost invulnerable. The new cavalry arrivals were chiefly Kurds—very doubtful auxiliaries anywhere in the neighbourhood of Kurdistan, at a distance from their native land, and not so general so strict in discipline as Omar, nor so likely to be useful. There could be no doubt

they were disposed to plunder if opportunity were presented; but nothing was left for their rapacity, as the Russians had burned all the Tartar villages, and either drove the inhabitants into the interior, forced them to join their ranks, or frightened them into timely flight to the already crowded city of Eupatoria.

The rations supplied to the Turkish troops were excellent, and abundant in quantity: they consisted of biscuit, rice, *kaourma* (a kind of preserved meat), beans, and butter. Lemons, oranges, figs, nuts, chestnuts, tobacco, could be purchased cheaply at the bazaars, where private speculators sold them. Such luxuries as were procurable at Kamiesch and Balaklava were altogether absent from Eupatoria. The pashas had their supplies with them, and the men relied upon their rations; the English and French officers found what they wanted on board the ships of the squadron; so that the bazaars limited their supply to the articles mentioned.

The common soldiery manifested the most ardent zeal and enthusiasm in every labour, and longed for another opportunity to chastise the "Muscovs." *Mutatis mutandis*, matters at Eupatoria were not unlike those at Silistria. The enemy, however, did not prove in the long run so pertinacious at the former as at the latter place. Omar won the love of the common soldiers by his kindness, and constrained their respect by the sternness of his discipline. He adopted the wise method in feeding the army, of first distributing rations to the privates. This was an innovation seriously injurious to the interests of the officers, who would in all probability have resisted or embarrassed such a distribution had not Omar been surrounded by so many English and French. The Turkish officers have, by the military law of the sultan, a right to a number of rations varying with their rank. Thus a lieutenant-general has thirty-two; general of brigade, twenty-two; colonel, sixteen; lieutenant-colonel, twelve; major, eight; &c. Omar reduced this scale, no doubt offending by his happy audacity the clique at the Porte as well as the peculating officers of his own army. He issued an order of the day, giving to a major, two; a lieutenant-colonel, three; a colonel, four; a brigadier-general, five; a lieu-

tenant-general, six, rations *in natura*. These worthies consented to receive them under protest, claiming the right to demand the value of the rations in money another time—to which Omar had no objection, so as their feeding and fighting while with him bore some fair proportion to that of the men whom they so indifferently commanded.

There was no forage on the steppe at that early period of the year, and, besides, the Russians commanded it; but Omar personally superintended the organisation of his commissariat, and procured fodder from Varna and Burgas in sufficient quantities, and with tolerable regularity.

The proceedings of the Russians after the day of battle were at first unascertainable by Omar, although he had used spies on the Danube, and employed similar agencies at Eupatoria also, more efficiently than the English and French chiefs did before Sebastopol. In a letter dated Eupatoria, February 25th, from one perfectly cognisant of all that had been ascertained there of the Russian movements on the steppe, the following remarks occur:—"Since the affair of the 17th the Russians have not disturbed us. It is, of course, impossible to say whether they are waiting for further reinforcements to recommence their operations, or whether, having found the works too strong to be carried by a *coup de main*, they have determined to assume the defensive, leaving only a *corps d'observation* in the neighbourhood, which latter plan would have the advantage for them that they could more or less choose their own battle-ground. Among these conjectures there is only one thing certain, and that is, that there are still Russian troops, infantry as well as cavalry, in the neighbourhood of Eupatoria. One body of them is to be seen on our left, in the vicinity of the little lake to the north of the town. On Thursday last another body of infantry as well as cavalry, with a number of arabas, supposed to be some convoy, was seen moving on the road to Sak, the first station towards Simpheropol."

That the Russians kept up a very close observation was obvious, for at that juncture Colonel Simmons cruised close along the coast on board the *Curlew*, and shells were thrown at the ship from several points. He observed a paddle-box boat, a portion of one of the wrecks of the 14th of November, lying on the shore not far from Eupatoria; he sent a boat's crew to bring it off; the Russians, perceiving this, brought down horse artillery to prevent the removal, but were driven back by the fire of the *Curlew*. Deserters gave information that the movements of arabas observed from the ships and redoubts were for the purpose of bringing up mortars to shell the place. Up

to the end of February the Russian headquarters remained at Oraz, about five miles distant, and their cavalry videttes occupied the second line of tumuli referred to in the description given of the Russian position on the occasion of the battle recorded in the last chapter. The *Dauntless* and *Curlew* made various experiments as to the common range of the shipping. Before the vessels began their operation the outlying Turkish videttes were drawn in, lest any accident should occur in the firing. The Russians perceiving this movement, and of course unable to comprehend it, pushed on their patrols to ascertain its cause; this movement was opportune for the purpose of the ships, as they tried their range upon the enemy's videttes, putting some *hors de combat*, and causing the rest to gallop back to the tumuli.

The Turkish chief had still to contend with the dilatoriness and want of principle of his own government. He every day visited the piers at Eupatoria, and inspected personally the shot, shell, arms, clothing, and provisions landed; and but for his vigilance and industry, speculation at the capital would have destroyed the enterprise, as it soon after the defence of Kars. Omar was especially particular as to the supply of his army with fuel, a matter as to which the home authorities did not see the necessity; but the general persevered in seeing his demands in that respect executed until wood and charcoal were landed at Eupatoria in large quantities, so that soon after the battle the troops had regular rations of fuel. A person resident at Constantinople and in a position to know what he related observed:—"Omar Pasha has throughout the campaign given proof of his skill as a general, and it could be wished that his power in his own army was more complete, and that he was not obliged to defer in so many things a minister at the Porte who enjoys no high reputation either for genius or integrity." The person referred to in this extract was Rifaat Pasha, whom General Williams had denounced to Lord Clarendon as a traitor to the cause in which the allies fought. Omar was well seconded in his activity and surveillance by everything by several officers. The crew of the *Henri IV.* were directed by their commander to erect a large crane on one of the piers, and the British men-of-war's men were ordered to construct several on the others. Commander Hoseason, R.N., Lieutenant Ingham, of the East India Company's army, Seaforth Bey (Major Kutzulesco), and the Turkish colonel, Abdalah Bey, were as indefatigable as Omar himself.

Deserters from Liprandi's corps caused considerable excitement by relating the movements of that general and the troops under

command. According to their account, after the defeat before Eupatoria, he retraced his steps towards the Tchernaya; but as the weather suddenly changed, and the heaviest fall of snow which had been known for many winters covered the route, the general lost his way, and his troops were subjected to the greatest hardships. Many fell out of the line of march, and were never heard of after; others finally made out the corps of Osten-Sacken, frost-bitten and exhausted; and numbers perished in the attempt to regain the Tchernaya. Unfortunate as was Liprandi during all the war, not excepting the exploit making the passage of the Danube (which, though bravely effected, cost many lives by plague and pestilence), he was more unlucky on this occasion than on any other. None of the engagements in which he took a part cost such a loss of life among his troops as the march from before Eupatoria, to regain the position before Balaklava, on the night of the 18th and 19th of February. The reports concerning this were very various and discrepant, some alleging the loss of half his corps, others a third and a fourth. There is no doubt that thousands of men perished on that dread-night. Occasion will occur to refer to this subject more particularly in the next chapter. The Russians for some weeks continued to make close reconnaissances, and frequent skirmishes took place: a letter from the scene of operations thus describes one of them:—"We just brought our luncheon to a very satisfactory conclusion, when the alarm was given, we adjourned from our mess-room (what profanation of the term!) to the redoubt. One of our messmates from the frigate, whose presence it would not be fair to reveal, was coming with us, and accompanied us to see the fun, which very nearly ended in a most disastrous catastrophe. As our people manned the guns and rockets, the Cossacks came over the hill at a gallop, and commenced scouring the steppe in order to secure the flocks of sheep which were feeding on it. As they swept past at some 1000 yards' distance, our batteries opened fire upon them with round-shot and shrapnel, which emptied several saddles. The Cossacks, however, being 'diners out,' were not deterred from their very laudable endeavour to secure a dinner, and a very interesting skirmish ensued between them and the Tartar regular horse, the one party endeavouring to secure their mutton, the other as strenuously endeavouring to save it. The Cossacks cut off a flock, and drove them towards the steppe with their lances, and while doing so were repeatedly charged by the Tartars, who would gallop within 100 yards, discharge muskets at them, and then wheel round. The Turkish officer who is in command

of the irregulars shot one Cossack with his pistol, and wounded another by a sabre cut. While this skirmishing was continuing with varied success, a large force of Turkish infantry marched out with their general at their head, and poured several volleys into the Cossacks, who were compelled to retire, with a loss of some of their numbers, but with a gain of part of their booty. As they retreated along the crest of the hill, they came under our fire again, when we gave them a volley of shot and rockets; one of the latter burst among a group of the enemy, knocking over two, and giving a great addition of speed to the remainder. Another shot struck directly beneath a horse, which fell upon its head, and flung its rider to some distance. The Cossack picked himself up and took to his heels, but the horse was captured, with several others. These successful hits were loudly cheered by our blue-jackets, who watched the effect of each shot with great earnestness, and whose nautical expressions would have greatly amused the landmen. Thus, when the enemy retired in haste, they exclaimed that they 'were making sail;' and when the pace increased to a gallop, they declared that 'the Rooshians must have the wind right aft—they were bowling along at such a rate!'"

As the Turks began to feel more confidence in their numbers, they became the assailants; and although they knew well that an army of at least 30,000 men lay before them, better equipped for war than any of the corps which the czar had engaged on the various theatres of struggle, they were minded in the spirit of the motto selected for this chapter to "sway on," and meet the enemy in the field. They had repulsed the foe when protected against his assault by the breastwork and redoubt, and they were confident to engage him upon the steppe, notwithstanding the numbers and completeness of his cavalry. The Russians seemed much astonished at the increased boldness of the Turks, and accounted for it on the supposition of very strong reinforcements of French and British marines having been landed. They were not well informed of what took place in Eupatoria, the only instance in which, during the war either in Europe or Asia, the Russian spy system failed to work efficiently.

Every day, and generally twice a day, from the beginning of March, the Turks sallied out in quest of the Muscovs. They observed a singular regularity in these excursions: in the morning and in the evening, at the same hour, a detachment of Kurdistan cavalry galloped out upon the plain, followed by horse artillery and infantry. They generally passed out at the same point, and moved towards the range of tumuli where the Russian cavalry videttes kept up their ceaseless observation. The latter

retired slowly upon their reserves. These, prepared for what was going on, advanced in strength; the Turks galloped to the nearest tumultus, looked at the enemy for some time, and retired upon their own reserves. The Russians were in such case accustomed to throw out skirmishers, and form in pelotons; the Turks and Tartars would then make flank movements: various evolutions on the part of the Russians would counteract those of the Turks, both parties firing carbines and pistols when neither could carry half the required distance. The Russians gradually retiring, the Turks would follow them to the next line of tumuli, sometimes approaching pretty close during the various windings and manœuvres mutually practised. On these occasions the chief officers would exchange salutes, as if it were a holiday review. The whole affair would begin over again along the second series of mounds, until the Turks in turn gradually retiring, the Russians would gradually advance to their original position.

Colonel le Dieu, the French commissioner, was recalled at the beginning of March, much to the regret of the army with which he served.

The Tartar irregular cavalry began by degrees to be very useful, both French and Turks enlisting them: they preferred the service of the sultan. They had been accustomed to carry heavy muskets on horseback, which impeded their efficiency, but early in March sabres, lances, carbines, and pistols, were distributed to them, and their utility was greatly increased.

On the 5th of March the Turks made a reconnaissance on a larger scale than they had previously ventured upon. Two squadrons of the 2nd regular regiment of Rumeli, called Hadji Alay, because it had made the pilgrimage to Mecca, and a squadron of rediffs (a militia which comprises cavalry and infantry) of the 2nd regiment of Guards, a small detachment of Bashi-bazouks, and a large detachment of the newly-arrived mounted Tartars, under the command of Skender Beg, went out upon the steppe. They took, as usual, the direction of the tumuli. The nearest to the Turkish left, which was occupied by the Russians, was close to a bridge which leads over a creek running inland from the Putrid Lake Sasik. Opposite the Turkish centre the Russians occupied two large tumuli in unusual force, and behind them videttes were strongly posted, falling back to the little lake to the north of the town, on the side of which was a little Tartar village, called Meskow, which the Russians had burned. Near the bridge, in a hollow to the right of it, was posted a strong squadron of lancers, to support their videttes: these were quite hidden from the Turkish skirmishers. Towards the

centre there were two sotnias of Cossacks, upon which the videttes retired as the Bashi-bazouks advanced; and besides these Cossacks, to the left, was posted a beautiful squadron of hussars all mounted on white horses. The general arrangements of the Russian cavalry outposts was well known to the Turks by their frequent reconnaissances and skirmishes for some days before. Skender Beg, who always had commanded these excursions from the town, based his plan of action on this occasion upon the knowledge he had thus acquired. He sent the two squadrons of the 2nd regiment to the right, to keep at bay the Russian Lancers while he, at the head of the rediffs, Bashi-bazouks, and Tartars, advanced towards the two mounds in the centre already described. The enemy's videttes fell back upon the main guard in the customary manner; but before they could be joined by their reserves, Skender Beg gave the order to charge, which was promptly obeyed, the Cossacks hurrying back with all their speed. Both parties opened warm fire; but the Turks, charging on, were in the midst of the Russian main guard when the reserves of the latter came up. Skender Beg ordered his men to charge them, and he, with his usual intrepidity, led them on, first in the charge: his Bashi-bazouks bravely followed, the Tartars halted, and the rediffs followed away; a few of the Tartars fled with the flying Roumelians, and a few more, it is but justice to say, joined the Kurds in their brazen onset. The result may be foreseen: the Cossacks rallied, charged the few brave men who had followed their leader, swept them away, and the hitherto hesitating and stationary Tartars an instant afterwards were flying before the victorious Cossacks. Skender Beg miraculously escaped; two of his Bashi-bazouks remained by him, and these three intrepid men cut their way through the Cossack sotnias; but the gallant chief received a sabre-cut on the head, which penetrated the skull, a lance-thrust which scarred his breast, and a sabre-cut on the hand, which took off two of his fingers. The Tartars had taken such care of themselves that only one was lost; four Bashi-bazouks fell in following their too confident chief, and the rediffs, who never came within lance-length of the enemy, suffered more than either, six of them having been shot down before they got clear out of harm's way. About 2300 yards from the tumuli the frightened horsemen of Islam drew up. Skender Beg exhorted them in vain to return to the charge; but the sight of his streaming wounds was sufficient to deter them from any closer contact with the enemy. Faint with loss of blood, he resigned the command to Safer Pasha (General Koscelszky, a Pole). He was equally unfortunate as to obtaining their acquiescence in the

movement towards the enemy; and after sundry manœuvres in the promenade style, which appeared to suit them, although, not without symptoms of trepidation, they joyfully and with alacrity obeyed the command to retreat *en échelon*, in the performance of which duty the Russians scarcely even noticed them. There was nothing remarkable in this whole affair, except the rashness of Skender Beg, and the superfluous bravery of himself and his few Bashi-bazouks. This force was utterly unfit to cope with Russian regular cavalry. The rediffs were sober citizens, who hardly knew how to sit on horseback; the Tartars were only fit for scouts, and the Bashi-bazouks for skirmishing: none of them had ever seen a line of battle before. It was utterly absurd for their commanders to use them except as scouts and skirmishers; but they were elated by the glorious result of the battle of Eupatoria, and fancied that any description of Turkish force could beat the Russians.

Eupatoria soon began to assume the aspect of a fortress; and while Omar performed all the duties of a general, the native magistrates, or medglis, preserved order among the Tartar population.

The death of the Emperor Nicholas was one of the most signal episodes of the war; the incidents connected with it will be related in their appropriate place. Tidings of this event reached Eupatoria on the 7th of March, and gave rise to rumours similar in nature to those which the event caused throughout Europe—perhaps throughout the world. It was determined in the garrison that the tidings should be communicated to the Russian commander; for it was rightly conjectured that the news could not have reached the enemy's camp—Eupatoria, by medium of the sea, being more immediately in connection with the sources and media of information. Safer Pasha was delegated to this delicate mission. He accordingly, attended by two squadrons of regular cavalry, wended his way towards the Russian lines. Turning to the right as they left the town they ascended the first mound occupied by the Turkish videttes, and passing it, advanced to the parallel mound occupied by the videttes of the enemy; and, when some little distance from it, Safer Pasha rode forward, only attended by his staff, until he approached the bridge which crosses the creek at Lake Basik, where a squadron of Russian lancers were posted. The Cossacks *en vidette* retired slowly to the ruined village near the bridge, as if afraid that some ruse was being put in practice against them. Safer Pasha still advanced; but pausing at a little distance, when the Cossacks began to make demonstrations of a hostile nature, he ordered a Polish officer, with a trumpeter, to advance in the mode

usual when a parley is demanded between opposing forces. This officer told the Russian officer of the main guard that his errand was to invite the Russian commandant of outposts to meet the Turkish commander for a conference. The Russian commander was at the camp, but was sent for; and when he arrived, turned out to be a Pole, an old friend as well as countryman of Safer Pasha. The greeting was lively, and Prince Radzivil—for such was the Russian commander's designation—was extremely courteous to the whole Turkish party. He was much surprised and excited by the news of the death of his emperor, of whose illness he had heard, but had not entertained apprehensions for his life. The two Polish chiefs made some useful arrangements about the treatment of prisoners. It was gathered also by the Turkish staff that few of the Kurds, or rediffs, who had been led out by Skender Beg had been killed,—they were wounded and prisoners. The lieutenant-colonel of lancers had inflicted the severe cut upon the forehead of that adventurous horseman, whose feat very much resembled that of Major Edwards in one of his exploits in the Punjab. Brandy, tobacco, and other little luxuries, were exchanged by the generals and their staffs; and they parted as good friends (to use a Hibernicism) as enemies could possibly be.

This peaceful conference created in Eupatoria a desire for its renewal, and Safer Pasha went out again, ostensibly to effect a change of prisoners, when all who could find an excuse for going left Eupatoria along with him, making a very promiscuous cavalcade of soldiers, sailors, and civilians—Turks, Tartars, French, and English. A gentleman who was one of the retinue of the Turkish negotiator on this occasion relates what he saw, in a manner that would suffer from any attempt to abridge it:—"The affair was more or less managed as yesterday, only that we had to wait rather longer for the commander. The Polish officer, who was again in advance, amused himself by talking, drinking, and smoking with the Cossacks. At last we saw a cavalcade coming from the right; when they approached, the squadron of Lancers near the bridge, who had again dismounted when they heard of our peaceful intentions, got in their saddles, and when we passed them we heard a hearty cheer. It was the usual answer to the question which every superior officer in passing his troop makes—'*Zdra stferit tyè, rabiata?*' ('How do you do, children?') To which the answer is—'*Zdravja jelaiv washe?*' ('We wish good health to you'). The prince sent his aide-de-camp before, and soon after galloped up himself. Again a good deal of politeness, and cigars were exchanged. By degrees the Turkish staff as well as the Cos-

sacks drew nearer, and a few minutes afterwards both parties were mixed up together. The predominant feeling was curiosity on both sides, both parties wishing to surpass each other in politeness, except a few Cossacks, who came up on foot and made their observations. I always thought the Cossack faces in *Punch* a caricature; since I have seen these specimens I think they remain behind the truth. Safer Pasha proposed an exchange of prisoners, which the Russian commander accepted. After that the order of the day was introductions. Some French officers were introduced who were seeking for some sailors of a French brig stranded somewhere about Sebastopol; it was rather an odd moment to choose for introductions. Among those introduced was Captain Methuen, of the *Colombo*, as the bearer of the news of the death of the emperor."

The weather now cleared up beautifully; spring asserted her glorious reign, which in the Crimea is indeed genial and lovely; and although there were some alternations of warm and cold days, and the nights continued sharp, and were sometimes severe, yet the fine weather had come, and the roads were dry and fit for the movement upon them of any reinforcements the Russians might choose to send against the place. But they were now too well prepared in the garrison to fear the result; notwithstanding the inefficiency of his cavalry on the plain, Omar was assured that his artillery would be well and bravely served, and that his infantry would give to any assault of the enemy another reception as memorable as that of the 17th of February.

During the interview above recorded, it was agreed to exchange the prisoners at noon the next day. On inquiry, the Turks were found to have only five prisoners, and they were wounded and could not be removed, so it was resolved to postpone the exchange; but Safer Pasha resolved to go out and tell the circumstance himself, and see his friend the Russian commander; and accordingly a procession went forth, and was met by another in all respects similar to the preceding. During this interview a somewhat mysterious occurrence took place. A Tartar officer, on a fine white horse, rode past the left of Safer Pasha's escort towards the Russian lines. Some Turkish officers and sergeants set out after him, as he appeared to be a deserter. It was, however, too late, as a strong party of Cossacks rode up to meet him, and thus escorted he rode safely into the Russian lines. This occurred just as the conference between the two Polish representatives of Russia and Turkey were terminating their conference. It was observed that the former and his staff rode up to the Tartar captain (*tuszbashe*), and had a conference with him. The Turkish general promptly sent over to the

Russian commander a messenger, demanding the restoration of the absconding cavalier and the white horse. The reply was a refusal, grounded on the fact that when the horseman was seen approaching, Cossack videttes were sent to warn him of his contiguity to the Russian position, when he replied that he was aware of that, and came to join service with Russia, and at once divested himself of his sword, and presented it to a Cossack officer. This reasoning did not seem sound to Safer Pasha, and he felt that an unworthy advantage had been taken in a small matter. On his return to the town it was found that no officer had deserted from the Tartars in the Turkish pay; inquiry was made of the French, and no one had absented himself. Conjecture assumed many forms as to who or what the trooper of the white horse could be, but no satisfactory conclusion was arrived at. The probability is, that the Tartar chief was a Russian spy, who had assumed that uniform, and took advantage of the relaxed vigilance attending the conference to inspect the place, and make good his escape in time as the conference was closing. The ready approach of the Cossacks to protect him, as if they had waited in expectation of his arrival, and the apparent consultation with him by the Russian commander of the outposts, give colour to this opinion.

As the Turkish general and his *cortège* were returning from the conference, five Tartars, all intoxicated soldiers in French pay, were moving out, evidently with the intention of deserting: they were arrested. The Tartars felt French discipline to be irksome, and when not permitted to join their compeers in the Turkish service, sometimes deserted to the enemy. The French did not succeed in conciliating the natives, Tartars or Asiatics, so well as the British.

An interesting letter from Eupatoria thus comments upon the frequent conferences which had taken place:—"Amusing it is to hear from what points of view the Turkish soldiers look at these interviews with the Russians, which are something new to them. Some of them having heard of the previous acquaintance of Safer Pasha with Prince Radzivill, think them only a renewal of old friendships under rather difficult circumstances, while others see the first steps towards peace in these encounters, principally as the death of the Emperor Nicholas, the author of the war, seems to lend some probability to this version. But by far the greatest part think it uncommonly strange that, since the last check received by the Turkish cavalry, these peaceful and complimentary interviews have been substituted for the former warlike but harmless military promenades; and this is so much more the case as they see daily numbers of cavalry and artillery horses arriv-

ing and landing. To-day, again, another interview was projected, to take four cases of Bordeaux and some tobacco as a present over to the Russian commander. But this time Safer Pasha did not go himself; he sent only one of his aides-de-camp. The Russian commander sent, likewise, only his aide-de-camp, who, I hear—for I was not there—received the presents smiling, and with the observation that the Russians were so plentifully provided with everything that they had even sucking-pigs (*cochons de lait*), and would be very happy to offer some of them. What the projects are for to-morrow is as yet unknown, perhaps to send matches to light the tobacco, or glasses to drink the Bordeaux; but I hear there are some apprehensions of a visit of the Russians, and that of a less amicable nature. Bodies of infantry have been seen moving about, and in general an unusual amount of activity was observed. The patrols have therefore been strengthened, and other precautions taken to receive them properly. I must say I do not believe in an attack. It would be foolish of them to try to take a place which is of no use to them, and which they could not hold for a day, on account of the men-of-war. There are said to be, again, 50,000 men around Eupatoria, but even with this force the taking of Eupatoria, as it is at present, would be very problematical, principally as the Turkish soldiers are well aware that they have only the choice between the Russians and the sea in the rear. As long as the Turks remain here they are harmless, and in case they advance, the Russians may defeat them, as the cavalry of the latter is so superior to theirs, and so numerous."

Yet the rumours of an attack were reasonable, for in a few days the Russians doubled their videttes, and appeared in greatly increased force. Siege artillery and two divisions and a half of infantry had arrived, according to the reports both of deserters and Tartar spies. Projects for removing the Tartar women and children began to be discussed, and it was thought of sending them by the transports to Burgas and Varna. An effort to get rid of the Tartar men not suitable for enlistment was made by offering them eighteen piastres a day as labourers at Balaklava; but the only labour the Tartars like, is tending cattle or driving waggons,—many, however, accepted the employment proposed.

Some curious specimens of partisan falsehood appeared in the newspapers of Constantinople and St. Petersburg, in connection with the cavalry affair in which Skender Beg was wounded. The *Journal de Constantinople* proclaimed that the Turks had eleven killed and two wounded, while the Russians lost thirty men; like the Russian attack on Eupatoria, as

represented by the *Journal of St. Petersburg*, it was a "successful reconnaissance." On the other hand, the *Invalide Russe* magnified the skirmish into a grand cavalry battle, in which the Russians had the usual loss of the one Cossack killed,—it was, however, admitted that a few also were slightly wounded; whereas the Turks incurred great slaughter, were pursued three versts, driven into the town in full flight, to the confusion and consternation of the garrison.

Matters went on in and around Eupatoria in the manner here described until the 20th of March, when Omar Pasha effected a movement which had an important influence upon the safe occupation of Eupatoria, and the effect of that occupation upon the campaign.

The cavalry force of Omar had been gradually and greatly augmented. Kurdistan irregulars, and others of the Bashi-bazouk description, a few rediffs, and a considerable body of regular Turkish horse, were landed from Constantinople and Varna. By dawn of day on the 20th five regiments of cavalry, two troops of horse artillery, and a strong division of infantry, marched out of Eupatoria. They reached the line of tumuli, the scene of previous skirmishes, the Russians retiring as usual upon their main supports. The Turks this time closely followed. A long line of Cossacks skirmished and protected the Russian right flank. The Turks followed from one range of tumuli to another, until a considerable body of their horse came upon the creek behind which the Russian cavalry had fallen back. The Russian strategy now became obvious, they manœuvred to draw the Turks as far from the town as possible, and then by operating on their left flank to cut them off. Omar Pasha's own directions were followed in this excursion, and he had previously warned his cavalry officers of such a danger, and took care to guard against it. The Turkish infantry took up a position, and the cavalry skilfully and cautiously advanced until the Russian outposts retired upon their camp. Omar kept the position he had taken up, and his object in the expedition was soon unmasked; he never intended an attack, but designed to make a demonstration which would keep the Russians occupied, and expel them from the tumuli, until the purpose of the demonstration was accomplished. That purpose was to erect new works at a greater distance from the town, and this he succeeded in effecting before the Russians had any idea of his intentions: before a week new redoubts were erected, armed, and garrisoned, relieving the over-crowded town, promoting the health of his army, advancing discreetly his position, and greatly strengthening the defence. The tumuli formerly in the possession of the Russians were now occupied

by the Turks, and the Russians had been skilfully manœuvred back to a less advantageous position, while a kind of intrenched camp defended the town as a strong line of outworks, rendering the place almost impregnable with such a commander as Omar, and such troops as he commanded, against any force the Russians could probably bring against it.

On the 29th a foray was made by the Bashi-bazouks upon the village of Bazar, on the borders of the lake, where there was a Cossack post. The Bashi-bazouks succeeded in coming suddenly upon them, and putting them to the sword; the Cossacks behaved most cowardly on the occasion, as disgracefully as the Tartars and rediffs had conducted themselves under Skender Beg. The Bashi-bazouks pursued, shouting "*Yallah Allah*," their customary war-cry, until the retreat of the "Muscovs" was turned into flight. The pursuers then turned their attention to the village and the Cossack quarters, which they speedily stripped of everything that was at all valuable and portable. Food and fodder, uniforms and accoutrements, pipes and tobacco, brandy and raki, were carried away in triumph, all of which things proved advantageous to the winners of these spoils of war. The captures most prized by the victors were copper dishes, copper cooking utensils, and the cloaks of the whole detachment of the vanquished horsemen, which had been left behind; some of them were good furs.

The Russians were discouraged by the growing boldness and efficiency of the Turkish cavalry, whose irregulars began to obtain a mastery in combat over the Cossacks, and to display more activity, if not more vigilance, than that description of Russian cavalry. They accordingly fell back, moving their headquarters from Oraz farther into the country, and ceased to harass the Turks, or even approach with their former boldness.

This condition of things continued through the spring, until the steppe became covered with verdure and the beautiful wild flowers for which it is so famous. The winter campaign at Eupatoria had passed away in every respect favourable to the invaders; the spring operations had opened, giving them easily won advantages; and the summer gradually advanced, nothing occurring to weaken the Turkish position or prospects.

Omar grew more and more confident, and leaving his garrison in security, sailed for Kamiesch, to confer with the allied officers as to the conduct of the future. The proceedings in and around Eupatoria during the later spring, and the summer, must be reserved for the narrative of another chapter. It may here, however, be observed as preparatory to our narrative then, that if operations around Eupatoria were difficult in winter, and in the early

spring, they were almost as difficult in summer, for reasons peculiar to the climate and the country.

An English clergyman, well acquainted with the Crimea, has published his views on this subject, which will appropriately close this chapter. Writing of the dangers incurred in conveying large bodies of troops in the early part of spring,—so favourable for executing marches in most other countries,—he shows how sudden and unexpected frosts and falls of snow, like that which destroyed so many of Liprandi's troops on the 18th and 19th of February, and from which Sir Colin Campbell and his Highlanders suffered at the same moment in an expedition from Balaklava upon the Tchernaya (as the next chapter will relate), might involve an army in ruin. He also affirms that a sudden thaw following such a frost and snow-fall, is yet in some respects more dangerous:—"If an attempt was really made to convey a large body of troops over the snow from the north of the peninsula, and if any detention occurred from a sudden thaw, the unhappy victims of imperial ambition will have found themselves exposed to destruction from a more terrible enemy than frost and cold."

A late spring and early summer campaign against a force occupying Eupatoria is also exposed to peril, according to the author we quote, whose remarks were written early in April, 1855, and in reference to the position of Omar's army at that time:—"When the steppe is covered by the luxuriant grass of the spring the task of crossing it in force is of course an easier one, as the baggage animals find their provender on the spot, and, being entirely grass-fed, the scarcity of water is, as far as they are concerned, much less felt. But this favourable period is comparatively short. The heat of the sun ripens the herbage very rapidly; early in June it begins to scorch up, and becomes in July and August highly inflammable from its dryness. So remarkable is it in this respect, that it was a cause of great anxiety to Munich lest his camp should be destroyed by the firing of the steppe; and every wheeled carriage was furnished with a large besom, for the purpose of instantly extinguishing the first sparks that might be seen. As a means of defence against an invading army, it is scarcely necessary to point out how effective such a conflagration must be. When Munich, the year after the expedition to the Crimea, laid siege to Ochsakoff, the Turks burnt the steppe for three leagues around the town; and this circumstance of itself would have compelled Munich to abandon his hope of taking it, had not one of his shells accidentally exploded a large powder-magazine, causing such destruction that the governor surrendered in a panic. In the plain of the Crimea a westerly breeze generally pre-

vails through the months of May and June; and, if necessity required it, nothing would be easier, after securing as much hay as could be brought within the defence of the lines, than to take advantage of the dominant wind, and interpose a barrier of temporary barrenness between Eupatoria and any besieger. I say temporary, because it is the general practice to burn the surface in the month of August, such a proceeding being considered advantageous to the growth of the young grass; and, if a besieging army is to come by land from the north in sufficient strength to attack a force of 40,000 men in Eupatoria, there will be plenty of time to get in the hay before its arrival. There is, however, together with these advantages, one great drawback to the assemblage of a large force at Eupatoria. The supply of water is said to be deficient in quantity, and bad in quality. I suspect it is derived from wells very near the shore, and is probably filtered from the sea, and brackish; but the town once contained a considerable population, as appears from the circumstance that when the Russians entered it (and burnt it), in 1736, there were 2500 private houses in it, most of them built of stone. Pallas speaks of it having been formerly supplied by pipes from a reservoir at some distance from the walls, and says that the

water was raised into this by the constant application of horse-power out of a 'very good and deep well.' Of this, however, he adds, that in his time (1794) scarcely a trace remained, and that the wretched wells in the town were the only available sources. It occurs to me, that here we English have an occasion on which we may advantageously put forth our peculiar resources, by sending forth, before the bad water has begun its work of destruction in the camp of our ally, a regiment of well-sinkers and pipe-layers to restore the old hydraulic apparatus to efficiency, or supply its place by a better one, worked, not by the agency of horses, but that of steam. If we can preserve in an efficient state that which is now the only army Turkey has left, we shall do more towards bringing the war to a successful termination than by any other possible course. If they choose to do anything, let them do it quickly and completely. Let an English steamer carry out every appliance, and every man who may be required. Let us have no borrowing of idle Turkish soldiers, or hiring of slippery Croats; and let an ample supply out of the very 'good and deep well' be brought to the surface, and distributed through the town and camp at Eupatoria by the 1st of May at the latest."

## CHAPTER LXX.

THE SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL DURING THE LATER PORTION OF FEBRUARY.—EXPEDITION OF SIR COLIN CAMPBELL AGAINST THE RUSSIANS BEYOND THE TCHERNAYA.—SEVERE REPULSE OF THE FRENCH IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO DESTROY THE WORKS CONNECTED WITH THE MALAKOFF TOWER.

"Our life is but a battle and a march,  
And like the wind's blast—never resting—homeless,  
We storm across the war-convulsed earth."

COLERIDGE.

THE third week in February opened before Sebastopol with mild spring weather, but the troops did not improve in health, as might have been expected. Typhus fever appeared in many of the regiments, and carried off not only the weakly and delicate, but the strong and sturdy. This mild weather was soon interrupted, for on the night of the 19th and 20th a dreadful storm of snow fell upon the whole surrounding country—by far the most severe the troops had known. In the last chapter reference was made to the sufferings and losses of the corps of Liprandi, on their march from the neighbourhood of Eupatoria to regain the position over the Tchernaya, which they had vacated for the purpose of hastening to the aid of Osten-Sacken against Omar Pasha, in the hope of crushing him before he could consolidate the defence of that place. Before his departure from the camp near Balaklava, Liprandi stationed a division in a good position

near the Tchernaya, where they were to remain in observation until his return. Intelligence was brought by some spies to the generals of the allied armies that the division were the sole occupants of the camp where that general had been for so long posted, and a night attack and surprise were consequently concocted, in the hope of destroying or capturing the entire body. The mode of action resolved upon was as follows:—this expedition was to be conducted by Sir Colin Campbell, on the part of the British, and by Generals Bosquet and Villenois, on the part of the French. The weather, from the 15th to the night of the 18th, had been such as to prepare the country for the movement of troops, and greatly to facilitate the passage of artillery: sunshine by day, and drying winds by night, had characterised the interval from the 14th to the 18th. According to the arrangement, Sir Colin's force was to consist of the Highland brigade

and Rifles, rather weak in number, being under 2000 men. The French contingent of the enterprise was to number 4000 men. Soon after dark the French began their preparations, from the vicinity of head-quarter's camp, and the troops were told off on whom this duty was to devolve. Sir Colin also made his preparations, and soon after midnight the march was to begin. Before midnight, half the French detachment had assembled in columns of companies near their head-quarters. Sir Colin's men were also ready and willing. Scarcely had the different groups of men collected when the weather changed, the wind rose, and was cuttingly cold; the sky became overcast; and the stars, which a few hours before glorified the whole heavens, were obscured. The wind changed, became less cold, and then a torrent of rain fell for at least an hour—such rain as was seldom seen in Europe, unless perhaps in the Crimea. The wind again changed, blowing in fiercer gusts from the north; the rain froze; the whole earth was covered with ice in so short a time as to be quite beyond the conception of persons only accustomed to the climates of Western Europe. Snow then fell, and the wind rose to a gale, drifting the fallen snow into every hollow and valley, and covering the whole plateau to a great depth in a very brief space of time. To make a reconnaissance, or find out the enemy on such a night, appeared hopeless to General Canrobert; and he therefore sent Major Foley to inform Sir Colin of his determination not to send out the French troops, and those already under arms were ordered to their tents, which they found with difficulty, near as they were, so altered had the whole face of the plateau become by the drifted snow. Major Foley lost his way, and many hours were consumed by him in vain attempts to find it, and ultimately he found himself at Lord Raglan's head-quarters. Informing his lordship of the mission confided to his care, and his inability to accomplish it, being then utterly exhausted, his lordship dispatched an aide-de-camp to General Campbell that the French were not coming, and ordering him to postpone the enterprise. It was about three o'clock in the morning when this officer set out for Balaklava. Passing through the French camp, he made General Villenois acquainted with his mission to Sir Colin; but that officer generously said he would move down his men to the English general's support, lest the latter, not having received any intimation of the change of General Canrobert's intentions, should have started upon his march, and perhaps meet the enemy in strength, and finding no support, be overpowered. The aide-de-camp, after a weary contest with the difficulties of his journey,—all landmarks having been covered with snow,—at

last arrived at Balaklava—Sir Colin was gone. True to his orders, neither rain, frost, snow, nor storm could deter him and his gallant Highlanders from the path of duty. The aide-de-camp bravely went in pursuit. The track of the brigade was already covered with snow, so that no trace of it could be discovered; and after overcoming countless difficulties and incurring great dangers,—for it was impossible to see a yard in advance,—the aide-de-camp reached Sir Colin near to Tchorgoum, whither he and his persevering soldiers had buffeted their way with snow and tempest. Sir Colin, hearing that Brigadier-general Villenois had determined to move down to his support, determined, if possible, to accomplish the object for which he had gone forth, and ordered the march to be resumed. Sir Colin's brigade was accompanied by a detachment of Zouaves, and despite the increasing violence of the storm, the men of both services were as ardent as the general to fall upon the enemy when so little likely to be expected, and thus render a great service in the campaign. The way became more and more dangerous; the Rifles were the advanced guard; the Highland light infantry followed in skirmishing order. The general's directions had been few and simple, and his troops were capable of their steady execution. There was to be no firing in case they came upon the enemy. Thus the men plodded on until day dawned: slowly did the light struggle through the drifting snow-wreaths and the masses of snow-cloud which darkened the whole heavens. A few feet before them were all that the troops could see, and the snow was so deep as greatly to impede their progress and increase their fatigue. Yet there was not a murmur—all were patient under their sufferings, and glowing with ardour for the object of their contemplated exploit. At last the advanced guard came suddenly upon the pickets of the enemy, whose watchfulness not even such a night could derange, but who were unable to desert the approaching troops, it was so dark. Their sentries were seized by the light infantry, when their comrades immediately gave the alarm, and the Cossack videttes fired their carbines, and the infantry their muskets, at random into the darkness. No one was hit, but the report of fire-arms put the Russian division on the *qui vive*, and they stood at once to their arms; for their drums beat violently the alarm, and the hoarse voices of command penetrated the muffled atmosphere, and came heavily on the ear of the advancing English. Through the snow-rifts Sir Colin made a reconnaissance, which enabled him to determine that the columns of the enemy were retiring upon the heights above the Tchernaya. To make out their number was impossible—his conjecture being 5000 men.

This was near the truth; the division numbered rather more than 6000. By their slow movements, Sir Colin judged that they had strong supports upon which to fall back. He was deceived by their skilful movements. Liprandi had at that time the main force of his corps with him, and they were sinking beneath the tempest, in impassable places, in one of the most terrible marches ever endured by an army. The snow not only continued to descend, but fell in increasing quantities, hiding the enemy completely from view. The word was given to fix bayonets and advance; the men found they were unable to obey the order, their hands were so benumbed with cold; the Rifles could not handle their weapons; frost-bite had attacked the men, especially the Highlanders, in the ears—their bonny Scotch bonnets affording no shelter to that feature. The horses refused to face the increased storm. There was no appearance of the French; and if they had been a very short distance off, it was impossible they could be seen, and improbable that they could be heard. In this most distressing situation, Sir Colin was life and soul to his brave troops, riding about encouraging and cheering them by voice and example; but there was no disguising the fact—the noble-hearted uncomplaining men were sinking. Sir Colin was not the man to sacrifice his heroic soldiers, as a gamester flings his dice, and loses all or wins great stakes. He resolved, however, to await the arrival of the French, and if their advent was timely, to attempt something against the enemy if the soldiers could use their hands. He could not halt the men, a short halt even and many would never have moved again—they would have sunk, benumbed and stupified, into the frost-deep that subsides in death. He therefore kept them moving to and fro, until all hope of the arrival of the French was unreasonable, and the reluctant order to return was given. At eleven o'clock, A.M., the men arrived at their quarters, fatigued, hungry, frost-struck, and in some cases utterly exhausted. Never before did English soldiers do so much or behave better on such a night—if ever, in the varied wars of England, British soldiers had before endured a single night of such soul-penetrating hardship. But few shots had been fired, and those only in reply to the shots at a venture made by the retreating pickets of the enemy. Three prisoners were the only trophy of this dreadful march; but it must not be supposed that this was the only injury inflicted on the enemy—they were exposed to far more sufferings than the English: obliged to stay all night posted on a hill-side,—not daring for a moment to give up the advantageous position they had found, and unable to see whether, if one more advantageous were at

hand,—many of the Russians fell down dead in the snow, and a terrible proportion of them were frost-bitten. The sufferings of Liprandi's corps on its march scarcely exceeded those of the division which maintained the snow-beaten bivouac which the English general had compelled them to take up. Perhaps more punishment, and with less loss, was inflicted upon the enemy than if the surprise had been actually successful. Every regiment which accompanied General Campbell had a portion of its men sent to hospital, and not a few of the Highlanders lost their ears by frost-bite.

Had the French co-operated, there can be little doubt that if they had found their way as well as the English, the Russians must have been caught as in a trap, and destroyed or made prisoners. The plan of action, as it afterwards transpired, was this:—the English were to advance by Kamara and Canrobert's Hill, and proceed stealthily to the enemy's front; the French were to move by the Woronzoff Road, and turn the Russian left flank, so as to cut off their retreat by the Traktar Bridge.

The troops with Sir Colin were a French regiment (Zouaves), the 42nd, the 71st, 79th, and 93rd Highlanders, and twelve pieces of horse artillery. The blinding snow caused them in the first instance to miss their way, and they wandered for some time in the vineyards to the left. But the Highland soldiers, as if by instinct, hit upon the right track. Perhaps no other troops but Highlanders could have discovered it; accustomed in their native mountains to the snow-storm, and all its dangers and difficulties, they were able to conduct themselves with an instinct through the storm, such as no other portion of either army possessed; and to endure with a hardihood which no other soldiers could rival. Mr. Woods, in relating the events of this hard march, says that at half-past four o'clock in the morning the English lay down on the hill-side, waiting for the arrival of the French. This may be so—on the authority of that gentleman we should be disposed to rely much, but it is contrary to our other sources of information; and knowing the danger of lying down, or even standing, in such circumstances, we are disposed to think that Mr. Woods was misinformed.

It was as Sir Colin was retiring from the environs of Tchorgoum that Villenois' four regiments arrived, having generously persevered until they came upon the British in their retrograde movement. He was willing to return and advance upon the Russians, but both officers saw how hopeless of success such an effort must be; besides, Sir Colin had then received the order to retire, and the march of Villenois

had been countermanded before he set out—his own generosity having prompted his movements to share the perils of the English, and perhaps to succour them under unforeseen disaster. Long after these events had transpired, and when Sir Colin Campbell was received with festive entertainments and brave welcomes in his native land, the veteran remembered with gratitude the heroism and generosity of Villenois. A public meeting assembled in the city of Glasgow, where Sir Colin was born; the object was to subscribe for the relief of certain sufferers by an inundation in France, by which life and property had been extensively sacrificed; the lord-provost took the chair; the celebrated historian, Sir Archibald Alison, moved the first resolution, and the *élite* of Glasgow notabilities supported the purposes of the assemblage, when the whole proceedings received additional and deep interest from the circumstance of Sir Colin Campbell presenting himself to relate the noble instance of French sympathy he had experienced on the awful night of the 19th of February, 1855. The address of Sir Colin was as follows:—"There is one anecdote I must relate to you respecting these Frenchmen. In February of past year I was ordered, with the Highland brigade, a detachment of cavalry, and twelve guns, to move to a certain position, to co-operate with a large force of the French, with a view to turn the Russians out of the Tchernaya. The weather became very bad—a frightful night of snow, and frost, and cold. I succeeded in fulfilling the order given me, and the troops under my orders found themselves at time in the position. The French did not appear. The night was so bad that they had received counter-orders; and, actually to keep my men from being frost-bitten, I had to march them round and round in circles. I had been associated with a Frenchman named General Villenois—a man whom I love very much—a man who is admired as a soldier. In the morning after receiving the counter-orders the night before, on coming out of his tent, he saw the Highland brigade, the detachment of cavalry, and the guns at a distance. Immediately on seeing our troops, and recollecting that the French army had been called back in consequence of the dreadful state of the weather, he said, 'My friend Campbell may find himself overpowered,' and sounding the bugle without waiting for the instructions of his superior officer, he sent a body to my relief. Happily I was in such a position that whenever they came against me, I knew I could drive them out of it. But that does not take away from the merit of General Villenois in sending his troops to us. I believe it is impossible to know of more unity, or a stronger feeling of

regard than that which existed between the Highland soldiers and the Frenchmen."

It appears that considerable confusion took place among the French in endeavouring to obey the orders and counter-orders which had been given them for this "reconnaissance." The division of General Espinasse had been ordered by General Bosquet to perform the part, the arrangement of which had been committed to him. His account of the attempt made by him to do what he was commanded thus appears in the journal of the division:—"After having made sure, by frequent blowing of the trumpet, that no troops had remained in the plain of Balaklava, outside the Mameluk of the English vidette, the general gave the order to march, in order to avoid being frost-bitten, and in such a manner as to remain near the rest of the force. For that purpose the men were marched successively with the wind and against the wind, describing circles, and at daybreak they found themselves at the foot of the positions, the steep acclivities which they climbed with difficulty, by reason of the accumulation of snow. At a quarter past six the men re-entered their bivouacs, not a single man missing at roll-call."

The severity of that night was much felt in the trenches, very great numbers were brought to the French hospitals afflicted with frost-bite. Probably the most graphic account of the character of the weather the day which followed is recorded in the journal of Mr Russell. He thus relates his experience:—"Such a day as followed that morning I have never witnessed. Being anxious to get a letter off by the post ere it started from Kamiesel, and not being aware that the reconnaissance had been countermanded, I started early in the morning for the post-office marked through a blinding storm of snow. The wind howled fiercely over the plain; it was so laden with snow that it was quite palpable, and had a strange *solid* feel about it as it drifted in endless wreaths of fine small flakes, which penetrated the interstices of the clothing, and blinded horse and man. For some time we managed to get on very well, for the track was beaten and familiar. I joined a convoy of artillerymen, but at last the drifts became so thick that it was utterly impossible to see the right or left for twice a horse's length. As I fancied the artillerymen were going too much to the right, I bore away a little, and soon after met a solitary pedestrian, who wanted to know the way to Balaklava. I sincerely trust he got there by my direction. As he was coming from Lord Raglan's he confirmed me in the justice of my views concerning the route, and I rode off to warn my friends the artillerymen of their mistake. They were not to be found. I had only le

them three or four minutes, and yet they had passed away as completely as if the earth had swallowed them up. So I turned on my way, as I thought, and, riding right into the wind's eye, made, at the best pace I could force the horse to put forth, for my destination. It was not above an hour's ride on a bad day, and yet at the end of two hours I had not only not arrived, but I could not make out one of the landmarks which denoted an approach to it. Tents, hill-sides, and jutting rocks, all had disappeared, and nothing was visible, above, round, below, but one white sheet drawn, as it were, close around me. This was decidedly unpleasant, but there was no help for it but to ride on and trust to Providence. The sea or the lines would soon bring one up. Still the horse went on snorting out the snow from his nostrils, and tossing his head to clear the drift from his eyes and ears; and yet no tent, no man—not a soul to be seen in this peninsular warming with myriads of soldiery. Three hours passed!—Where on earth can I be? Is this enchantment? Has the army here, the lines and trenches, and Sebastopol itself, gone clean off the face of the earth? Is this a horrible dream? The horse stops at last, and refuses to go on against the storm. Every instant the snow falls thicker and thicker. A dark form rushes by with a quick snarling bark—it is a wolf or a wild dog, and the horse shudders and is affrighted. The cold pierces one's bones as he faces the gale, and now and then he plunges above the knees into snow-drifts, which are rapidly forming at every hillock and arrow in the ground; a good deep fallow—well or pit—might put a speedy termination to one's fears and anxiety at a moment's notice. Minutes become hours, and my eyes were bleared and sore striving to catch a glimpse of tent or man, and to avoid the new dangers in our path. Suddenly I plunged in amongst a quantity of brushwood—sure and certain sign that I had gone far astray indeed, and that I was at some place removed from the camp and the wood-cutters. The notion flashed across me that the wind might have changed, and that in riding against it I might have shaped my course for the Tchernaya and the Russian lines. The idea of becoming the property of a Cossack picket was by no means a pleasant ingredient in one's thoughts at such a moment. Still what was to be done? My hands and feet were becoming insensible from the cold, and my face and eyes were exceedingly painful. There was no help for it but to push on, and not to let night come on. That would indeed be a serious evil. At this moment there was a break in the snow-drift for one moment, and I saw to my astonishment a church dome and spire on my right, which vanished again in a moment. My im-

pression was, that I must either be close to Kamara or to Sebastopol, and that the church was in either of those widely separated localities. Either way the only thing to do was to bear away to the left to regain our lines, though I could not help wondering where on earth the French works were, if it was indeed Sebastopol. I had not ridden very far when, through the ravings of the wind, a hoarse roar rose up before me, and I could just make out a great black wall as it were rising up through the snow-drift. I was on the very edge of the tremendous precipices which overhang the sea near Cape Fiolente! The position was clear at once. I was close to the Monastery of St. George. Dismounting, and carefully leading my horse, I felt my way through the storm, and at last arrived at the monastery. The only Zouave in sight was shooting larks out of a sentry-box, but he at once took my horse to the stable, and showed me the way to the guard-house, where his comrades were enjoying the comforts of a blazing fire, each waiting for his turn to be shaved by the regimental barber. Having restored circulation to my blood, and got the ice out of my hair, I set out once more, and a smart Zouave undertook to show me the way to head-quarters; but he soon got tired of his undertaking, and deserted me on the edge of a ravine, with some very mysterious instructions as to going on always '*tout droit*,' which, seeing that one could not see, would have been very difficult to follow. By the greatest good fortune I managed to strike upon the French tents of the waggon train, and halting at every outburst of the tempest, and pushing on when the storm cleared away a little, I continued to work my way from camp to camp, and at last arrived at head-quarters, covered with ice, and very nearly 'done up,' somewhat before four o'clock in the afternoon. It was some consolation for me to find that officers had lost themselves in the very vineyard, close to the house, that day, and that aides-de-camp and orderlies had become completely bewildered in their passage from one English divisional camp to another."

The weather continued severe for some time after the great snow-storm: although the days were sunny, the keen north wind bore upon its breast sleet and snow at intervals, and through the nights it swept over the plateau like an enemy on the charge. In the camp and at Balaklava the troops did not appear to suffer from this, because they could move about, and all had by this time long boots, and warm clothing to some extent, and some regiments had very thick great-coats, which, although generally too small, were beneficial as a protection against such piercing cold. In the trenches, where the men could not move about,

and dare not light large fires (when fuel was procurable), the suffering was great; but the wind dried up the trenches, and the long boots were there felt to be a protection of the most appreciable value.

The Russians in the field, and even in the various garrisons, as at Sebastopol, Simpheropol, and Perekop, were reported by Tartar spies and deserters to be sickly, and the number in hospital from frost-bite, chest complaints, and typhus fever was very serious. The following despatch of Lord Raglan, written on the 17th, gives a fair picture of the condition of both armies at that date, and for a week after; except that his lordship was probably misinformed as to the necessities of the enemy in respect to provisions. The army before Eupatoria was well supplied, and it is unlikely that such would be the case while there was scarcity at Simpheropol:—

MY LORD DUKE,—I have the satisfaction to acquaint your grace that the weather has improved since I last addressed you, and the country is becoming drier. Two days ago the thermometer was up at 60°. It was somewhat lower yesterday, and early this morning it was down below freezing-point, and at this moment it is snowing. I mention these particulars in order to show your grace how variable the climate is. No movement has been made upon the part of the enemy. The garrison of Sebastopol is engaged in deepening the ditches, and improving the defences of the south front, and in constructing works on the north side of the harbour. I have received information that the Russian army, in the neighbourhood of Bagtché Serai and Simpheropol, is suffering much from want of provisions, and from privations of all kinds. I am happy to be able to say that the railway is making considerable progress, and that every hope is entertained that in the course of a very short time it will be available for transit as far as Kadikoi, which will accelerate the conveyance of stores up to the camp. I inclose the return of casualties up to the 16th instant. I have great pleasure in stating that Colonel Bell, of the Royal Regiment, who received a slight wound in the side from a musket-ball, when commanding in the trenches on the night of the 14th instant, experiences very little inconvenience from it, and has felt well enough to continue to discharge his duty with his accustomed zeal.

I have, &c., RAGLAN.

*His Grace the Duke of Newcastle, &c. &c.*

The letters of private persons confirmed the tidings conveyed in Lord Raglan's despatch:—"The drying winds continue, and the plateau to the south of Sebastopol can be traversed easily on horse or foot, even at the bottom of the ravines. With this fine weather the good spirits and energies of our men have returned. The trenches are dry; the men get all they want, provisions are abundant; hay has arrived and fresh vegetables have been sent up to the front to check the scurvy."

Correspondence from the East at this date was eagerly read by the English public, from the impression that spring in the Crimea was favourable to military operations; such communications as the following increased this appetite for Crimean news:—"The Cossacks are riding about the hills in front; our videttes are watching them; vast masses of men in long

lines carrying planks of wood or fascines intersect the plain, and seem at a distance like armies of ants migrating. The thunder of cannon from the front booms through the air, the martial music of the French regiments interrupted by the creaking of cart-wheels, the cries of camel drivers in nearly every language, the East or West,—worse than all, by the terrible instruments of the Turkish bands,—speaks of war, which no Englishman has ever known at home in this day."

The desire in England to ascertain how the railway operations proceeded was very strong; the people regarded it as a project of their own, and would have considered any failure in respect to it a greater disaster than almost any government failure. The following account of its progress, under date of February 19th, gave universal satisfaction:—"The progress of the railroad is extraordinary. It is already completed out to the entrance of the village of Kadikoi, to-morrow it will have passed through it on its way out to the plateau, and on Wednesday it will be, in all probability, used for the transport of a cargo of shot and shell out as far from Balaklava in the intervals of the workmen's labour. The aspect of the town is greatly altered for the better. The wretched hovels which the Turkish soldiery propagated pestilence and died have been cleaned out or levelled to the earth, the cesspools and collections of utter abomination in the streets have been filled up, and quicklime has been laid down in the streets and lanes, and around the houses. The sutlers have been driven forth to a world of their own outside the town, and the number of visitors to the town diminished. Indeed, the railway, which sweeps right through the main street, very effectually clears away the crowds of stragglers who used to infest the place. It is inexpressibly strange to hear the well-known rumbling sound of the carriages and waggons as they pass to and fro with their freights of navvies, sleepers, and rails; it recalls home more strongly than anything we have yet heard in the Crimea."

A few days afterwards, the *Times'* correspondent wrote—"The *Australian* arrived to-day with Lord George Paget on board. The railway is now 100 yards beyond Kadikoi. Or stationary engine has been run up to the big ground opposite, on the plateau near the camp. *Inter alia*, we are to have an hotel at Balaklava. It is to be conducted by 'Mrs. Seacole, late of Jamaica.' I suppose the lady calculates on a liberal share of patronage when visitors come out to see the siege in the summer."

On the 20th (the night after the great snow storm) the Russians, calculating that the severity of the weather would cause the English to relax their vigilance, made a petty sortie. Mr. Russell relates it as made after the

usual manner, which he thus describes:—“Some thirty men are sent in advance of a party of from five to eight hundred, in loose skirmishing order. These men advance stealthily, *à tirailleur*, up to the line of our sentries and pickets, and feel their way cautiously, in order to ascertain if there is a weak and undefended point for the advance of the main body. If the firing is slack, the latter immediately push on, rush into the trenches, bayonet as many as resist, and dragging off all the men they can get as prisoners, return to the town as rapidly as possible. In these affairs the French suffer most. Any man, however weak, can rush across a landing into the nearest room, and do damage in it before he is kicked out. The French are so close to the Russians, they may be said to live next door to them. The latter in form in a small body under cover of their works, at any hour in the night, and dash into the works ere our allies can get together to drive them back again.” On the night of the 19th, the sortie was made against Major Chapman’s batteries on the left attack. The sentries saw and challenged them, and instantly delivered their fire. The contest was short and unimportant, but men fell on both sides, and the “Rushi” “took nothing by their motion.” On the morning of the 22nd, General Canrobert published the following order of the day:—

“ARMY OF THE EAST!—The enemy has just sustained another check. On the morning of the 17th they attacked Eupatoria with 25,000 infantry, 80 pieces of cannon, and 4000 cavalry. His corps, composed of all the reinforcements that could possibly be brought together at Perekop or from within the Crimea, was vigorously repulsed by the Ottoman troops of the Army of the Danube, under the orders of Omar Pasha, general-in-chief. On the second attempt of an assault, a column of Turkish troops, rushing out from the place, resolutely charged the assaulting party with the bayonet, and drove them back for a considerable distance. At last the enemy, after a fruitless struggle of two days’ duration, was forced to retreat with considerable loss. This brilliant affair reflects the highest honour on our allies, and worthily continues the series of their successes against the common enemy during the preceding years. We have the satisfaction to add that the small French garrison, under the orders of Chef de Escadron d’Etat-Major Osmont, composed of a detachment of the 3rd Marines, and a detachment of naval gunners, under naval Lieutenant de la Caze, have vigorously sustained the honour of our arms, as well as greatly contributed to the defence of Eupatoria, by the success which they had prepared for that purpose. This first exploit of the army of his

majesty the sultan felicitously inaugurates a campaign, the opening of which can no longer be retarded.

“Companions in arms! With unconquerable energy, and a patriotism that has spread your renown through Europe, ensuring you a place in history, you have during one year mastered the very hardest trials to which the organisation and *morale* of an army can be exposed. These trials are close upon an end. Those which now await you are such as your courage will look upon without alarm. You will soon join battle with an enemy whom you already know how to conquer. The ardent sympathies with which France accompanies her armies will be with you when you meet them, as they have before followed your previous victories and glorious sufferings during this war. The heart and the prayers of our emperor are with you; his solicitude trebles your efficiency and powers.

“Soldiers! be sure the English, Ottoman, and French armies, firmly united, will triumph with the aid of God, who protects the just cause.

“CANROBERT, *General-in-Chief*.”

The proceedings of the Russians, in connection with the famous Mamelon, gave the allies considerable anxiety. The most advanced trenches of the allies were about 400 yards distant from this defence, which was itself about 600 yards in advance of the Malakoff Tower. No adequate efforts had been made to dislodge the enemy from the Mamelon, although our engineers constantly drew attention to the necessity of depriving him of its possession. Had the advice of General Sir John Burgoyne been followed in reference to it, many valuable lives would have been spared; but the opinions of that gallant and skilful officer never received the respect which they deserved. The English commander-in-chief had a prejudice in favour of the French engineer officers, who had, nevertheless, hitherto proved themselves inferior to ours throughout the campaign.

On the night of the 22nd noises were heard in the trenches, which evidently proceeded from the Mamelon. The sounds were those of numerous bodies of workmen urging some vast undertaking with great energy. The pickets and trench-guards were doubled. The 23rd was a dim heavy day, such as often in the campaign favoured the foe. The Russians carried on their operations under cover of the fog; the same noises were heard, the same indications of energy fell upon the ears of the listeners in the trenches; but nothing could be seen. In the evening the weather cleared, and the formidable results of the labours which sent the strange sounds over the lines were apparent. Two rows of gabions had been

filled and placed round the summit of the hill, which rose with a perpendicular rocky face in front, the stone having been quarried out for building purposes at Sebastopol. Under cover of the gabions, numerous working parties were still busy plying their tools with the most eager haste. It was obvious that the French could never allow the batteries to be completed without a desperate attempt to frustrate the design; and General Canrobert accordingly resolved upon an attack. The erection of this work so far was admirably managed, justifying the eulogy contained in Prince Menschikoff's despatch:—

"On the night between the 21st and 22nd of February we erected a redoubt on the left flank of the fortifications of Sebastopol. This was done so promptly and unexpectedly, that we received no annoyance from the enemy (the allies). On the night between the 24th and 25th the enemy (the allies) attacked the redoubt with considerable forces. Two regiments repulsed them. The enemy lost 600 men. The mining operations of the allies have been suspended."

There are two errors in this despatch: the prince underrates the number of Russians engaged; and, unfortunately, he also underrates the heavy loss of our ally. What the difficulties of this undertaking on the part of the French were, are briefly stated in a letter of General Canrobert of the 24th to the French minister of war:—

"Being informed yesterday morning that the Russians had raised, during the preceding night, some important works of counter-approach, directly opposite to our works, and upon the lower part of one of the slopes of the plain of Inkerman, which descends to the Careening Bay, I repaired to the spot, and after having carefully examined the nature of the enemy's intrenchments, I decided on having them stormed. The operation was a difficult one, for numerous defenders were sheltered behind the intrenchments; and it was the more impossible to surprise them, since they had thrown forward, to about 700 metres in advance of their position, a complete chain of small fortified posts. Beside which, the 800 or 900 metres that our soldiers had to traverse before reaching the enemy, were literally ploughed up by the projectiles of more than 80 guns, fired as well from the ships as from the land-batteries which converge on that place from all the points of a semicircle."

The attack was ordered for the night of the 23rd to the 24th. Its general superintendence was committed to General Bosquet. It appears from the French journal of the siege from the 23rd to the 24th of February, that the general

ordered for this service two battalions of 12nd Zouaves, of 500 men each; one battalion of the 6th of the line, and one of the 10th of the line. The respective strength of these two battalions is not stated; neither does the journal mention what was indisputably the fact, that a battalion of French marines constituted the reserve. General Bosquet charged General Moray with the direction of the attack, the supreme command of which was given to General de Monet.

Eleven o'clock on the night of the 23rd was the hour of rendezvous for the expeditionary detachment. At midnight the attacking columns took their positions in the intrenchments. Colonel Cler, with the Zouaves, took post behind two large openings made to the right and left of the second parallel. The right battalion was commanded by Major Lécroix, at the head of which Colonel Cler ultimately placed himself; the left battalion was under the command of Major Derbois. Between these two battalions General Moray placed himself at the head of a strong battalion of marines, probably numbering 1000 men. General Bosquet, with his usual alacrity and vigilance, inspected all these arrangements himself. The night was intensely dark, and all was still around the camp and in the trenches, when, at half-past one, General Moray gave the signal, and instantly the battalions issued to the front, and formed in columns by sections; in front of each a company was thrown out as the *avante garde*, with each a captain of engineers and a small detachment of soldiers of that corps, with orders to destroy the works.

The moon was in its first quarter, and had gone down at eleven o'clock, after which the darkness became deeper, favouring the enterprise. Much misapprehension existed with the intelligence of this attack reached England and France as to the design of the French general. It was not intended to make a lodgment: the orders on this subject were precise, and show that Mr. Russell and Mr. Woodcock mistook the nature of the assault when they describe it as a defeat of the French. The orders of General Canrobert were in the following terms:—"The end which the French general wishes to attain, in making this sortie from the Inkerman intrenchments, being solely to produce a moral influence, the order is given to occupy but for a short time the enemy's works; and to overturn and abandon them after the signal of retreat. The use of that signal is left to the commanding officer of the troops engaged."

The Zouaves crept forward furtively, and for a time, noiselessly; the 6th and 10th of the line, under Colonel (Major) Derbois, formed a hollow to protect the return. The French

no suspicion that their approach was expected; but unfortunately the Russians were aware of the whole plan of attack, for it had been a subject of conversation in the French camp all the evening; and a soldier of the foreign legion, an Italian, knowing how valuable such information would be, and perhaps not having any very goodwill to the French nation, deserted, and put the Russians in possession of what was contemplated: they took their measures accordingly. In front of their works a long line of small posts was formed behind a wall which lines a part of the Sebastopol Road, and where that road crossed a hollow space. Ambuscades were in front and flank of that line, which were protected in the rear and near the works by small bodies of infantry formed in squares. The force which occupied these posts was afterwards estimated by the French at 1200 men.

The right column of attack arrived at the outer line of the ambuscades without seeing an enemy; but as soon as it entered the net-work of fusillade, point-blank, was opened upon the head and flank of the column. This fire was received by the advanced companies; the main body avoided the fire, wheeled to the left, and charged into the ambuscade with the bayonet, driving the Muscovites quickly out. The left column meanwhile encountered a deep ravine, the valley, as the Russians call it, where large ones lay along the declivities in great proportion: these were rolled down by the passage of the troops, thundering against one another as they bounded to the bottom, and making a noise which, even if the enemy had not been apprised of the attack, would have betrayed it. The central column, which advanced in support of the others, came precipitately upon the ambuscades that were arranged across its course, and received a close and terrible fire from the troops posted there. All the columns were now much disordered, especially that which had to make its way by the rough and rocky ravine. The fire from the ambuscades had brought down many, and no less than three shots struck General de Monet himself. Both hands were shattered by musket-balls. Feeling weak with loss of blood, he committed the command to Colonel Cler; and then, holding up his mangled hands, exclaimed, "Soldiers, advance, follow me—that is the point we must reach!" he rushed forward against the redoubt through the squares of the enemy, followed bravely by his Zouaves. At this moment the advanced companies were engaged with three squares in a desperate and confined bayonet-struggle, which the darkness rendered more desperate. This close encounter prevented the enemy from shooting down the main body of the advancing column—for so close were they, that, dark as it was, no shot

could fail to tell had they been able to fire upon the assailants. Colonel Cler re-arranged the men, ordering Commandant Lacretelle to charge with his Zouaves on the right; Commandant Derbois, with his soldiers of the line, on the left; and he himself, heading such men as he could get together, dashed forward to the ditch of the intrenchment, and scaled the parapet. Scarcely had he done so when the victorious parties, under Lacretelle and Derbois, penetrated into the work from either flank. The Russians were hemmed in, in the gorge of the intrenchment, and were obliged to make a desperate resistance; they delivered a volley, before which many of the French went down, for the muzzles of the Russian muskets were at their very breasts; they then received their assailants on their bayonets, several superior officers being literally impaled. The shock was terrible, the havoc great; and the impetuosity and determined bravery of the French were irresistible. Never did Frenchmen behave more chivalrously than that night around and upon the Mamelon.

While this terrible conflict raged in the gorge of the work, and every blow struck dealt wounds and death, the sky over Sebastopol became suddenly illumined by innumerable fires, rockets and pyrotechnic preparations of every conceivable sort were flung up high into the heavens. The hills and valleys instantly echoed the sound of the Russian trumpets, the tocsin rang in the town with a sound clear and alarmful above all the clangour, and forthwith a peal of artillery from ships and battery shook Sebastopol and the earth around it. The combatants no longer fought in darkness, the artificial lights which glared above the town revealed the whole struggle distinctly; and men were seen like fiends, of every horrid hue, struggling in deadly combat. While the Grenadiers and Cossacks appeared swaying to and fro, their bayonets crossing those of the Zouaves, the French engineers were destroying gabions and parapets. The illuminations thrown up by the Russians enabled them to see the numerical inferiority of their assailants, encouraging those actually in the conflict, and instructing those who were about to be moved to their support. The Russians here adopted the diabolical plan which they so disgracefully resorted to at the battle of Balaklava—they fired into the combatants, friends and foes, regardless of the sacrifice of their own troops if only the assailants were shot down. The French nevertheless swept the defenders from the redoubt, but the Russian batteries at that moment directed upon it a concentrated fire which no troops could withstand. The French lay down while the grape and canister swept over them with the screeching sound of a tempest. It was from the Malakoff that the

most murderous fire came, and the Zouaves, dauntless still amidst scenes of such horror, cried "On to the Malakoff! on to the Malakoff!" Their officers could with difficulty restrain them from the gallant, but desperate and hopeless, enterprise; and some, bursting the bonds of discipline, rushed forth and met the fate which an intelligence equal to their bravery might have enabled them to foresee. Lying within the shelter of the redoubt the Zouaves persisted in holding it, contrary to the original intention of the attack, and the precise orders of the French chief. They were not permitted long to maintain their couchant position; the cannon of the batteries suddenly ceased, and dark masses of infantry fell upon either flank of the French supports, who maintained a position sheltered by some gabions outside the work. The marines, who were here posted, at first made a gallant defence, but after they were thrown into confusion by quick and repeated volleys from their numerous assailants, they were charged with the bayonet and driven pellmell among the rocks and uneven ground, where they could not be re-formed, nor rallied, and were in fact dispersed, helpless fugitives, upon their own lines. General Monet at this critical moment gave the signal for retreat; he was the first to enter the work and the last to leave it. It is incomprehensible that, with orders so precise as those already quoted, he did not give the command to retire as soon as the object of the engineers was tolerably performed. It is even surprising that with so small a force he should have continued the enterprise when he saw that it was no surprise, and that the enemy were well prepared and numerically far superior, for this was obvious as soon as his troops entered among the ambuscades. Dauntless courage is not sufficient for a general—prudence and consideration for human life are quite as essential. Many comments to the disparagement of the English generals have been made at home and on the Continent, but in no respect did the French show superior generalship. Most of them had more experience in large commands; but the English generals showed as much fertility of resource up to this period as their vaunted allies. Generals Evans, England, Burgoyne, Brown, and Campbell, were not surpassed—we fearlessly say, not equalled—among the French generals, unless Bosquet be the exception; the Duke of Cambridge, although inexperienced as a general, was as well acquainted with the military art and the minutest details of the profession as any officer well could be.

Monet at last retired, reluctantly accompanied by his desperately daring soldiers. Colonel Cler, upon whom the command without the redoubt devolved, heard the signal twice before he moved a man, while the musket-balls of the

enemy seemed to fill the air, and the flower of his troops lay bleeding around him. At that moment the French soldiers believed that they suffered more from the misdirected fire of the marines, who were then giving way, than from the bullets of the foe. The marines in the French navy were a most unsuitable force for the kind of service on which they were that night sent, and were so considered by the li and the Zouaves, on the part of whom a bitter contempt arose to the marines for their deficiency in skill in the emergency. The whole of this little force were soon surrounded in the retreat, but a desperate bayonet-charge procured them a passage through the enemy at the expense of many valuable lives. Several officers sacrificed themselves to the safety of the brigade; Captain Sage and Sub-lieutenant Levestre were among these heroes. They fought their way back to the trenches, having lost one-fourth of their men in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The total was not less than 1000, although both French and Russian accounts compute it at about 600.

The work was not entirely destroyed, nor was the injury inflicted upon it commensurate with the loss of life. Nor was it true, as the Baron Bazancourt represents it, that the moral influence of the event compensated for the loss. The Russians felt encouraged, they illuminated the town, joy-bells flashed their triumphal peals upon the still dark air, and a *feu de joie* rang along their lines, while shouts of victory and defiance rent the atmosphere.

The generalship displayed was wretched. Canrobert was a first-rate general of division, but as little fit to command in such a siege as St. Arnaud or Lord Raglan. Instead of allowing his projects to be bruited about the camp, he might have imitated his enemies in their secrecy. Sudden as was the resolution taken to attempt the destruction of the new works of the Mamelon, hardly a soldier in the French army was ignorant of it, and even the plan to be acted upon, before the moon went down that night—even in the English lines was well known. The conduct of the affair was rash and headstrong. Frenchmen do not require to prove their bravery by rushing to useless destruction, their valour is celebrated in all lands.

General Canrobert proclaimed to the army the brilliant courage of the men who had forced their way over a path so bloody to the enemy proposed, and who showed so extraordinary devotion. The language employed was full of well-earned compliment, but it gives no information requiring a place here. One passage was just and beautiful:—"The commander-in-chief, in the name of the emperor and France, thanks those brave soldiers who have maintained the honour of our flag with suc

ty courage, that our enemies themselves render it their homage."

The commander-in-chief testified correctly the admiration of the enemy, for General Sten-Sacken sent a letter to Canrobert in which he paid this tribute to the fallen:—"I hasten to inform you that your valiant dead, who remained in our hands, on the night of the 23rd, were buried with all the honours due their exemplary intrepidity."

The following is the despatch of General Canrobert. He affirms that the retreat of the French was *unmolested*, which is a grave error, they had to cut their way through the host that surrounded them. It is probable that the general meant to convey the idea that, after the bayonet charge by which they cleared for themselves a way out of the circle of fire which begirt them, they regained unmolested the trenches. This is correct, except that a musketry fire was poured after them.

MONSIEUR LE MARÉCHAL,—I have the honour to send you details of the *coup de main* executed in the night between the 23rd and 24th of February, in advance of the right line of attack. The following dispositions had been taken:—A detachment of engineers, and a detachment of artillery, two battalions of the 2nd Zouaves (Colonel Cler), and a battalion of the 4th regiment of Marines (Commander Mermier), commanded by General Brigade Monet, were to carry the redoubt constructed by the Russians in front of our right lines. Two battalions of the 6th and 10th of the line formed the reserve. The whole was commanded by General of Division Mayran, and moreover, the operation was under the superintendence and direction of General Bosquet, Commander of the Second Corps. The Russian work had some ramifications in advance, which, in the obscurity of the night, presented obstacles of which it was difficult to appreciate the disposition or strength. The troops destined for the attack stormed them and routed them, and, while the battalions on the French left and centre overcame these obstacles, the Zouaves, led by Colonel Cler, and having General Monet at their head, who had already received several wounds, penetrated into the redoubt under a heavy fire of musketry, and threw themselves upon the infantry crowded in a dense body inside. This infantry gave way, after a short but severe struggle, in which the detachment of engineers, under Captain Valesque, took a brilliant part, as did also the artillery, commanded by Lieutenant Delafosse. The Zouaves displayed the most remarkable intrepidity. The enemy had suffered considerable losses. The object we had proposed was attained. I could not think of holding a position open on all sides to the Russian artillery, but we had shown them once more our superiority in action. The return to our lines was accomplished without the enemy, who were struck with astonishment, molesting us, notwithstanding their numerical superiority. The reserve, which had left the trenches, to cover, if necessary, the retreat, did not meet with one. Our loss was considerable, but not in proportion to the danger of this nocturnal combat, where our soldiers were exposed until they returned to the trenches to the fire of the artillery of the town. Our troops behaved admirably, as they always do, and I cannot praise them too highly.

CANROBERT.

The English general also made an especial despatch for his government of an event so important:—

*Before Sebastopol, Feb. 24, 1855.*

MY LORD,—The weather has improved since I wrote the despatch of the 20th inst. The snow is still on the ground, and the nights are cold; but the wind has subsided, and we have to-day a bright sunshine. Consider-

able activity continues to prevail in the movement of the enemy's troops on the north side of the harbour, and convoys of waggons are constantly arriving, and the object of the Russians would appear to be to fortify the heights extending to their left, and looking upon the valley of the Tchernaya. The troops of the garrison having lodged themselves on the point of the spur of the ridge from Inkerman over the Careening Bay, at about 300 yards from the new French parallel, on the extreme right, General Canrobert determined to dislodge them; and this was gallantly effected at two o'clock this morning by 1500 men, under the immediate command of General Monet, and the direction of General Mayran, with however, I regret to say, some loss, the consequence of the heavy fire which was brought to bear upon them from the enemy's batteries and the shipping, whilst they were engaged in demolishing the works. When this object was accomplished, they withdrew to the trenches, as had been their intention. The gallant General Monet is, I am much concerned to have to add, among the wounded.

I enclose a return of casualties on the 22nd inst. Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown has, I am happy to say, resumed the command of the Light Division in perfect health. The railway is getting on remarkably well, and the exertions of Mr. Beattie, who is superintending the works, are unremitting, and entitle him to great praise.

I have, &c.

RAGLAN.

Another despatch from his lordship, three days later, gives a concise and clear account of the events which transpired in the interval:—

*Before Sebastopol, Feb. 27.*

MY LORD,—It appears that, on Saturday night, the enemy sunk three or four more ships of war in the harbour, as far within the booms as the first sunken ships were outside of them; and, according to the most accurate examination yesterday, there are now four barriers or impediments to the entrance of the harbour, viz.: two of sunken ships and two booms.

The only movement on the part of the enemy, since I last wrote to your lordship, is the march of some infantry and artillery from the neighbourhood of Bagtché Serai towards the Tchernaya, upon which river, near Tchorgoum, they have at present five guns and several hundred men.

The weather has been fine for the last three days; the snow is gradually disappearing, and the country is becoming drier.

The enemy have reoccupied the ground which was the scene of contest between the French and Russians on Saturday morning before daylight; and they are making great progress in a work they are establishing upon that point.

I enclose the return of casualties to the 25th inst.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN.

*The Lord Panmure, &c.*

At this juncture the British Naval Brigade rendered good service, whether under fire or at work; their state of discipline was excellent, and yet a freedom was allowed to them in various ways which was denied to the troops. Admiral Lyons, in a despatch, sent the following as an enclosure:—

*Camp, Naval Brigade, Feb. 18.*

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that the enemy still continues strengthening his works. I am happy to say that there have been no casualties this week, and that the brigade is remarkably healthy. We have only 27 men on the sick-list, victualling 999 men and officers. All symptoms of scurvy have disappeared, and I am informed by the medical officer in charge that he considers this is principally owing to the liberal supply of oranges issued to the brigade.

I have, &c.,

S. LUSHINGTON,

*Captain commanding Naval Brigade.*

*Rear-admiral Sir E. Lyons, Bart., G.C.B., &c.*

The cheerfulness of the British soldiery during the closing weeks of February was as encouraging to their officers as their patience had been and still continued to be. The Irish regiments were very remarkable for the fun and frolic in which they indulged under all circumstances. The following is an exemplification of this:—"Everywhere there is a laugh or joke; not perhaps the wit of a Swift, but wit enough to indicate cheerful hearts. At this moment some men near me are making a wall, and chatting. 'Do you call that,' says one, 'the way to make a wall? What a simple woman your mother must have been!'" "Do you think so," answers his companion. "I was told once what a fool I was, but do you know what they soon found out?"—"No," said the other.—"Well, then, I'll tell you; they found out that I was no fool—it was only a silly look I had."—"Well," joined in a third, "you always look very simple, I can tell you; so they have hit you off."—"I look simple, do I?" replied the joker; "why, you should only see me sometimes—I look so stupid that once, in the barrack-room, they took me for you." At this there was a hearty laugh, and the wall-building went on merrily."

Little incidents like these are of importance in an army, as indicating the tone and temper of the common soldiery. Lord Hardinge, on the first night of the battle of Ferozeshoohah, went among the men, lay down with them on the earth under the fire of the enemy, and joked and chatted with them: the occasion was exceedingly critical, and he knew well that all depended upon the tone and temper of the ranks. He rose from his earth-couch that night no longer uneasy, for he saw the men were full of hope and courage, even under a murderous cannonade which the Sikhs continued all night. The spirit of the men before Sebastopol in the British lines at the end of February might well embolden any general.

On the night of the 25th to the 26th the French were disposed to renew their attack on the Mamelon, and a very large force was under arms for several hours; but no attempt was made. The Russian batteries played during the whole time, lighting up with their incessant flashes the ravines and rugged country around. The enemy threw out numerous bodies of rifles under the protection of this fire, who were met by the French *enfants perdus* with their usual daring and resource.

During the closing days of February, Lord Raglan was busy visiting batteries and divisions, and doing all that during the earlier part of the siege he did not do, in the way of active and vigilant inspection, although he and his staff were up half the nights making out returns for the home government. Conference among the allied generals was frequent; and it

was alleged that disagreements were rife, the main subjects being the plans of the engineers and their modes of carrying them out. The conviction became stronger in both armies that the counsels of Sir John Burgoyne had been sound from the beginning, and that many disasters had arisen from their neglect.

The Russians continued to work as much as they could, seldom before laboured in any siege; and it was evident that they were erecting a large square redoubt on the spot so lately and valorously contested. The French held the control of the neck of the creek of Sebastopol and Inkerman. On the south-east side of that creek the shore is high and somewhat precipitous, so that men could not ascend or descend in any compact order. Between the Malakoff and the Mamelon a deep ravine runs to the sea, which it would be next to impossible to cross under fire. It became therefore important to the Russians to keep a tenacious hold of the works they had planted in front of that ravine; and for this purpose they laboured incessantly, carrying on by day and night heroic andculean labours.

The French repeatedly borrowed our heavy guns to give strength to their batteries.

On the 27th an armistice was agreed upon for the burial of the dead, during which officers and men exchanged civilities. Scarcely had the armistice terminated when the French and Russians opened fire once more, and the sharpshooters were engaged in their usual struggle.

The progress of the railway seemed great to puzzle the Cossack videttes. Having never before seen locomotives, their amazement when they beheld them flying at the rate of twenty miles an hour was ludicrous; they galloped to and fro in the greatest excitement, and, as well as could be judged through the glasses of observers, with signs of trepidation.

February went out in frost and snow; but the troops had now clothing and rations, and all looked forward to a spring campaign with hope.

A letter, not indeed from the Crimea, but from the Wellington Barracks, London, appeared in one of the morning papers of January, relating the extraordinary heroism of a mere child. It is one of the most remarkable instances of courage and humanity united which the war revealed:—

"A sergeant-major, now in Wellington Barracks, who has recently returned from the Crimea, has sent us the following enthusiastic account of the conduct of a young soldier, of ten years old, named Thomas Keep, of the 3rd battalion Grenadier Guards, under the command of Colonel Thomas Wood. The sergeant-major states that this boy accompanied the army to the heights of the Alma, preserving the rs

undaunted demeanour throughout the battle. At one time a 24-pounder passed on each side of him, and shot and shell fell about him like hail; but, notwithstanding the weariness of the day, present dangers, or the horrid sight, the boy's heart beat with tenderness towards the poor wounded. Instead of going into a tent to take care of himself after the battle was over, he refused to take rest, but was seen enturing his life for the good of his comrades in the battle-field. The boy was seen stepping carefully over one dead body after another, collecting all the broken muskets he could find, and making a fire in the night to procure hot water. He made tea for the poor sufferers, and saved the life of Sergeant Russell and some of the private soldiers who were lying nearly exhausted for want. Thus did this youth spend the night. At the battle of Balaklava he again assisted the wounded. The boy did his duty by day, and worked in the trenches by night, taking but little rest. At the battle of Inkerman he was surrounded by Russians for twenty minutes, and, to use his own words, he said he thought it was a 'case' with him; but he escaped all right. He received one shot, which went through his coat and out at the leg of his trowsers, but Providence again reserved him unhurt. He helped, with all the bravery of a man, to get in the wounded, and rested not until the poor sufferers were made as comfortable as he could make them. He waited on the doctor when extracting the shot from the men, and waited on the men before and after. 'Thus did this youth,' says the writer, 'do anything to any one who needed help. Some of the wounded say that they could not have been alive now had it not been for this boy's unwearied watchfulness and kindness in their hours of helplessness. This boy had been recommended by Colonel Robinson and Colonel Wood, and other officers in her majesty's service.' "

In the 88th regiment, or Connaught Rangers, a soldier named Hourigan displayed great courage at Inkerman, and afterwards in the trenches. Henry Grattan, Esq., son of the distinguished Irish patriot and senator of that name, sent him a present in money, and wrote to his colonel concerning him, which drew forth the following characteristic letters from the officer and the soldier. Hourigan had been seen, in one of the contests in which he had been engaged, to encounter and slay three Russian soldiers.

*Camp before Sebastopol, Jan. 22.*

"DEAR SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of your letter regarding Hourigan,—not Houlahan, as the papers call him,—and to thank you for the interest you and all take in the 88th regiment. I assure you I think the fine young fellows we have here will never

disgrace the old Rangers, but follow their footsteps in their career of honour and glory. I assure you, up to this time, nothing can exceed their gallant behaviour; and their most fervent wish and prayer is that they may be allowed to have a dash at the walls. I must not forget to mention their patience under all their very severe trials; one hardly hears a murmur or complaint, although many poor fellows are obliged to go on picket in trenches in this inclement weather, who ought to be in a comfortable bed in hospital; indeed, the truth is, that few are really fit for anything else. I am happy to say, that, in consequence of the great reinforcements received by the French lately, they have commenced to-day to take the duties which were performed by the second division, and the latter are to assist the light division, so that we may now expect better times; and, thanks to the munificence of the whole country at home, the men are now well clothed, and more comforts arrive daily. Pray excuse this scrawl, and believe me yours,

"H. SHIRLEY, Colonel,

"Commanding 88th regiment."

"To Henry Grattan, Esq."

*Camp before Sebastopol, Jan. 22.*

"HONOURED SIR,—I have duly received your very kind and flattering letter, which gives me the highest satisfaction that my poor endeavours to do my duty should meet the approbation of such an Irishman as the son of the 'illustrious Henry Grattan.' Honoured sir, I want words to convey to you in adequate terms the meed of my gratitude towards you for your very handsome present, which I value the more as I know you are prompted by the purest motives of goodness of heart and noble-minded singleness of purpose to bestow a favour on the lowest of your countrymen. I am happy to inform you that Colonel Shirley has promoted me to corporal for the affair at Inkerman; besides, he has recommended me for the medal and gratuity. All the papers mention my name as 'Houlahan,' and that I am a native of Waterford. My name is Daniel Hourigan, and I am a native of the county of Clare. In conclusion, honourable sir, as I have no friends at home who require the money, I would kindly thank you to forward the amount to me here. Hoping that I may never die until I have the pleasure and satisfaction of thanking you in person for your kindness and generosity to me, I remain, honoured sir, your most devoted and obliged servant and countryman,

"DANIEL HOURIGAN,

"Corporal, 88th Connaught Rangers."

"To Henry Grattan, Esq."

Amongst the achievements attributed to Hourigan was the rescue of Lieutenant Crosse from a fabulous number of the enemy. It ap-

pears that more glory was ascribed to him in that case than fell to his share, for Lieutenant, then Captain, Crosse published the following letter concerning the encounter in which his life was so imminently endangered:—

TO THE EDITOR OF THE TIMES.

*Army and Navy Club, Feb. 16.*

"SIR,—In the impression of the *Times* of to-day there are letters copied from one of the Dublin papers, relative to my life having been saved at the battle of Inkerman by Private, now Corporal, Hourigan, of the 88th regiment; but, as he did not in any way assist me, I deem it only justice to those who did that I should correct the error. I fired the first chamber of my revolver (one of Dean's) to save Hourigan's life, and did not see him again during that day. When I was attacked by the six Russians I saved my own life as follows, viz.:—I shot four, and was then bayoneted by the fifth, who fell, bringing me on my knees, and while there I had to defend myself with my sword against the sixth. I got on my feet and walked as well as I could to the rear, and at about ten yards' distance met my colour-sergeant, Pat Cooney, and told him to take command of the company, and get me a man to assist me, as I was wounded. Private John Gascoigne came; I afterwards called two more, Privates Samuel Price and Pat Connolly, to defend us, as the Russians were close to us. Privates Price and Gascoigne supported me till I got a stretcher, I think, from the 49th regiment, and they and two men of that corps carried me to the hospital of the Light Division.

"Such are the facts of my escape at the battle of Inkerman; and how the romantic story that has been going the round of the papers got into circulation I cannot divine.

"Trusting that you will, in justice to the men I have named, insert this in your journal, I have the honour to be, sir, your obedient servant,

"J. G. CROSSE,

"Captain, 88th Regiment."

A letter written in February, by an Irish soldier, is illustrative of the humane and gallant feelings which prevailed among the men:—"Three days ago our regiment was in the trenches, we had one man knocked to pieces and two more wounded by grape. The same day a very feeling circumstance took place. Two Russian soldiers were coming down a street; says one of our men, 'By the powers, but she have a woman to protect them.' 'Bad luck to me,' says another, 'if she ges one side I'll have a slap at them.' They would not chance a shot for fear of hitting the woman. But she was not four paces from the Russians when whiz go the Minié rifles, and down tumbles one of them; the other started off at a good

run. 'Faith,' said one of my comrades, 'if I shot the woman the bloody Rooshians would be Old Nick know it, and he would stick it in the papers that we were shooting the women; and other countries would say, Sinope again.' Now my dear wife, although we are at bloody war this little incident will let you see that, while we have no reluctance at shooting or bayoneting a Russian we have some respect for the women."

A letter concerning the policy of an army at Eupatoria, the operations of which were narrated, was written by an officer who pointed out the dangers which might have ensued, but happily did not:—"Omar Pasha is by this time at the head of his *corps d'armée*, at Eupatoria. The Turks already landed have been engaged with the Russians partially, and have shown the same aptness to conquer which they proved upon the Danube. The occupation of that position is of great importance, but many strategists deny the wisdom of it without complete investment of Sebastopol and well-maintained connection with Omar Pasha's force. They say that the existence of two separate armies, unable to support one another, tempts the enemy to concentrate his whole force upon that most susceptible of defeat, and destruction even without the knowledge, not to say the help, of the army with which it was intended to co-operate. The operations of the Romans against Hannibal, of Napoleon I. in his Italian campaigns and in the campaign of 1812, and of our own Wellington in the Spanish Peninsula, illustrate this peril."

One of the most touching letters written by a humble soldier during the war was by a Scotch bombardier. It breathes a home-love and pious feeling, associated with stern determination in the performance of duty, which have been frequently displayed in the letters of our soldiery:—

*Camp before Sebastopol, Feb. 11, 1855.*

"DEAR FATHER,—I received your welcome letter on this day, and lose no time in writing an answer. I was glad indeed to hear from you, as I am desolate and alone, without an earthly companion to whom to speak my mind or say a word about the soul, or Christ, or his salvation. I cannot express to you the joy your fatherly letter gave me. It is plain that although distance separates us, you have not forgotten me, and however apart in body, we are not so in spirit. My situation here will not allow me to leave the battery in my charge one hour, as during the shortest absence the bugle might sound the near approach of the enemy. My promotion places me in charge of a gun, and I must be always present when called upon. I know there are many Christian soldiers in the camp, but duty is so rigid and

and it is impossible to spare even one hour. Indeed, so constant is the employment of the men, that even if many were in one company, I doubt whether they could manage to meet, not knowing the moment the enemy might attack, and we turned out to fight. I see your letter for me by your writing to Woolwich. I have been well in health since we came to the Crimea, but, as you say, our encampment here is different indeed to that at Chobham. Here I saw a brave soldier found his grave, and I have been called, in the providence of God, not only to witness terrible scenes, but to experience marvellous deliverances. I owe much to my Heavenly Father, who in the hour of peril and death interposed His omnipotent power. I may say that, in some instances, I have been more exposed than most of my comrades, and in every such case, by the mercy of God, I escaped unhurt! I was once surrounded by thousands of Russians at my gun, who obliged our gunners to quit their posts and leave their guns. One comrade alone remained with me, and him they shot and stabbed with two bayonets, and there was my single self with scores firing at me, like a lion upon whom lead had no power! I was the object of God's delivering hand, and here I am, thanks to His name. I lost my beloved comrade, the good Major Townsend, about one week. I lament him deeply. This was at the battle of Inkerman. O my kind father, what shall I say? I over-worked myself on that day, so much so that bodily strength failed me to get home. The working of my gun was for one man and myself, instead of ten! too much, indeed, for human strength, but the occasion required it. In the morning, when preparing hurriedly for battle, I said in a half loud voice, 'O God, my confidence is in thee; a hair shall not fall to the ground without thy notice and permission,' and soon after the fire began. Oh! gracious God, how good thou hast been to poor sinner like me, a mark of thy mercy, long-kindness, and long-suffering! My dear father, not only an hour would I spend in writing to you, but twelve, because my heart and mind are with you while I write, and I think I see you and hear your voice. I have news to relate of importance, and I presume you know all that passes, through the newspapers. You mention a Mr. Matheison, and I cannot think how truly delighted I should be to see him. If he visits our camp I hope I shall. I hope this will find you and Mrs. Rigley quite well. May the Lord give you strength to labour for him, and should my life be spared, and that I should go back to England, you may expect me to come and see you. My dear father, don't forget our situation here. It is not over yet. A great struggle is at hand—I mean the *assault*, but so far from despairing, I shall continue to trust in the

Lord. Give my Christian love to Mrs. Rigley, and accept the same yourself, and praying God to bless you both, I am yours, &c.,

"BOMBARDIER NEILL McLEOD,

"P. Battery, 4th Co. 12 Batt. Royal Artillery,  
"British Army, Crimea."

It has frequently been our wish in affording to our readers the interesting details which the letters of eye-witnesses and actors in the great drama present, to obtain letters from Russian officers and soldiers, or from persons in any way serving within the besieged city, but efforts to procure such have been in vain, from causes which will readily occur to the reader. The following extracts from the letter of an American, who practised as a surgeon during the months of January and February within Sebastopol, will supply in some degree the desideratum. This gentleman saw of course many of the scenes within the fortifications, and the events that passed there, and could say "part of which I have been." The medium by which he made his knowledge and opinions known was an American paper entitled the *Providence Journal*. The communications were entitled *Americans in the Russian Service: an inside view of Sebastopol, Events of the Siege, Desertions from the Allies*. The information conveyed did not answer to the large expectations excited by the parade of attractive headings, but still some glimpses of what went on inside of Sebastopol were given to the Americans, which were not received by the British public. The American surgeon, and a colleague, also an American, appear to have been employed in surgical operations upon the wounded, and their sympathies were cordially with the Russians and against the allies. For the month of January the following short extracts will suffice:—

"Jan. 15.—There was a sortie from the fourth bastion last night upon the trenches of the allies, in which nineteen Russians were killed and twenty-one wounded. I am not able to judge of the amount of loss and damage which the English and French experience in these affairs. It cannot but be serious, if they are taken by surprise, as sometimes happens. None but the darkest nights are chosen for these excursions.

"Jan. 16.—Three English deserters to-day, who reiterate essentially the statement of those of yesterday, that they suffer much from cold in the trenches; that many are sick; that none are let off from duty unless they are actually unable to walk; that they have to dig up roots for fuel; that their coffee is given to them green, which they must parch and grind as they best can. None of the English soldiers that I have yet seen are provided with boots. The Russian soldiers all have boots. The

English soldiers above speak of the arrival, just now, of winter clothing, sheepskins, boots, &c., and wooden houses that have been brought out from England, and are being put up for the sick, many of whom until now have been kept in tents; also of the extreme difficulty of transporting provisions, &c., from Balaklava to the camp, the draught horses being worn completely out by hard work. I may inform you that the daily allowance of a Russian soldier in Sebastopol is 3 lb. of bread, 1 lb. of fresh beef in soup, a portion of *grus* (a kind of farina porridge), and two glasses of brandy.

"Jan. 26.—I saw at General Osten-Sacken's this evening a ball made of very hard wood, like those used in bowling-alleys, weighing perhaps 12 lb., sent over either by the French or English. One contrivance of destruction which they occasionally make use of is worth mentioning for its droll novelty. It consists of half a cask or barrel, to the bottom of which is fitted a cylindrical piece, which just fits the calibre of a mortar. They fill this with small grenade bombs, and send it over. The small talk of the day just at present is upon the probabilities of peace."

During the month of February the information transmitted to the *Providence Journal* does not seem to have been so abundant nor precise. We glean from it that his "professional occupation was at that point where the wounded were brought from the various bastions or batteries." "A very fine hall immediately behind Fort Nicholas was appropriated to the purposes of an operation hall." "At the end of February there were 3000 sick and wounded in the *Hospital where we were*,"—implying that there were other receptacles for sick and wounded patients, and if they were occupied in any proportion to that where the two Americans operated, the suffering, sickness, and injuries from wounds in the fortress were appallingly numerous. No account is given of the average sickness, or the general rate of wounded brought in, or the nature of the diseases prevalent in the place. Perhaps the letters were inspected

by the commandant, who, however unwilling to interfere with an American gentleman's correspondence, when the czar was so anxious to conciliate the citizens of the Union, would be very solicitous to expunge some portions of what bore hard upon "hol Russia." The correspondent gave no information as to whether the inhabitants were few or numerous, or how employed: he in one instance relates that two children, who had been burned shockingly by the explosion of a bomb, were brought to the American surgeon to be dressed, and this circumstance he dwells upon in a manner that might lead his readers to infer that the allies fired bombs for the purpose of burning little children who might stray or play in the streets, so thoroughly *ex parte* and unjust is the spirit of the narrative. He bears testimony to the good practice of the British mortars lent to the French, one of the bombs from which went over the operation hall about the end of February, bursting within twenty yards. For the last week of January and the first of February he gives an average of the wounded brought to the hospital of which he had charge, which he computed at twenty. On the morning after the sortie of the 19th he stated them to be eighty-four. No account is given of the medical staff, its number, plans, regulations, or general efficiency—perhaps these topics were "tabooed." There is enough let out to show that the Russian loss by wounds and disease was extremely heavy, surpassing that of the allies a great deal as to the former instrumentalities, and probably not behind that of the French from the latter cause.

The writer boasted that he and his countryman and colleague were quartered in the same house with General Osten-Sacken, with whom they were on terms of intimacy (of which he seems as proud as if born in an aristocratic country). But this is hardly reconcilable with the presence of that general before Eupatoria, a part of the time at all events. Such, however, is a specimen of the "Correspondence from the inside of Sebastopol" by an American surgeon in the Russian service."

## CHAPTER LXXI.

### DEATH OF THE CZAR.

"They that see thee shall narrowly look upon thee, and consider thee, saying: Is this the man that made the earth to tremble, that did shake kingdoms?"—ISAIAH.

EUROPE had probably never been so greatly or suddenly startled by any event as by that which is here recorded. Rumours had reached England and France through Germany that the emperor was ill, but that his illness did not incapacitate him from business, to which he was devoted with his wonted energy and

iron will. When tidings reached him of the disastrous result to his arms of the battle of Eupatoria, he was labouring under a severe attack of influenza, and the effect the tidings had upon him was most injurious. He intensely felt this humiliation by Omar Pasha and a Turkish force, who had repulsed his

troops on the Danube, occupying, as a separate *corps d'armée*, a portion of Russian territory. He also considered the position one more dangerous to his power in the Crimea than most of his generals regarded it. It was by his direct and especial orders, and those orders delivered with unusual eagerness and energy, that the attack upon Omar Pasha's position was made. When he heard of the defeat, his whole nature seemed to feel the recoil, and in proportion to his determination to carry that point was his mortification at the result of the attempt. He never rallied again. On the 22nd of February he consented to refrain from public business, except some directions given in his own apartments, but even this was too much for his shaken frame. On the 23rd he devolved the government upon his eldest son. By this time his prostration was very great; he had insisted upon treating himself, and neglected the importunities of his family and the representations of his physicians as to the necessity of care and rest. On those occasions he would say to his empress and children, "This is not a time to take care of one's self while Russia is at war. I have something else to do than to watch over my health." To his medical advisers he replied, "Thank you, gentlemen, you have performed your duty, I must away to the performance of mine;" and would go forth with his cloak thrown loosely around him to inspect troops or material of war, or to see that some orders had been executed. It was alleged that one circumstance unfavourable to his recovery was his insisting that his physicians should treat him with a view to keep him from growing too corpulent, which he supposed would impair his dignity of person. During the few days which intervened between his confinement to his palace and his death, which was on the 2nd of March, his illness increased alarmingly, fever and inflammation of the lungs supervened. Dr. Mandt, his "body physician," informed him that atrophy of the lungs was possible. He received the communication with fortitude, inquiring, "When shall I be suffocated?" to which Dr. Karell replied, informing him that the danger was great, and that such an issue was to be apprehended as very imminent, but hoped that the peril would be dispelled. The czar did not seem to entertain any hope for himself, but called his empress and children around him and blessed them. He did the same by his chief officers and servants. The charge of union and affection given to his family was touching, and his injunctions to his children to respect their mother, and be guided by her counsels, were most solemn and becoming. Various "last words" have been attributed to him. It was communicated to the Prussian court that his last utterances

were—"Tell Fritz not to forget his father's recommendations in reference to Russia." The empress herself was represented as giving out that the emperor closed his life by saying to her, "Tell my brother-in-law that I trust he will not forsake his own nephew and my children in the great perils which may be before them." The new emperor, Alexander, in a proclamation to his troops, described his father as having addressed his last benedictions to them.

The motives for all these varied versions are transparent. The only authorised account of his illness and death was that recorded in the *Invalides Russe*. There is reason to believe that the account is *substantially* true, and the picture it presents is most touching:—

"As it now turns out, his majesty had been for some time violently affected with *grippe*. About the 18th of February his body physician, Dr. Mandt, begged for permission to call in other physicians. The emperor took this very lightly, and turned it off with a joke, but consented that the body physician, Dr. Karell, should be also consulted. The emperor became by degrees worse from want of sleep and increased cough, with plentiful expectoration, so that the physicians, on the 22nd, begged his majesty would keep his room. The emperor would not hear a word of it; on which one of the physicians said to him, 'No medical man in the whole army would allow any soldier so unwell as your majesty is to leave the hospital, for he would be sure that his patient would soon come in again worse.' The emperor answered, 'You have done your duty, gentlemen, and I thank you, and now I will do mine;' and on this he got into his sledge in rather cold weather, and drove to the exercising-house to see some men of the infantry of the guard, who were about to march into Lithuania to make up the complement of the regiments there.

"At this inspection, which was the last occasion of the emperor's being seen in public, he was evidently very unwell, coughed violently, expectorated excessively, and said as he went away, 'I am in a perfect bath (of perspiration),' although it was anything but warm in the exercising-house. The emperor then drove to Prince Dolgorouki, the minister of war, who was ill, cautioned him not to go out too soon, and then returned to the Winter Palace. In the evening he was present at the prayers for the first week of Lent, stayed some time with the empress, but complained of being cold, and kept his cloak on in the room. From that evening the emperor did not quit his little study. It was there, on February 23rd, that he received his flügel adjutant, Colonel von Tettenborn, and dispatched him to Sebastopol; all the while

lying on the sofa, and covered up with his cloak. After that his majesty transferred all business into the hands of the Grand-duke Alexander.

"The days from February 24th to the 27th passed over without one's learning anything further on inquiry than that 'the emperor does not leave his bed, as he is somewhat feverish: the cough is getting less and less hard,' &c. During the whole time he was ill the emperor lay only on his camp bed, *i.e.*, on a casing of Russia leather filled with hay, a bolster of the same kind, and with a blanket and his cloak over him. It was not till February 28th that his state was looked on as decidedly serious. On that night he became rapidly worse. The physicians apprehended a paralysis of the lungs. On the evening of March 1st they despaired of his recovery. The empress and the crown-prince begged him, at the request of the physicians, to take the sacrament. It was not till then that the emperor seems to have recognised the real danger of his state; but hardly any shock is stated to have been noticeable in him.

"In the night from the 1st to the 2nd instant, Dr. Mandt communicated to the emperor that he was dangerously ill, and that more particularly his lungs were violently affected, and gave great ground for apprehension. The emperor answered very calmly, 'And so you think that I am liable to a paralysis of the lungs?' To which Dr. Mandt answered, 'Such a result is very possible.' On this the emperor very calmly and collectedly took the sacrament, took leave of the empress, their children and grandchildren, kissed each, and blessed each one, with a firm voice, and then retained only the empress and the crown-prince with him. This was about four o'clock in the morning. The emperor said subsequently to the empress, 'Do go now and take a little rest, I beg of you.' She answered, 'Let me remain with you; I would I could depart with you, if it were only possible.' To this the emperor replied, 'No; you must remain here on earth. Take care of your health, so that you may be the centre of the whole family. Go now; I will send for you when the moment approaches.' The empress could not do otherwise than obey this distinct expression of the emperor's will, and left the room.

"The emperor then sent for Graf Orloff, Graf Adlerberg, and Prince Dolgorouki, thanked them for their fidelity, and bade them farewell. Subsequently the emperor had all the servants immediately about him sent in, thanked them for their services, blessed them, and took leave of them: on which occasion he is said to have been himself very much affected. Last of all the Kammerfrau von

Rohrbeck was sent for. The emperor thanked her for the fidelity she had always shown the empress, for the care with which she had always tended her in sickness, begged her never to quit the empress, and ended with 'And remember me kindly at Peterhoff, that I'm so fond of.' The emperor pressed Dr. Karell's hand, and said to him, 'It is no farther of yours.'

"Whilst the emperor's father-confessor was speaking with him he took the empress's hand and put it into the priest's, as if he would confide the empress to the ecclesiastic. After this the emperor lost his speech for a while, during which time he was engaged in prayer, and crossed himself repeatedly. He subsequently regained his voice, and spoke from time to time up to his decease, which took place without a struggle in the presence of the whole family, March 2nd, at ten minutes past noon.

"Almost the last articulate words that the emperor spoke were, 'Dites à Fritz (King of Prussia) de rester toujours le même pour la Russie, et de ne pas oublier les paroles du papa' (the late King of Prussia). At first the face of the corpse was very much sunk and fallen in; but in the evening the fine features had become more imposing than ever from their repose and regularity."

Our engraving of the czar's last moment faithfully represents the apartment, the description of bed on which he lay, the members of his family then around him, and their attitude at the instant when his majesty was *in articulo mortis*. After death the body was placed upon a state bed at the Winter Palace, in the room of the Grand Duchess Olga, and the public were admitted at certain hours to see it. The embalment, which took place under the directions of the professors of medicine and surgery, was admirably performed. A large pall edged with gold, was thrown over the corpse covering the face, which was removed by the attendants at the desire of such visitors as were privileged. The room was very simply decorated, and no attempt at display was put forth except of a religious kind. Lighted tapers, crosses, and other ecclesiastical concomitants surrounded the bed on which the corpse lay and three Greek priests offered mass alternately.

The crowd that went to see the body was immense, and great eagerness to behold the face of the corpse prevailed. Persons were ordered to stop only a few minutes in the room, and pass on; but there was such a disposition to contemplate the deceased, and especially when permitted to see his features, that there was some difficulty in carrying out these orders notwithstanding the obedience so natural to the Russian people. The scene singularly justified the appropriateness of the motto *sc*





ected for this chapter. The solemnity of those who passed through the death-chamber was impressive. Every Russian knelt near the coffin, made the sign of the cross, and kissed the pall which so gracefully hung over the body. No one could witness this deep reverence for the czar's remains without perceiving how completely the power of his name had penetrated the hearts of his people; and how acquainted with the writings of Pope but would naturally apply his lines in the elegy upon the death of an unfortunate lady :—

"How loved, how valued once avails thee not,  
By whom remember'd, or by whom forgot;  
A heap of dust alone remains of thee—  
'Tis all thou art, and all the proud must be."

The devotion of the passers through that solemn chamber could not fail also to impress a stranger with the conviction that the czar was popular because he represented the feelings and desires of the Russian race. The conflict he originated, and waged with such sanguinary and ferocious energy, was the people's; they regarded an invasion of Turkey quite as much a war *pro aris et focis*, as the defence of Cronstadt or Sebastopol. They regarded Turkey as the old Byzantine empire, into which the Turks have temporarily intruded, and of which the czar is the lineal and lawful sovereign, even irrespective of his claim as the head of the only orthodox church. They bowed at the feet of the dead as at the feet of a holy martyr to a most holy cause, whose divine mission, to exterminate the followers of the false prophet, and set up an orthodox empire in the seat of the venerable Byzantine, was opposed by the western schismatics and heretics, aided by all infidels everywhere, and by Satan, as the chief enemy of the czar, holy Russia, and the true church.

On the 11th of March the burial took place. The remains were borne, in deeply solemn state, from the Winter Palace to the Cathedral of St. Peter and St. Paul; the streets were crowded by a vast concourse, and

"The long funeral blackened all the way."

The minute gun, the muffled drum, the wind-instruments, which seemed to wail in pathetic notes, were alone heard amidst the deep silence of the vast multitude, until these were followed by the organ, mournfully pealing forth from the sanctuary an empire's sorrow. As the sarcophagus, gorgeously yet appropriately decorated, passed along, the people fell upon their knees in reverence to the dead, and rose with more resolute will for the war, in which, though struck by no bullet or splintered shell, their martyr had fallen. Half a million of Russians had been sent by him to a bloody death on the fields of war, or the many deaths of death by disease; half a million more

were ready to follow him to the grave before the bayonets and shot of the confederated armies; and the more willing to become sacrifices because he had died in his own department of the struggle.

The effect of these proceedings throughout Europe, it may well be believed, was startling. At Constantinople deep sorrow fell upon the great majority of the Christian population. Their two great hopes—to escape from the oppression of the Turks, and to oppress Turks, Jews, heretics, and schismatics themselves—seemed blasted by the untimely removal of the great champion of bigotry and persecution. He had been formed after their own image. He regarded the liberation of the orthodox from all invidious treatment, and the subjection of all others to the rule of the orthodox, as the true object for which to live; and as this is almost the only vitality Christianity has in the East, the czar, who fed and sustained it, was to them a living saint, already canonized by his holy acts. The Turks and Egyptians, while they generally preserved a suitable demeanour, could not restrain their joy at the tidings; and the sultan's court was filled with gratulations. In France the tidings were received with somewhat of awe, and the French court, strangely, went into mourning. Although the theatres were ordered to be closed, the courtiers did not refuse to

"— Bear about the mockery of woe  
To midnight dances and the public show."

In England a sensation of mingled astonishment, solemnity, and pleasure were blended. What Lord Raglan is represented to have said at Sebastopol expressed the public opinion and sentiment of England :—"This is the finger of God!" The intelligence of the czar's death came very suddenly upon the British public. On the morning of the day he died his illness was known in England by means of the electric telegraph; the evening of his death the great fact was known by the same medium in London, and in many of the capitals of Europe—illustrating the wonderful power of this modern invention. When the House of Lords met at five o'clock on that evening, the Earl of Clarendon addressed their lordships in the following terms :—"My lords, I feel it my duty to communicate to your lordships the contents of a telegraphic despatch I received half an hour ago from her majesty's minister at the Hague; it is as follows :—"The Emperor Nicholas died this day at one o'clock, of pulmonic apoplexy, after an attack of influenza." I have also received a despatch from her majesty's minister at Berlin, stating that the Emperor of Russia died at twelve o'clock, about an hour before these despatches arrived." Lord Palmerston communicated the intelligence to the Com-

mons; and the very same night the electric telegraph flashed the news over the surprised realm. It was a curious circumstance that Lord John Russell, who was on his way to the Vienna Conference, was tarrying at Berlin in hopes of bringing the Prussian court into a policy more nearly allied to that of England, when the intelligence arrived to his Prussian majesty.

The general impression throughout Europe was that the czar had died by unfair means—that poison had probably terminated his existence, as a matter of state policy,—there being no hope of peace while he lived, if the resources of Russia could hold out. It was alleged that a large party, considering the prolongation of the war destructive to the empire, wished to remove him who would not fail to persevere in it “while he had a man or a musket.” All these sinister suggestions were proved to be unfounded, when the disease to which the great patient succumbed was made known, and the circumstances attending his death detailed upon proper authority. Any impressions as to his having come unfairly by his death were very much removed by a very remarkable letter, published in the *Times* newspaper the day after the tidings of his death arrived in the English metropolis. This letter was quoted into the newspapers of every nation in the world, Russia only excepted, and exercised an extraordinary influence on the opinions universally formed concerning the decease of the czar and its causes. The author of the letter was Dr. Granville, a physician of much reputation. It is probable that his communication and his interviews with the government influenced them in some degree in their dilatory policy, and the indulgence which they showed him; whereas Dr. Granville intended to put them upon their guard as to any calculations upon the moderation, courtesy, sense of honour, or general policy of the czar, and to be on the *qui vive* for any act, however rash, sudden, or irrational, which he might perform.

1, Curzon Street, May Fair, March 3.

“SIR,—I commit into your hands the following letter and memorandum for publication. It is fit that the people of this country should know that, at the commencement of the diplomatic dispute with Russia, ministers were made aware of the state of mind and prospect of life of its mighty ruler. The discussions carried on with him were shaped on the usual metaphysical grounds. They should have been guided instead by a knowledge of the physical condition of the disputant.

“At every confidential interview with the British representative, up started the monomaniacal idea of ‘*l’homme malade—gravement malade*,’ which was often repeated, ‘not with-

out excitement,’ added Sir George. If that fact did not of itself open the eyes of ministers in January and February, of 1853, the timely professional warning conveyed to them in the annexed letter not long after, might, one would think, put ministers on their guard, albeit the warning came from an humble individual. Who knows how many thousand lives are sacrificed, and millions of money squandered, might not have been saved if, on the conviction of the truth of the warning received, instead of continuing for months together all sorts of unprofitable arguments, peremptory language and peremptory action had been employed, leaving no time to the imperial and real ‘sinner’ for the infliction on his own devoted people, and those of the three nations allied against him of that irreparable mischief which he has been suffered to perpetrate? It was thus that Pitt dealt with Paul—but, alas! there is no Pitt now.

“For regularity’s sake I mention that the passages in the following letter, which were strictly confidential, are omitted. The first was the expression of a purely religious opinion, which, though awfully appropriate at the moment, might be considered presumptuous. The second detailed the grounds on which, during my residence of several weeks in Petersburg in 1849, in attendance on a high personage at the imperial court, I formed a medical opinion which I deemed it my duty to convey to the government at home: the publication at this moment would be injudicious. The third passage was an allusion to my ill-requited service in the navy, which cannot interest your readers.

“I have the honour to be your obedient servant,

“A. B. GRANVILLE, M.D.”

#### CONFIDENTIAL LETTER TO VISCOUNT PALMERSTON

Kissingen, Bavaria, July 6, 1853.

MY LORD,—Failing in my endeavours to meet your lordship at the appointed interview at the House of Commons on the 22nd ult., at which I proposed to make a *vivâ voce* communication of some importance to the government, as I thought, concerning the present political discussions with Russia, I stated, in a second letter written at the moment of my departure from England, at this place, that I regretted the disappointment, inasmuch as the subject of the intended communication, from its delicate nature, did not admit of being committed to paper. I think so still. But, on the other hand, the necessity of the government being put in possession of the communication appears to me to become every so much more urgent, that if it is to be of any use, it must be made at once, or it will fail to direct ministers in time, as I think the communication is capable of doing in their negotiations with Russia, and in their estimation of the one particular element which, I apprehend, has first provoked, and is since pushing on the emperor in his present reckless course. Mine is not a political, but a professional communication, therefore strictly confidential. It is not conjectural, but positive, largely based on personal knowledge, and partly on imparted information accidentally obtained—it is not essential that I should name from whom, for I take the responsibility of the whole.

myself, inasmuch as the whole but confirms what I have myself observed, studied, or heard on the spot.

The Western cabinets find the conduct of the Emperor Nicholas strange, preposterous, inconsistent, unexpected. They wonder at his demands; they are startled at his state papers; they cannot comprehend their context; they recognize not in them the clear and close reasoning of the Nestor of Russian diplomacy, but rather the dictates of an iron will to which he has been made to affix his name; they view the emperor's new international principles as extravagant; they doubt if he be under the guidance of wise counsels. Yet they proceed to treat, negotiate, and speak as if none of these perplexing novelties in diplomacy existed on the part of a power hitherto considered as the model of political loyalty. The Western cabinets are in error. The health of the czar is shaken. It has become so gradually for the last five years. He has been irritable, passionate, fanciful, more than usually superstitious, capricious, hasty, precipitate, and obstinate withal—all from ill health, unskillfully treated; and of late deteriorating into a degree of cerebral excitement, which, while it takes from him the power of steady reasoning, impels him to every extravagance, in the same manner as with his father in 1800; as with Alexander, in Poland, in 1820; as with Constantine, at Warsaw, in 1830; as with Michael, at St. Petersburg, in 1848-9. Like them, his nature feels the fatal transmission of hereditary insanity, the natural consequence of an overlooked and progressive congestion of the brain. Like them, he is hurrying to his fate, sudden death, from congestive disease. The same period of life, between 45 and 60 years of age, sees the career of this fated family cut short. Paul, at first violent and fanatical, a perfect lunatic at 45 years of age, is dispatched at 47, in 1801. Alexander dies at Taganrog in December, 1825, aged 48. For five years previously his temper and his mind had at times exhibited the parental malady by his capricious and wayward manner of treating the Polish provinces. He died of congestive fever of the brain, during which he knocked down his favourite physician—Sir James Wylie, who assured me of the fact at St. Petersburg in 1828—because he wished to apply leeches to his temples. Constantine, eccentric always, tyrannical, cruel, dies at Warsaw suddenly in July, 1831, aged 52 years, after having caused rebellion in the country by his harsh treatment of theudet officers. I saw and conversed with him on the parade and in his palace at Warsaw in December, 1828. His looks and demeanour sufficiently denoted to a medical man what he was, and what his fate would be. It has been said that he died of cholera; again, that he had been dispatched like his father. The physician in chief of the Polish Military Hospitals assured me some years later that he had died apoplectic and in a rage. Michael, after many years of suffering from the same complaints which afflict his only surviving brother—enlarged liver, deranged digestion, and fulness of blood in the head—came in 1848-9 intolerably irritable, violent, and tyrannical to his own officers of the artillery and engineers alike, of which he was the supreme chief. In July, 1849, he consulted me at St. Petersburg. It was after he had passed in review the whole train of artillery which was leaving the capital for Hungary, at which review I was present and near him, and witnessed scenes of violent anger towards generals and aides-de-camp hardly equalled in a lunatic asylum. I found him as described above. I advised cupping, diet, non-exposure to the sun, and to fatigue, the administration of suitable medicines, and the cessation from drinking steel mineral waters, of which he was fond ever since he had been at Kissengen. His physician, the younger Sir James Wylie (himself since suddenly dead), assented reluctantly, but did not try my advice into execution. The Grand-duke, in the late he was, unrelieved by any medical measure or proper treatment, joined the army, rode out in the sun, and fell from his horse apoplectic in September, 1849, aged 48. To complete the disastrous picture of the and-children of Catherine, their mother, Maria of Wirtemberg, a most exemplary princess, died apoplectic in November, 1829, scarcely more than 65 years of age. The attack, mistaken for weakness, was treated with stimulants and bark by her physician, Ruhl, and bleeding was only had recourse to when the mistake was discovered too late to save. The meek and mild Elizabeth had

but a short time before followed her imperial partner, Alexander, to the grave, in the still fresh years of womanhood, 50 years of age.

During my second sojourn in St. Petersburg, in 1849, for a period of 10 weeks . . . . . What the opinion was of the emperor's health—what acts of his came to my knowledge, which bespoke eccentricity—what were the sentiments of his physician, Dr. Mandt, who, homeopathist as he is, and exercising a most prepotent influence over his master, leaves him, nevertheless, unrelieved, except by mystical drops and globules—what transpired of political doctrines and opinions, or, in fine, what I gathered afterwards at Moscow on all co-equal points, must be left to your lordship's conjecture,—not difficult after all I have divulged. To go further would be like a breach of trust, and of that I shall never be guilty. In all I have related there is nothing that had been committed to me as a privileged communication; while the imperative requirements of the moment calling for its immediate divulgement I hesitate not to make it, under the firmest conviction that my fears and anticipations will be surely realised. If so, then the method of dealing with an all-powerful sovereign so visited must differ from the more regular mode of transacting business between government and government. For this purpose it is—to put her majesty's ministers on their guard accordingly, that I have determined to place in your lordship's hands the present professional information, which must be considered as so strictly confidential that I shall not sign it with my name.

That I have selected your lordship as the channel of my communication rather than the minister of foreign affairs, to whom more properly it should have been addressed, will at once appear natural to your lordship. In my capacity of once, and for some years, your lordship's physician (though not now honoured with that title), your lordship has known me personally, and is convinced that what my pen commits to paper, may be taken as coming from an honourable man and your obedient servant.

"N.B.—An acknowledgment of the receipt of this letter came by return of post in Lord Palmerston's handwriting.

"*Memorandum.*—At an interview with Lord Palmerston, February 23, 1854, on matters of a private nature, his lordship was pleased to ask me before we separated whether I still adhered to my opinion and prediction. I replied that before July, 1855 (the emperor would then be 59 years old), what I had anticipated would happen. 'Let but a few reverses overtake the emperor,' I added, 'and his death, like that of all his brothers, will be sudden.' It has proved so. Alma, Inkerman, Balaklava, shook the mighty brain: Eupatoria completed the stroke, which has anticipated my prognosis only by a few weeks.

"A. B. G."

The publication of this important document modified the opinions formed of the czar's conduct and character in England, which continued to be discussed in all the leading journals and magazines of the British Isles. There was a certain dignity about his death which his abettors laid hold upon to proclaim his goodness and greatness notwithstanding many admitted errors. Others said that, like Charles I., he was great only when he came to die. The aristocratic classes in England, although they had suffered so much by his ruthless ambition, were his ardent admirers,

and seemed to forget how many of their dearest and bravest fell by his ruffian bands, in the regrets they expressed, and the admiration of his character which they incessantly proclaimed in every circle. Earl Grey, who was his country's only open opponent in the House of Lords, and the czar's special advocate there, gave vent to his regrets in that place. The noble earl's eulogy was eloquent, as his speeches generally are, but specious and sophistical, qualities common to his orations. It will furnish our readers with a fair specimen of how a very large portion of the higher classes of English citizens really regarded the czar:—"Up to the time of Prince Menschikoff's departure from Constantinople, Russia was in the right, and England greatly to blame for the course she pursued; from that time I think Russia put herself in the wrong, and that the occupation of the principalities was an act of violence and injustice. But admitting Russia to have been then in the wrong, surely the fact that such a man as Bishop Southgate is of a different opinion, must be taken as proving that she may not have been so wilfully and palpably in the wrong, as we have been in the habit of assuming, and that some allowance ought to be made for her conduct. There have been too many gross faults in our own conduct to give us a right to be very severe in criticising that of Russia. Was it unnatural that errors, and very serious errors, should be committed, in the circumstances in which he was placed, by such a man as the late Emperor Nicholas, and does he deserve for these errors the unmeasured vituperation of which he has been the object? For my own part, I will not shrink from saying of him, that, with all his faults (and there were many), he was still a great man, in whose character there was much to admire. I am persuaded that he was sincere and earnest in his devotion to the welfare of his people. No doubt he was often mistaken as to the means of promoting it, but he acted to the best of his judgment; the good of his subjects as he understood it, not his selfish gratification, nor any low or mean interest of his own, was the end to which all his exertions were directed, and for which he displayed such untiring energy, and underwent such unremitting labour, in governing the vast empire which Providence had placed under his rule. When I read the touching accounts which have been published of the last illness of the Emperor Nicholas—when I contemplate the spirit of Christian resignation with which he met approaching death, the calm and unaffected fortitude he displayed in that awful season, his thoughtfulness for his people, his family, and his attached followers, I cannot, I say, consider these things, without utterly dis-

believing that a man, capable of so passing through the great and final trial of human nature, could be one whose character deserves to be described in the odious terms which have been applied to the Emperor Nicholas. Whatever were his faults, fraud and falsehood were not among them. He was, I think, unbearing, arbitrary, violent when his will resisted; and is it wonderful that the man should have become so, who for near thirty years had ruled with unlimited power and almost unchecked success the vast dominions of Russia? Would he not have been something more than human if he had remained entirely proof against the trials and temptations of such a position? But, I repeat, that his faults were those of a high and noble, not of a low and mean nature, like falsehood and fraud."

Lord Panmure, in a speech delivered at a Bible Society meeting in Edinburgh, replied to some remarks of Mr. Bright, the member of parliament for Manchester, made at a similar meeting in Rochdale, and which was in the spirit and manner of Earl Grey's address to the House of Peers. Lord Panmure referred to a German colony of Moravians settled in the Crimea. This body of religionists held views similar to those of the sect to which Mr. Bright belongs, especially on the sinfulness of all war. His lordship's object was to unveil the czar's conduct to those people as exemplifying his character. "I shall relate the matter without quoting the lordship. They emigrated to the Crimea under the auspices of Alexander I.; there was a certain degree of toleration, and their conduct had never given offence to the successors of Alexander, as they did not seek to make proselytes from the established church, but to reform and cement the czar's Mohammedan subjects; and their civilising influence on the Crim-Tartars was obvious, and it might have been supposed would have been thankfully acceptable to the czar. After the death of his mother, who much restrained his bigotry, Nicholas tolerated these amiable and peaceful colonists, violating the compact under which they settled there, and completely refuting by his conduct to them the character for truth, honour, uprightness, and magnanimity, which was eagerly claimed for him by the partial advocacy of Earl Grey. He compelled them to limit their labours to their own material advantages, and claimed, as members of the Greek Church, the converts made by the community from the Tartar population. According to the compact or charter of their settlement, the Moravians were exempt from military service, but their converts were to be liable to it, the same as other Russian subjects. Earl Grey's pattern of everything noble destroyed the

charter of the little colony, and placed it under the usual laws of military service. The poor people in vain represented that they and their fathers had settled there making a testimony against the lawfulness of war; in vain did they plead the inviolability of conscience: the lord of a hundred races, the ruler of sixty millions of men, whom Lord Grey declared to be so vastly elevated above all that was ignoble and mean, persecuted these poor peaceful Christian people with a relentlessness of which many a savage chief would be ashamed, and with an indifference to the honour of Russia and her czars, which ought to cause even the capricious tongue of Lord Grey to abstain from eulogy. Imprisonment and flogging were first resorted to by the colossal tyrant and truce-breaker; and these failing, death was offered as the alternative of their continued refusal to serve in the army. They pleaded conscience, and died! He hanged 300 of the able-bodied of the small community, the most virtuous of his subjects: To falsehood, and violation of compact, he added injury, insult, and ultimately murder. He hated them with a religious animosity because they refused all overtures to join the Greek Church, of which he was head. Selfish, false, ambitious, and cruel, he carried these qualities alike into the government of his own subjects, and his dealings with foreign states; into matters civil, and matters religious. It will ever be a shame to Western Europe that this scourge of human-kind, and this strange compound of fanaticism and hypocrisy, should have been permitted to flaunt his greatness before the thrones and peoples of free nations, and carry on a career of territorial plunder more barefaced and unprincipled than that of the meanest fillibustering captain which ever found adventurous supporters in the New World. Lord Panmure did good service to religion and liberty by calling the attention of the citizens of Edinburgh to the facts of the czar's dishonour and blood-guiltiness to the Crimean Moravian colony. It was strange that this story, so damning to the emperor's greatness, furnished no paragraph for the eloquence of the truly eloquent George Thompson, or any other of the advocates of the Peace Society, while these orators rivalled Earl Grey in panegyrising the saintly qualities of the peace-loving Nicholas! This is to be regretted by all who wish success, as we do, to the efforts of Christian men who seek to propagate a disrelish for war, and the duty of every people cultivating peace at the expense of many and great sacrifices.

The Rev. Dr. Leask, minister of Esher Chapel, Kennington, London, in an eloquent discourse delivered on occasion of the death of the Muscovite emperor, placed before his audience the true feeling which ought to be

cherished by the English people toward their departed enemy:—"But let us not press against the bier of the helpless autocrat. We have no authority to mount the judgment-seat. That is occupied by ONE who judgeth righteously. In his hands we may safely leave the souls of monarchs as of common men, without misgiving and without anxiety. He needs no witnesses, for he knoweth all things; and the winding up of the affairs of a groaning creation will justify our belief that the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth in the armies of heaven and among the inhabitants of the earth. . . . Let us so act during life that posterity may love our memory. 'The curse causeless shall not come;' but, alas! it is to be feared that the deep curses of multitudes fell upon the head of the departed czar, and that many have rejoiced at the tidings of his death. When that colossal spoiler fell, helpless as a branch smitten from the forest, men felt as if a heavy crushing burden had been mysteriously rolled from the world's heart. Whether that feeling correspond with judgment, and whether that judgment agree with the light shed by revelation on the moral government of God over humanity, are questions which I shall not at present attempt to answer; but the fact unquestionably is just as I have intimated. When the telegraph of yesterday confirmed the rumour of the previous day that the Emperor of Russia was dead, men did grasp each other heartily by the hand, did look happier than during many previous months, and did feel as if a destructive storm had suddenly subsided. But how sad is all this. How melancholy the reflection that men should rejoice over the death of one of their fellow-mortals! Either there was in him, or there is in them, something fearfully wrong when such emotions can be excited by the blow of the last enemy. How terrible to die unwept!"

A passage from a discourse delivered by the Rev. J. Sortaine of Brighton, placed the czar's character in a light in which it would appear as if the preacher had in view Earl Grey's oration, and some kindred effusions from that class. There is a discriminating and eloquent force in this analysis:—

"If the late Czar Nicholas had died some two years ago, there would have been no sufficient reason why thoughts upon his decease should occupy an hour so sacred as the present one. It would have been a topic, chiefly, if not solely, of interest to the politician and historian. And in their summaries of his character and reign, both would have said, that, while equally sharing with his ancestors, Peter the Great and the Czarina Catherine, in largeness and unscrupulousness, and perseverance of aggressive policy towards Europe, he far sur-

passed them in the wisdom and benignity of his domestic government. To his ruthless atrocities in Poland they would have placed, as an offset, his untiring efforts to raise the populace of his vast empire from the miseries of serfdom. If they pronounced him a perfidious marauder on the rights and properties of the chivalrous Caucasian and the unoffending Turk, they would have contended for his stern equity against rapacious venality at home. They would have said, that if he was not so humane and gentle as his brother Alexander, he was less impulsive and more uniformly just; and that he left his empire far more consolidated in its form, far more vital and healthy in its internal activities, vaster and richer in its commerce, and higher in its scale of European civilisation and influence than he found it when he ascended his throne. Such, we say, would have been the estimate of the statesman and historian; so that his very crimes in statescraft and in war—shaded off, as they would have been, by the generous consideration that they were natural to a semi-barbarian and an autocrat—would have been unnoticed from his surpassing his Muscovite predecessors in the paternity of his rule. Happy had it been for him if he had died then, and thus secured to himself the homage of posterity! But the ‘crafty’ man is a ‘froward’ man, and the counsel of the froward is carried headlong.”

Much has been written of the czar’s desire to improve his country. He, doubtless, encouraged its material advancement so far as promoted its military resources. But he had a hatred of literary men, and of any gifted persons in other than the military art,—if we except actors, artists, and musicians, who ministered to his personal pleasures, or the pleasures of his family and court. What his conduct was to literary men may be learned from Golovin, himself a Russian. His sketch was written some time before the emperor’s death:—“Lermontoff, another eminent Russian poet, died, and Nicholas exclaimed, ‘He lived like a dog, and has died like one!’ Ryleieff was a distinguished lyric poet. Nicholas hanged him! That is his way of treating Russian talent. Polejaieff was another young poet of liberal tendencies. Nicholas called him to him, and embraced him. Everybody believed that he meant to take him into favour. He made him a soldier; and when the poet died, a friend, wishing to find his body, was told to go and look among the boxes which are used as coffins for the common soldiers. Sakoloffsky wrote some spirited verses against the czar. His judges asked him whether he had not hurled his fiercest invectives against God. ‘Yes,’ replied the poet, ‘knowing that God is more merciful than the czar.’ He was thrown into a dungeon, which he never quitted save

as a corpse. Even at this very moment Nicholas is wreaking his vengeance on Bakuin, whom he is pledged to Austria to keep immured in prison. Disgust prevents our continuing the sad list of victims, and we will, therefore, conclude by mentioning a single fact, to show his mode of treating female poets. Madame Rastopchin wrote some verses entitled ‘The Husband and the Wife.’ The husband is Russia, and the wife is Poland; and the poet shows that if they do not love one another, it is for want of a proper understanding. Madame Rastopchin was exiled to Moscow. The court goes there; and, at the end of a few months, the empress meets the exile at Madame Nesselrode’s, and invites her to a ball at the palace. As soon as Nicholas sees her, he orders her to quit the palace.”

The life of the Emperor Nicholas was eventful, but in no way interesting as exhibiting any qualities of his own, except his courage, which was proved on ascending the throne, when he quelled an insurrection by his self-possession, promptitude, and fortitude. His success was followed by as bloody and ferocious a specimen of vindictiveness as his cruel house ever perpetrated. His person was generally esteemed handsome; but this general impression was created by the habit prevailing among all European aristocracies to praise him. His stature was gigantic, and there was an effort to maintain a sort of imperial carriage, which gave it a pomposity and affectation, and made his gait something between a stride and a strut. His features were regular, but without beauty or expression. His mouth smiled, while his eyes refused his lips the sympathy ever rendered in the countenance of the amiable, and good, and beautiful. Even in his most complaisant looks there was a severity approaching to ferocity. There was a certain coarseness, boldness, and yet furtiveness of purpose in his expression, which gave him the look of a genteel but gigantic highwayman. Perhaps one of the best likenesses of him extant is at Chatsworth, the celebrated seat of the Duke of Devonshire, in Derbyshire. The author of these pages will ever remember the impression of repulsiveness and cruelty which it inspired when years ago he first saw it there; and many have felt similarly on beholding it. It gives the idea of a ruffian on a grand scale, who had moved in the highest circles of civilised and fashionable life.

The Emperor Alexander I., as is well known, died without issue, and he was the eldest of four brothers. The next in seniority, Constantine, was accordingly heir to the imperial throne. That prince abdicated his right in favour of his next brother, Nicholas. Various motives were attributed to Constantine. It was alleged that, being subject to sudden



NICHOLAS I.

*Emperor of all the Russias.*



gusts of passion, in which he perpetrated the wildest outrages, he was conscious of his incapacity to govern with temper or justice. It was also alleged that, having married a Polish lady, the Muscovites would never submit to accept her for empress, and his alternative to repudiating her was the renouncement of an empire; and he accepted that alternative, as he tenderly loved her, receiving the vicerealty of Poland. That Alexander desired to set aside Constantine in favour of Nicholas is certain, as the latter was supposed to lean to the German rather than the pure Muscovite party. Accordingly he ascended the throne, and received the reluctant homage of the Russian people, whom he afterwards governed in a spirit so accordant with their tastes, that none of his predecessors holds a higher place in the loyal remembrances of the nation. In 1825 his remarkable reign began. He initiated his sovereignty at home by putting down the secret societies, then numerous in the empire, and by the sanguinary suppression of a revolt against his authority. He began his relations with foreign states by fomenting disputes with Turkey and Persia, and seizing and holding, with the connivance of the English government, some of their fairest provinces. The policy of the English in thus acting was to strengthen Russia as a counterpoise to France; Turkey and Persia openly avowing their sympathies with the French. The French revolution of 1830 gave a new direction to his mind; from that time his aim was to strengthen absolute monarchy and legitimacy in Europe, and to suppress the liberties of the European peoples. The rising of the Polish nation in 1831 strengthened this policy. The independence of Poland was quenched in blood, and the czar grossly violated the treaty of Vienna. It was from no want of material to prove the personal treachery and political bad faith of the czar, that Earl Grey held him up to the Peers of England as the standard of fidelity, personal and political. The remaining years of his life were principally spent in fostering Panslavism in Eastern Europe, and pushing quietly his influence towards Central Asia. Constantinople and Calcutta were the grand prizes his ambition aimed at—the policy he inherited from his predecessors; and in pursuing which, fraudulently and violently, he realised the French proverb, "*Mais l'homme propose et Dieu dispose.*" The following brief sketch of the royal house of Russia, from the columns of the *Presse*, will appropriately close this chapter. His imperial majesty had reached a degree of power beyond all his predecessors, but, like them all, he exemplified the truth sung so long ago by the classic poet of another and still more powerful realm:—

"Pallida mors æquo pulsat pede  
Pauperum tabernas Regumque turres."

"Russia reckons three historical dynasties—the first commencing with Rurik, a prince of Scandinavian origin; the second, that of the Grand Princess of Wolodomir, commencing in 1157 with Andrew Yourewitch, who was assassinated in his palace; the third, that of the house of Romanoff, commencing in 1613 with Michael, and numbering among its descendants Peter the Great, founder of the existing greatness of the Russian monarchy.

"Peter the Great ascended the throne in 1682, having for his first wife a Princess of Wolfenbittel. He organised against Europe that great destructive machine known as the Russian empire, and reformed his country with a hatchet in his hand instead of a sceptre. His son Alexis, terrified at the cruelties of his father, fled first to Austria, and then to Naples. Peter prevailed on him to return, when Alexis was tried, and condemned to death. The sentence was commuted to perpetual imprisonment; but the unfortunate prince died on the morrow of poison. His mother, who was soon after committed to a convent, also died suddenly. Peter then espoused Catherine Skovrousky. Later in life he became suspicious and cruel, and grew tired of the ascendancy of his favourite Menschikoff. In 1725 he died suddenly in his palace.

"Catherine I. succeeded him. At her death, after a reign of two years, Menschikoff elevated to the throne Peter II., the son of the unfortunate Alexis. The emperor, who was governed by the Dolgorouki family, ordered Menschikoff and his family into Siberia. During this reign the old boyards recovered their power, and the German and other adventurers, patronised by Peter the Great and Catherine, were in disfavour. Peter II. died suddenly in 1730.

"The old Russian party, by a sudden reaction, seized the government, and proclaimed as empress Anne, Duchess of Courland, niece of Peter the Great and daughter of Ivan, who was put to death by order of the former sovereign. The Dolgorouki family, who had bestowed the crown on Anne, were sent to Siberia; and Biron, a Courland favourite of the empress, governed Russia. He is said to have transported 25,000 men into Siberia without trial. Anne died exhausted in 1740.

"Biron placed on the throne the young Ivan, the child of the Duke of Brunswick Luneburg, and a niece of Peter the Great. General Munich, the favourite of those now in power, sent Biron into Siberia. Lestock, a French barber, conspired with Elizabeth, a daughter of Peter the Great. They entered the chamber of the Duke of Brunswick, took the young czar from his cot, and sent him to the fortress of Schlusberg. His parents, who were thrown into

the castle of Kolmogora, lingered through twenty years of suffering.

"Elizabeth, now empress, sent for the son of her sister, the Duchess of Holstein-Gottorp, who was married to a princess of Anhalt-Zerbst. Elizabeth died of some undiscovered malady in 1762, and the Duke Holstein-Gottorp ascended the throne under the title of Peter III. Catherine Anhalt-Zerbst, his wife, had been assassinated the same year in the Peterhoff Palace. A few days afterwards Ivan suffered the same fate in his prison of Schlusberg; and thus ends the legitimate line of the Romanoffs. The succeeding czars have no drop of Muscovite blood in their veins.

"Catherine and her favourite Potemkin now governed Russia. She lavished an unnatural hatred on her son Paul, who betrayed a Finnish origin by his Calmuck face and red hair. Catherine died of apoplexy in 1796.

"Paul I. ascended the throne, and took to wife a Princess of Wirtemberg. Of a fantastic temper, dangerous to all about him, notwithstanding all his vigilance and precaution, Paul I. was strangled in his own scarf on the night of the 23rd-24th of March, 1801.

"Alexander succeeded him. His favourite, the cruel Arakbchuff, governed in his name. Towards the end of his life, this prince was infected with religious mysticism; and the Russian orthodoxy suspected him of a leaning towards Catholicism. He died at Taganrog, on the 1st of December, 1825, under circumstances of much mystery.

"There were still alive three sons of the Emperor Paul: Constantine abdicated in favour of his brother, receiving in exchange the viceroyship of Poland. This prince died in 1831, after an interview with Count Alexis Orloff, and his wife soon followed him to the tomb.

"Nicholas ascended the throne in 1825, and inaugurated his reign by drowning in blood the revolt of the 13th of December. After a reign of thirty years, he died suddenly at St. Petersburg, on the 2nd of March, 1855, from a disease of the lungs, according to the *Moniteur*—from a stroke of apoplexy, according to the *Débats*. Michael, Paul's fourth son, died suddenly at Warsaw, in 1848, during the war in Hungary. This prince was opposed to Russian intervention in Hungary, and per-

sisted in a claim to the viceroyalty of Poland for himself.

"The Emperor Nicholas leaves behind him the following numerous family:—His wife, the Empress Alexandra Fedorowna, formerly Frederica Louisa Charlotte Wilhelmina, daughter of the late Frederick-William III., King of Prussia, and born on the 13th of July, 1798. The issue of this marriage are:—

"1. Alexander Nicolaiwitch, Cesarewitch, and hereditary Grand-duke, born on the 29th of April, 1818; married on the 28th of April, 1841, Maria Alexandrovna, formerly Maximilienne Wilhelmina Augustus Sophia Maria, daughter of the late Louis II., Grand-duke of Hesse, born on the 8th of May, 1824. Issue of this marriage—Nicholas Alexandrowitch, born on the 20th of September, 1843; Vladimir Alexandrowitch, born on the 22nd of April, 1847; Alexis Alexandrowitch, born on the 14th of January, 1850.

"2. Maria Nicolaievna, born on the 8th of August, 1819; married on the 14th of July, 1839, to Maximilian, Duke of Leuchtenberg and Prince of Eichstedt; became a widow on the 1st of November, 1852.

"3. Olga Nicolaievna, born on the 11th of September, 1822; married to Charles, Prince Royal of Wirtemberg, on the 13th of July, 1846.

"4. Constantine Nicolaiewitch, Grand-duke, born on the 21st of September, 1827; married on the 11th of September, 1848, to Alexandra-Josefovna, formerly Alexandra, daughter of Joseph, Duke of Saxe-Altenburg, born on the 20th of July, 1830. Issue—a prince and princess.

"5. Nicholas Nicolaiewitch, Grand-duke, born on the 8th of August, 1831.

"6. Michael Nicolaiewitch, Grand-duke, born on the 25th of October, 1832.

"The Emperor leaves, besides, two sisters—Maria Paulovna, Dowager Grand-duchess of Saxe-Weimar; Anne Paulovna, widow of William II., King of Holland. And a sister-in-law—Helen Paulovna, widow of the Grand-duke Michael, and daughter of the late Prince Paul of Wirtemberg. This lady's daughter, the Grand-duchess Catherine Michaelovna, is married to the Duke George of Mecklenburg-Strelitz."

CHAPTER LXXII.

ACCESSION OF ALEXANDER II. TO THE THRONE OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE.—INAUGURATION OF HIS POLICY.

"When a wicked policy is hereditary in a court, and sustains itself under better and worse princes alike, this is the greatest of all testimonies that the dynasty is incurably evil."—*Crimes of the House of Hapsburgh.*

THE powerful Emperor of all the Russias, Nicholas I., was consigned to the sepulchre of his fathers, and—

"Left a name at which the world grew pale,  
To point a moral or adorn a tale."

His tomb will be long honoured by true Russians as the shrine of a departed saint, but the traveller and philosopher will often gaze upon his gorgeous yet gloomy resting-place, and, pondering upon the vanity of human power, feel the sentiment of the poet—

"First of the mighty! can it be  
That this is all remains of thee?"

The eldest of his sons, Alexander, ascended the imperial throne, and did everything in his power to impress his subjects with the idea of the identity of his views with those of their departed chief. He declared publicly, what had not been previously known nor suspected, that he had been for ten years in the secret counsels of his father, and had given his approval of all the acts of policy which during that time the departed czar had put forth. The general opinion of him was that he in many respects resembled his uncle Alexander; that he was more mild than his august sire; was more in favour of the German party in the empire; was less ambitious than any of his family, and as a matter both of taste and duty, preferred peace. The new emperor hastened to correct such opinions, by declaring in language as strong as any ever employed by Nicholas, that he would stand by the policy handed down to him by his predecessors; that the glory, honour, and territorial aggrandisement of Russia, and the maintenance of the orthodox church, would engage all his ambition, and be the objects of his existence. It was alleged that the discovery of a powerful conspiracy among the high Muscovite party, to set him aside, and place his brother Constantine on the throne in his stead, compelled him to adopt this course, which was against his own desires; and it was further alleged equally against the private recommendations of the dying Nicholas, who was represented as saying, "Make peace at whatever sacrifice; France, backed by English fleets and English gold, will throw her numerous legions upon the empire, and if necessary pass over Prussia to the heart of our power. I made a great mistake in thinking that France and England would never unite; it was a fatal error, but I

never could have supposed so unlikely an alliance." Whether these words were really ever uttered by the expiring czar, they certainly express what must have been his reflections.

Whether Alexander had secretly determined to adopt the policy thus expressed it is impossible to say; but he deemed it necessary to the stability of his throne to prolong the war, and to pledge himself in the face of Europe that he would abide by the policy of his forefathers. By it he did abide, until the arms of the allies conquered peace.

By the grace of God, we, Alexander II., Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, King of Poland, &c.,

To all our faithful subjects make known:—

In his impenetrable ways, it has pleased God to strike us all with a blow as terrible as it was unexpected. After a short but serious illness, which in the last days developed itself with unheard-of rapidity, our beloved father, the Emperor Nicholas Paulovitch, expired this day, February 18th (March 2nd). Words cannot express our grief, which will be also the grief of all our faithful subjects. We submit with resignation to the impenetrable view of Divine Providence. We seek consolation only in it, and from it alone do we expect the necessary strength to support the load which it has pleased, the Almighty to impose upon us. In the same manner as our beloved father, whose loss we weep, devoted all his efforts and every moment of his life to the labours and cares claimed by the welfare of his subjects,—in like manner do we also, at this sad but grave and solemn moment, in ascending our hereditary throne of the empire of Russia, and of the kingdom of Poland, and of the grand-duchy of Finland, which are inseparable from it, take before the invisible God, always present at our side, the sacred engagement never to have any other object than the prosperity of our country. May Providence, which has called us to this high mission, may we, under its guidance and protection, consolidate Russia in the highest degree of power and glory; that through us may be accomplished the views and the desires of our illustrious predecessors, Peter, Catherine, Alexander the well-beloved, and of our august father of imperishable memory!

By their proved zeal, by their prayers, united with fervour to ours before the altars of the Most High, our dear subjects will come to our aid. We invite them to do so, ordering them at the same time to take the oath of allegiance to us, and also to our heir, his imperial highness the Czarovitch Grand-duke Nicholas Alexandrovitch.

Given at St. Petersburg, the 18th day of the month of February (2nd March), 1855, and of our reign the first.

ALEXANDER.

He also addressed the following orders of the day, dated March 3rd, to the Russian army:—

1. Valiant warriors, faithful defenders of church, and throne, and fatherland!—It has pleased Almighty God to visit us with a most severe and heavy loss. Our common father and benefactor has been taken from us. In the midst of indefatigable cares for the welfare of Russia and the glory of the Russian arms, my beloved father, the Emperor Nicholas Paulovitch, has passed away to eternal life.

His last words were—"I thank my glorious faithful

guard, that saved Russia in 1825; I thank the brave and faithful army and fleet. I pray to God that He will preserve in them constantly the same bravery, the same spirit for which they have distinguished themselves under me. As long as this spirit exists, the peace of the empire is secured from within and without, and then woe to its foes! I have loved my troops as my own children, and have endeavoured, as only I could, to improve their state. If I have not succeeded in everything, it was not for want of the desire, but because I either did not know better, or was not able to do more."

May you preserve for ever these memorable words in your hearts as the proof of his sincere love for you, which I, in the fullest degree, participate in, and as the pledge of your devotion to me and Russia.

2. Valiant warriors! Stanch comrades in arms of your illustrious leader, now resting in God!—You have impressed on your hearts the last expression of his tender, fatherly love for you. As a remembrance of this love, I confer on you, troops of the guard, 1st corps of cadets, and grenadier regiment (Suwarrow), the uniforms that his majesty the emperor, your benefactor, was pleased to wear. Preserve this pledge, and may it be held by you as a relic—as a memento to future generations.

I further order:—1. In the companies and squadrons which have hitherto borne the name of his imperial majesty, all ranks shall wear on their epaulettes and shoulder-pieces the initials of the Emperor Nicholas I., as long as there is one man left of those on the rolls of the army February 18th, 1855 (March 2nd). 2. The generals attached to the person of his imperial majesty, and also the general and flügel adjutants of his majesty, shall retain these initials in all cases where they formerly had them.

Thus may the hallowed remembrance of Nicholas I. for ever be perpetuated in our ranks, and may it be a terror to the enemy and the glory of the fatherland.

It will be observed that the emperor makes no scruple of describing to the nobles a set of last words as from his father, in which they are represented as the subjects of his dying thoughts; while in his order of the day to the army they are represented as nearest the emperor's heart, and the love of them on his lips as he was about to cease from speech for ever. With such tricks, no matter how solemn the occasion, the Russian throne and government did not disdain to carry out the vile and selfish policy of the imperial *régime*.

The nobles had presented a memorial and loyal declaration to the deceased czar, to which he did not survive long enough to make a formal and public reply. The new emperor met the deputation from that illustrious body, and thus answered on his own behalf and on that of his father their previous address:—"I desired to see you in order to transmit to you the words of our defunct benefactor—of my father, for ever memorable. He was so weak that he was not able himself to read the expression of your sentiments, and I was charged with that duty. Your zeal, gentlemen, consoled his last moments. After having heard all, he said to me, 'Thank them—thank them sincerely, and tell them that I never doubted of their devotedness, and that at present I am more than ever persuaded of it!' And, accordingly, now I thank you, gentlemen; and I am persuaded that these words will be deeply engraved in

your minds. I am persuaded that the nobility will prove that they are a noble class in every sense of the word, and advanced in everything that is good. You do not lose courage; I am with you, and you are with me!" Here the emperor made the sign of the cross, and continued—"God be with us! We will not dishonour the Russian soil!" He then embraced the marshal of the nobility, and said, "In your person, I once again thank the nobility! Adieu, gentlemen—may God be with you!"

On the 7th of March the diplomatic corps assembled to do honour to his majesty's accession, to whom he delivered the following speech, which he was described as delivering with great energy, and especially in its more warlike portions, when his countenance gleamed, and his whole manner indicated that he inherited the fanaticism as well as the policy of his father, or desired to simulate both:—"I am persuaded, gentlemen, that all your courts feel sincere sorrow at the misfortune which has befallen us; I have already received proofs of it from all sides; they have greatly moved me, and I stated yesterday to the ministers of Prussia and Austria how much I appreciated them. I solemnly declare here before you, gentlemen, that I remain faithful to all the sentiments of my father, and that I will persevere in the line of political principles which served as a rule to my uncle, the Emperor Alexander, and to my father. These principles are those of the holy alliance. But, if that alliance no longer exists, it is certainly not the fault of my father. His intentions were always upright and loyal; and, if recently they were misunderstood by some persons, I do not doubt that God and history will do him justice. I am ready to contribute to a good understanding, on the conditions which he accepted. Like him, I desire peace, and wish to see the evils of war terminated; but if the conferences which are about to open at Vienna do not lead to a result honourable for us, then, gentlemen, at the head of my faithful Russia, I will combat with the whole nation, and I will perish sooner than yield. As to my personal sentiments for my sovereign (here the emperor addressed Baron de Werther, minister of Prussia), they have not varied. I have never doubted the fraternal affection and friendship which his majesty the king always had for my father, and I told you yesterday how grateful I am to him for it. I am deeply sensible of the kind words which the emperor has caused to be transmitted to me on this occasion. (This was addressed to Count Esterhazy, minister of Austria.) His majesty cannot doubt the sincere affection which my father entertained for him at an epoch which he himself has recalled by the order of the day addressed to his army. Be kind enough, gentle-





Engraved by W. Holl.

PETER THE GREAT.

*From a Bust by G. Kneller. Engraved by J. Kneller.*

men, to communicate my words to your respective courts."

The policy which the new czar boasted as hereditary, is contained in what is called the "Will of Peter the Great." At the death of the Czar Nicholas it was printed and circulated extensively; and although it is to be doubted whether Peter actually left it as a legacy to his successors, there can be no doubt that they have acted upon it, and that ever since the death of Peter this document has been cherished in Russia as his political testament, and he only is considered a true Russian who subscribes to the national rule of political guidance it lays down. Whoever is cognisant of this fact, and studies the document, will be at no loss to comprehend the eager love of conquest which invenoms the heart of the whole people. In a German work, entitled *Geschichte Peters des Grossen*, von Eduard Pels, the document is thus given. The authority on which it was published was that of the notorious Chevalier d'Éon, French ambassador at the court of St. Petersburg in the year 1757:—

#### WILL OF PETER THE GREAT.

"In the name of the holy and indivisible Trinity, we Peter, Emperor and Autocrat of all the Russias, to all our successors on the throne and in the government of the Russian nation."

After the usual preliminaries to testaments, and a preamble setting forth that Providence had evidently designed Russia to be the conqueror and ruler of Europe, and of the world, he lays down the following rules for the attainment of that object:—

#### RULES.

"1. The Russian nation must be constantly in a war footing, to keep the soldiers warlike and in good condition. No rest must be allowed except for the purpose of relieving the state finances, recruiting the army, or biding the favourable moment for attack. By these means peace is made subservient to war, and war to peace, in the interest of the aggrandisement and increasing prosperity of Russia.

"2. Every possible means must be used to derive, from the most cultivated European states, commanders in war, and philosophers in peace, to enable the Russian nation to participate in the advantages of other countries without losing any of its own.

"3. No opportunity must be lost of taking part in the affairs and disputes of Europe, especially in those of Germany, which, from its vicinity, is of the most direct interest to us.

"4. Poland must be divided by keeping up instant jealousies and confusions there. The authorities must be gained over with money, and the assemblies corrupted, so as to influence

the election of the kings. We must get up a party of our own there, send Russian troops into the country, and let them sojourn there so long that they may ultimately find some pretext for remaining there for ever. Should the neighbouring states make difficulties, we must appease them for the moment by allowing them a share of the territory until we can safely resume what we have thus given away.

"5. We must take away as much territory as possible from Sweden, and contrive that they shall attack us first, so as to give us a pretext for their subjugation. With this object in view, we must keep Sweden in opposition to Denmark, and Denmark to Sweden, and sedulously foster their mutual jealousies.

"6. The consorts of the Russian princes must always be chosen from among the German princesses, in order to multiply our family alliances with the Germans, and so unite our interests with theirs; and thus, by consolidating our influence in Germany, to cause it to attach itself spontaneously to our policy.

"7. We must be careful to keep up our commercial alliance with England, for she is the power which has most need of our products for her navy, and at the same time may be of the greatest service to us in the development of our own. We must export wood and other articles in exchange for her gold, and establish permanent connections between her merchants and seamen and our own.

"8. We must keep steadily extending our frontiers—northward along the Baltic, and southward along the shores of the Black Sea.

"9. We must progress as much as possible in the direction of Constantinople and India. He who can once get possession of these places is the real ruler of the world. With this view we must provoke constant quarrels at one time with Turkey and at another with Persia. We must establish wharfs and docks in the Euxine, and by degrees make ourselves masters of that sea as well as of the Baltic, which is a doubly important element in the success of our plan. We must hasten the downfall of Persia, push on into the Persian Gulf; if possible re-establish the ancient commercial intercourse with the Levant through Syria, and force our way into the Indies, which are the storehouses of the world. Once there, we can dispense with English gold.

"10. Moreover, we must take pains to establish and maintain an intimate union with Austria, apparently countenancing her schemes for future aggrandisement in Germany, and all the while secretly rousing the jealousy of the minor states against her. In this way we must bring it to pass that one or the other

party shall seek aid from Russia; and thus we shall exercise a sort of protectorate over the country, which will pave the way for future supremacy.

"11. We must make the house of Austria interested in the expulsion of the Turks from Europe, and we must neutralise its jealousy at the capture of Constantinople either by pre-occupying it with a war with the old European states, or by allowing it a share of the spoil, which we can afterwards resume at our leisure.

"12. We must collect round our house as round a centre, all the detached sections of Greeks which are scattered abroad in Hungary, Turkey, and South Poland. We must make them look to us for support, and, then, by establishing beforehand a sort of ecclesiastical supremacy, we shall pave the way for universal sovereignty.

"13. When Sweden is ours, Persia vanquished, Poland subjugated, Turkey conquered—when our armies are united, and the Euxine and the Baltic are in the possession of our ships, then we must make separate and secret overtures first to the court of Versailles, and then to that of Vienna, to share with them the dominion of the world. If either of them accept our propositions, which is certain to happen if their ambition and self-interest are properly worked upon, we must make use of this one to annihilate the other; this done, we have only to destroy the remaining one by finding a pretext for a quarrel, the issue of which cannot be doubtful, as Russia will then be already in the absolute possession of the East and of the best part of Europe.

"14. Should the improbable case happen of both rejecting the propositions of Russia—then our policy will be to set one against the other, and make them tear each other to pieces. Russia must then watch for and seize the favourable moment, and pour her already assembled hosts into Germany, while two immense fleets, laden with Asiatic hordes and conveyed by the armed squadrons of the Euxine and the Baltic, set sail simultaneously from the Sea of Azoff and the harbour of Archangel. Sweeping along the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, they will overrun France on the one side, while Germany is overpowered on the other. When these countries are fully conquered, the rest of Europe must fall easily and without a struggle under our yoke. Thus Europe can and must be subjugated."

In the spirit of that extraordinary document the czars had ruled and plotted ever since the days of Peter, and Alexander was not, apparently, desirous to become the first exception.

The call to take the oath of allegiance was promptly answered through all the multifarious

nations that own his sway, and various remarkable scenes were presented on the occasion. A letter dated Warsaw, the 15th of March, says—"During the last four days our city presented a truly solemn aspect. The churches of all the Christian communities were full of people, who, in compliance with the last imperial manifesto, took the oath of allegiance to the Emperor Alexander II. and the hereditary Grand-duke Nicholas Alexandrowitsch. Yesterday was the turn of the Jews, who flocked in great numbers for the same purpose to their synagogues. I must relate to you a little incident which took place on the occasion. According to the law, every male inhabitant from the age of twelve is obliged to swear allegiance. The Catholic clergy of both worship did not object to that formality; but the pastor Ludwig superintendent-general of the Lutheran church in the kingdom, publicly declared in the oratory, and in presence of the persons delegated to assist at the ceremony, that he could not allow his parishioners to swear before their confirmation."

As in Moscow so everywhere, from the Black Sea to the White Sea, in the czar's extensive dominions scenes of solemnity were presented while the vast populations crowded before the places of magisterial assembly to invoke Heaven as to their loyalty to the Emperor of all the Russias and King of Poland and Finland.

Foreign courts paid their respects according to their accustomed forms, but the German monarchs showed an intense desire to conciliate the new authority. The King of Prussia was of course first in the race: a prince of the royal house carried his majesty's condolence for the loss of the august Nicholas, and his fervent wishes for the auspicious reign of the new monarch. Austria resorted to every form of mean flattery, and almost cringing vassalage to conciliate Alexander's goodwill: an arch-duke was sent with the most humble words and studied compliments. One of the first scenes which his royal highness was called upon to witness, was an assemblage of the chiefs of different departments of the state to present their duty to the emperor, to whom his majesty offered the assurance, in the hearing of the Austrian envoy—"I am determined to march in the way traced out by my father."

The arch-duke must have been greatly chagrined, for the *Court Journal* of Vienna has just published the following piece of flattery by authority:—

"The melancholy tidings which we yesterday evening communicated to the public have filled all hearts with sorrow. Recent occurrences have led to dissensions; there have been differences of opinion as to the duties of the various powers in regard to the events in the East; there have been conflicting opinions."

the course of action which the state of affairs requires: but all these matters have been cast to the background by the painful feeling caused by the great loss which the whole of Europe has suffered by the decease of one of its most highly gifted sovereigns. The reign of the emperor, which lasted almost thirty years, is one of the most brilliant periods in the history of Russia, and the name and memory of the defunct monarch is intimately connected with all those important events which have occurred within that long and momentous space of time. No one will be so prejudiced as to refuse to acknowledge, and that with the deepest gratitude, the great services rendered by the late Emperor Nicholas to the cause of order, legality, and of the monarchical principle, which together form the great pillars of the European family of states. But Austria, which yesterday, as the anniversary of the death of the Emperor Francis (1835), had such a vivid recollection of its affliction at the loss of that memorable paternal ruler, is particularly struck that, by a singular dispensation of Providence, Russia should on the very same day receive such a heavy blow, and that it should to both empires be a date attended with sorrowful recollections.

"The only alleviation that can be found for the painful impression which the astounding news has caused, is in the thought of the estimable qualities of the eldest son and successor of the Emperor Nicholas, the Emperor Alexander II.

"It is confidently to be expected that the monarch who has now ascended the throne of his deceased father will realise the sanguine hopes which are placed in him, as well in his own great empire as in the rest of the world; and that the work of peace just commenced—which was rendered possible by the honourable advances made by the defunct sovereign—will, from a feeling of filial devotion, be brought to a happy issue by the mild and propitiatory spirit of Alexander II."

The Austrian emperor published an order of the day to his army, in which, after eulogising the virtues of the Emperor Nicholas, he proclaimed that the Austrian cuirassier regiment "Emperor Nicholas" should retain that title forever.

In England it appeared that the government first had some hopes of immediate overtures of peace, for Lord Clarendon having announced the death of Nicholas to the House of Peers, requested Lord Lyndhurst to withdraw an important motion concerning the war, expressing the hope that the event which had just been announced, would materially and favourably influence the negotiations for peace about to be opened at Vienna.

Meanwhile the new autocrat put forth all his energies to continue his father's work: throughout the empire decree after decree was directed to promote the consolidation of his power; and the home administration received a new impulse in the direction of making every part of the empire more formally Russian. It was the remarkable saying of Uwaroff, one of the ministers of Nicholas—"In order that an empire so colossal may work harmoniously, that parts of such manifold variety, though tinged probably with their own peculiarities, *may be fused into a whole*, it is indispensably requisite to establish one language and one form of administration for all. The bases of Russian power are the three foundation-stones of—*absolute monarchy, Russo-Sclavonic nationality, and orthodox Greek Christianity.*" It appeared to be the new czar's intention, even in the midst of war, to realise practically this theory, for all the home measures of his government were taken in that spirit.

After a little delay, the true state of things in Russia as to the war and foreign policy became known in the West. From intelligence which afterwards transpired, it became certain that the departed czar had foreseen the defeat of Russia in the Crimea, and that his successor partook of his foresight. The late emperor, when losing his hold of all earthly things, gave up only from the last grasp his projects of territorial aggrandisement for the Russian nation. He became politically sagacious when the delirium of his ambition was checked, and the delusion of an irresistible power and glory dispelled. But the Grand-duke Constantine inherited all his sire's self-will and ambition without any of the wisdom which chastisement imparted, and he menaced his brother with a military revolution if at the approaching conference of Vienna an inch of Russian territory were surrendered, however acquired, or held by whatever claim. The nobles were suffering from the abstraction of their serfs to fill the ranks of the army, but they bore their sacrifices nobly, and supported the policy of their deceased czar. The merchants suffered yet more, and ruin fell upon many—the bankrupt murmured not, and the still wealthy gave freely to the national treasury for the prosecution of the war. Whatever the sacrifices, and even sufferings, of many classes, there was after all a party strong enough to give force to the menaces of Constantine, who was at that time resolved, like Samson, to bring down all in ruins around him, if he could thereby crush the enemy that mocked his strength. The chief resource of the war and the war party was the priests. The church freely poured out its hoarded treasures, and all persons were for war whom the priests could either alarm or beguile. The god of Russia, like the eagle on its standard, has

two heads—it is the god of bigotry and oppression, and from each head the sound went forth over the steppes and plains, and forests and regions of the empire—"My voice is still for war." The aged nobles were very religious, and the aged princesses and countesses were still more religious, and they supported a conflict which was waged for the holy places. Such were the wealthy and aged representatives of modern titles, who could do no more than toddle or drive to the Greek mass, or stand by and see the flogging of a serf. The priests had the ear and heart of all that class. Then there was the old nobility, in the proud sense of the term—they were also for war. Many of them, notwithstanding their characteristic extravagance, were rich. They were generally either freethinkers or devotees, and in the extreme of the one or the other. They were alike jealous of the honour of Russia, and loved her glory. The freethinkers among them had no principle in the matter, unless the love of national and personal renown be one. The devotees had *one* principle—the universal power and authority of the orthodox church; and all this class regarded their own form of government as alone suited to Russia, and believed that Russia was suited to the world. They considered that the princes of Russia ought to have grand hotels in Paris, and palaces on the Bosphorus, and that the centre of European civilisation, and the shores of the Golden Horn, should own them lords. The officials were all for continuing the contest. New provinces require new governors, and new offices of all sorts, and such persons, therefore, must profit by conquest. To lose provinces would be to narrow their sphere—they must extend their empire in order to live. The poor regarded the war as God's war, and their sufferings as a martyrdom for the true faith—for which they were ever willing. The emperor had none to rely upon as a peace party, except a small section of eminent statesmen, and the peoples of the newly-vanquished provinces, who had no wish to extend Russian glory. Yet, among these—Poles, Fins, Germans, Tartars, &c.—there were many who desired the war to go on, in the hopes that their provinces might be swept of Russian troops by their powerful and victorious enemies. The emperor, however peaceably disposed, could do nothing for peace until Russian arms experienced more decided reverses. Russia could still afford to make great sacrifices, and endure great losses, if she could only hold her own in the Crimea. If she did not possess a single port in Asia beyond the Cuban river, and made it and the Terek her line of defence, so long as she maintained her great fortresses on the Baltic and in the Crimea, she could bid defiance to her foes. Surrounded by weak states and peoples, she

could never fear temporary reverse, unless enemy made those states and nations str against her.

It was from this circumstance of great consequence, in regulating our policy with the power, to be well acquainted with the condition of the nations that skirt so wide a boundary, that, in case of war, or of a policy to prevent war being requisite, we might know what alliances to form, and where to strike. Almost all races out of Africa touched the fringe of the empire over which Alexander had just passed forth his sceptre, and the rites of nearly all religions are celebrated upon its frontier. Like a sea, it rises above all their landmarks, and their thrones and altars are engulfed. As the wolves upon her own wild steppes, and the equally ravenous Cossacks, armed in her service, prowled fiercely in quest of prey along her far-encircling bounds. The Russian armies were thrown in masses, or scattered in forts, along this great circuit, and were always on the *qui vive* for an expedition over its borders. Bounded by the Caspian Sea and Asia on the East, by the Baltic Sea and Europe on the west, and by the Black Sea and Africa on the south, she is just in the situation which gives her scope for conquest; while her northern boundary being the Arctic Ocean, she has nothing to apprehend, if she has nothing to conquer, in that direction.

We are too much accustomed to think of the ruler of this empire, when speculating upon its future possible or probable conquests; the temper of the people should have been much considered in any sound speculations in reference to Russian aggression. The czars have been of all sorts of characters, ranging from the indifferently good, as in the case of Alexander, down to the sagacious and energetic ruler Peter the Great, the able and unprincipled Catherine, or the frantic yet subtle, fanatical yet hypocritical, ruler of her recent destinies; but the people have been essentially the same, and the people were the real aggressors in the war, and in every war that had for its object the subjugation of contiguous territory. Bigoted, avaricious, cruel, and ambitious, there is no enterprise which a zealot or a robber on a large scale might prompt, which they have not hearts to attempt. If the emperor be unscrupulous, the people are still more so; if the emperor be despotic, the Russian heart is even more despotic. The secret that crouch love the forms of tyranny to crush them. Their despot is their idol; break the idol—as it has often been broken—and they will set up another in form and figure like it. They may hate and avenge the policy of a particular czar, but they will at once kiss the foot that steps over his strangled body to the vacated throne. It was not Nicholas, the

was the Russians with whom we warred, and who sought, through blood, plunder, and persecution, a universal dominion for him who was but the impersonation of all that Russia adored, in proportion as the zealot, the oppressor, and the plunderer were branded on his brow.

We have heard and read much of the hospitality and kindness of Russians to travellers on their territory, but they would all the while rejoice that their master invaded that traveller's land, made captives of his family and countrymen, and demolished the temples of their worship.

The new emperor made every effort to secure the goodwill of the notabilities of his empire. He summoned to his capital the Grand-duchess Olga (whose leanings to the English were no secret), and her husband, the Prince-royal of Wirtemberg; an autograph letter was sent to lieutenant-general Vetovtsoff, an influential person in the army, and the letter was accompanied by a snuff-box, set with diamonds and the imperial portrait; a similar letter and present was afterwards sent to Lieutenant-general Rostovtsoff. Various great changes were made in the military commands. General Berg was appointed military governor of Finland; Aide-de-camp General Baron de Leiven was appointed quartermaster-general of the imperial staff; and throughout the empire commands and promotions were given to those officers whose allegiance it was deemed desirable to secure.

The emperor's attention was said to be constantly directed to the Crimea, and among those in his confidence, it was the subject of perpetual and uneasy conversation. There appeared to be a singular providence in making that place the scene of Russian humiliation. Her most unprincipled intrigues and violations of treaty were in respect to it, and she lavished her resources there, to make it the basis of her power for the conquest of the East. She only required with it to secure the sovereignty of the Caucasus, and then the three great Eastern Empires—Persia, Turkey, and British India—were prizes of which she would feel ultimately sure. China and Japan would follow Persia and Turkey, in all probability before India fell from her sword, for to these far-off regions Russian ambition was directed. An especial treaty had been lately made with Japan, and she had within a short time plundered China of a vast area of territory. With the Caucasus and the Crimea behind her, Russia could make the Caucasus a base from which to conquer Central Asia, and finally lay another base of operations for the conquest of India, within fourteen days' march of the British possessions. To do any of these things it was essential to hold the Crimea. Driven from both the Caucasus

and the Crimea, her imperial greatness would vanish—

“And, like the baseless fabric of a vision,  
Leave not a rack behind.”

It is perhaps scarcely a digression to offer the opinion—however diplomatists have since decreed otherwise—that no peace should have been made with Russia until driven from Bessarabia and the Crimea, and Podolia were in that direction fixed as her boundary; while in Asia she should have been driven from all her possessions south of the Cuban river, and any advance beyond it should be regarded as a declaration of war against the civilised world. If permitted to hold any point at all upon the seaboard of the Black Sea (considering the Sea of Azoff as an arm of that sea) it should only be at the mouth of the Don; although it would be well for the safety of Europe to hold the gulf of the Sea of Azoff and the mouth of the Don, even as Russia herself has controlled the Delta of the Danube. To avoid all jealousies among the European powers in respect of her, there ought to be raised up a barrier of independent states between her and the rest of Europe.

However these things may be, or ought to be, the Emperor Alexander regarded the Crimea with admitted alarm, as draining out the resources of his country. His Cossacks had cleared the various countries, wherever they came, of food, horses, and provender, except the granaries and public stores, which were still filled with vast supplies for his forces. The emperor determined on changes in the command in that direction. Prince Menshikov, who had been seriously wounded in the leg, was recalled. His furious fanaticism against the allies almost amounted to monomania. Prince Gortschakoff was placed in command of the eastern portion of the Crimea, from Theodosia and Arabat to Kertch. The recall of Prince Menshikov excited astonishment all over Russia, as the Russian people and the private soldiers considered him the most skilful of all Russian generals and diplomatists, although Europe generally formed a very different estimate. He had, however, fallen into disgrace—the new emperor having been all along convinced that most of the disasters, diplomatic and military, which Russia had experienced were to be attributed to him. It was suitable that this man should be removed from confidence, if the new emperor had any wish to leave the impression in Europe that his mind was open to any proposals for peace. The necessity for his removal, on the ground of his mental and physical state, was however imperative; and here again retributive providence seemed to pursue the authors and chief abettors of this war. It is impossible

for any mind at all reflecting to overlook the hand of God in these transactions, and the workings of a mysterious providence throughout. What but a providential blindness could have influenced Menschikoff in leaving the landing of the allies in the Crimea unopposed, or Balaklava and Eupatoria unfortified and insufficiently occupied? Upon the chance that France and England could not coalesce, a war was risked by Russia against odds before which, humanly speaking, she must fall. Trusting to the gratitude of Austria—a power that was never grateful, that keeps no treaties, and observes no oaths—Russia sent her armies into the Dobrudscha, to be broken before Silistria, and to reel back discomfited and plague-smitten through the swamps of the Danube. No matter, for the purpose of these reflections, who originated the war: Napoleon, at the instance of England, withdrew his pretensions about the Holy Sepulchre, although the Latins have older treaty-claims than the Greeks; and Nicholas, refusing to meet that concession, where claims so strong existed, insisted upon guarantees for his own influence utterly subversive of Ottoman independence. He began the war like a fool, he waged it like a fanatic: he treated superior powers as if he were their conqueror, and received from their victories over his hosts that chagrin and despair which drove his spirit from the world. The war killed the Emperor Nicholas, and he was the author of it, however the demands of Napoleon may have been the pretext, or the occasion.

The fate of Prince Menschikoff is not less remarkable. He was the emperor's messenger to the Porte, and never did a message-bearer from kings play a part so arrogant and unwarrantable, or pursue a course so calculated to embroil his master with all around him. Wounded and sick, this messenger of blood and tyranny was carried away from the scene of contest; while, like his master, successive despatches of ignominious defeat and bitter disappointment smote his spirit, rendered him unfit for future service, and sent him an invalid to a monastery at Moscow. Nor was it the least remarkable among these strange providences that a small battery, the smallest in all the attack, recently erected by one of the Western allies, and worked and manned by the other, performed *its only achievement* by sinking the *Gromonozets* (*Thunderer*), the very ship which bore Menschikoff on his mission of haughty defiance to Constantinople, just as he himself sunk into decrepitude, whither the missile of those enemies consigned him. The most skilful operations of the Turks had been conducted by the Egyptian contingent, and the men of this contingent signalled themselves by greater bravery than any other section of the Mohammedan armies: it was to Russian

interference solely that the defeat of Mehmed Ali and his Egyptians was attributable, in 1841—for had not the czar interfered, other powers would not. Thus the policy of Russia in the past, by subjecting Egypt to the Porte, prepared for herself at this juncture a formidable foe.

Whatever were the reflections of the emperor, he set himself vigorously to accomplish all that was possible of what his father had undertaken: he therefore reinforced his army in the Crimea, replenished its stores, recalled the least efficient of its officers, and promoted Todtleben, to whose genius the skilful defence of Sebastopol was attributable, and rewarded officers and men there with a liberal hand. He attempted too much, and undertook some tasks that had proved too great for his father, and would probably prove ultimately too great for himself. Some of these were much to be commended: among them was the eradication of official bribery, peculation, and partiality, from both the civil and military services. The correspondent of the *Independent* Parisian paper, in a letter from St. Petersburg, thus writes upon the subject:—

“In my letters I have often alluded to the fraud and corruption which is the death of Russia. This evil is so rooted, it extends widely to every branch of the service of the czar's army, that the troops, despite the efforts of the sovereign, are in want of nearly every thing. I was assured a few days since by Alexander II., despite the usual mildness of his character, got into a regular fury on learning what took place, and resolved to act with extreme severity against any person, no matter what his rank, found guilty of fraud. I love the country well, and all his power will be of any avail to put a stop to these abuses. The evil is too deep-rooted in the Muscovite soil. All will combine together to deceive the most vigilant eye.

“The subjoined few facts of recent occurrence, the exactitude of which I guarantee, will show you the extent of the evil.

“A Livonian officer of very good family, trusted with the provisioning of the army in Taurus, went from province to province buying oxen, cows, and sheep, which he had sent to Odessa and Cherson. Wishing to make a nice fortune, he hit upon the following fraud. He proposed to some of the peasants to leave their cattle for a consideration agreed upon. The cattle were booked as delivered, and he gave a false receipt for the price of them. He then put them down as ‘died on the road.’ By this means he pocketed—first, the money of the peasants; secondly, the money of the government. It was clever, but not honest. Suspicions were at last aroused. When it was mentioned to the czar he would not at first

believe that one of his superior officers was capable of committing a crime the consequences of which to the army were incalculable. The rumours, however, grew so loud that a serious investigation was ordered. The officer was commanded to proceed immediately to headquarters at Odessa. He was not so slow as not to smell a rat. He felt some hesitation at obeying the order, but overnight he hit upon a plan, and, while staying at an hotel near Odessa, his room caught fire so cleverly that the flames, which purify all things, destroyed the accounts. He arrived at headquarters with a certificate that his papers were burnt. What more could be exacted? We are assured that the fire spared the roubles in his pouch. He was acquitted. Poor fellow! as Molière would say.

"Another anecdote, the truth of which I will guarantee:—A dealer in flour, in the vicinity of Kiev, provides some thousand sacks of flour to the commander of the place, and asks an exorbitant price. He is refused payment. He is brought up for usury and fraud. The affair is a serious one; he is liable to a very severe penalty and a journey to Siberia in perspective. He was as calm, however, as if conscience was pure and his cause a good one. At the appointed day he appeared before the judge, and proved by his books, A plus B, that to accept the supply the officers had exacted for themselves 80,000 silver roubles, or 240,000 francs. Very flattering this for the officers of the Russian army! The trader was acquitted and his honour saved; the money was paid; he gained nothing on the transaction.

"Everywhere, at the very steps of the throne, the most audacious robberies are committed. The Emperor Alexander I. said that his sailors would steal his guns if they dared; Alexander II. observed the other day that his attendants would steal his breeches if they had the opportunity. The following gave rise to the observation:—Among the emperor's household there is a chamberlain silversmith, who has the care of the crown plate. He has a dozen 'tehinowiches' under him. For some time these gentlemen have amused themselves by passing the plate through acids, by which process a considerable portion of the silver was taken off, which they afterwards transformed into a solid state by a chymical process. This robbery had been carried on for a long time before it was discovered. But as all were equally guilty, no culprit could be found for want of proof. The crown plate has been ordered to be melted down and recast.

"The *bourgeois* and merchants are not personally subjected to the recruiting tax, but they have to pay 500f. for each recruit asked for them. Thus they provide as many soldiers

per thousand merchants as the nobles provide per thousand peasants. This tax brings in a considerable revenue to the crown. The number of merchants in the whole extent of the empire amounts to about 150,000, and as the state has already levied about sixty men per thousand, it results that the merchants have had to pay about 400,000,000f. Thus, however good Russians they may be, the *bourgeois* are beginning to find the war taxes somewhat heavy.

"The populations who suffer most from this state of things are precisely those who entertain the least sympathy for Russia—for instance, Finland, Livonia, Esthonia, Courland, Poland, and the Southern provinces, which are almost exclusively inhabited by Tartars and Mussulmans. The provinces of the Baltic particularly are weighed down by taxes. Whatever may be said about the Russian party carrying on the war to the last man and the last rouble, the government will have to consult a little the Catholics, the Protestants, and the Mussulmans, who united form more than one-third of the population of the empire, and who have certainly a right to be heard in the matter."

Reform in the administration of public affairs, and especially in the finance of the empire, became a pressing necessity for the new monarch. The treasury was very low, and willing as the people were to maintain the war, their means of doing so were very sensibly impaired. A report was spread through Europe that the emperor was obliged to sell the crown diamonds, at the suggestion and with the urgent advice of his chancellerie. Some account of these jewels will doubtless interest our readers:—"The crown treasury of the czars at Moscow contains precious stones of considerable amount. The two most considerable are diamonds, one the size of a pigeon's egg rose-cut. The Russians have given it the name of the Orloff. The other has the form of an irregular prism, and is of the size and almost the length of a little finger; it bears the name of the Shah, and its history is as follows:—It formerly belonged to the Sophis, and was one of two enormous diamonds which ornamented the throne of Nadir Shah, and which were designated by the Persians by the names of 'Sun of the Sea,' and 'Moon of the Mountains.' When Nadir was assassinated his treasures were pillaged, and his precious stones divided among a few soldiers, who carefully concealed them. An Armenian named Shafras resided at that period at Bussora with his two brothers. One day an Afghan came to him, and offered for sale the large diamond, 'the Moon of the Mountains,' as well as an emerald, a ruby of fabulous size, a sapphire of the finest water, called by the Persians the 'Eye of

Allah,' and a number of other stones, for the whole of which he asked such a moderate sum that Shafras suspected that they had not been honestly come by, and told him to call again, as he had not the money in the house. The Affghan, fearing Shafras was going to act with treachery towards him, left the place and could not again be found, although the three brothers made every search for him. Some years afterwards the elder brother met the man at Bagdad, who told him that he had just sold all his precious stones for 65,000 piastres and a pair of valuable horses. Shafras had the residence of the purchaser, who was a Jew, pointed out to him, and he went to him and offered him double the price he had given for them, but was refused. The three brothers then agreed to murder the Jew and rob him of his purchase, which they did, and on the following day poisoned the Affghan, and threw both the bodies into the river. A dispute soon afterwards arose between the brothers as to the division of the spoil, which terminated in Shafras getting rid of his two brothers by poison, after which he fled to Constantinople, and thence to Holland, where he made known the riches he possessed, and offered them for sale to the different courts of Europe. Catherine II. proposed to buy the Moon of the Mountains only. Shafras was requested to come to Russia, and he was introduced to the court jeweller. The terms demanded by Shafras were—letters of nobility, a life annuity of 10,000 roubles, and 500,000 roubles, payable by equal instalments in ten years. Count Panin, who was then minister, delayed the settlement of the bargain as long as possible, and in the meantime had the Armenian led into such extravagances that he fell into debt, and when the minister found that he had no means of paying what he owed he abruptly broke off the negotiation. Shafras, according to the laws of the country, could not leave until his debts should be paid, and the court jeweller prepared to take advantage of his embarrassments and intended that the diamond should fall into his hands for a fourth of its value. Shafras, however, discovered the trap that had been laid for him, and, disposing of some of the less valuable stones among his countrymen, paid his debts, and disappeared. Agents were sent after him, who had even orders to assassinate and rob him, but he escaped them. Ten years after, while he was at Astracan, renewed offers were made to him, but he refused to enter into any negotiations unless the bargain should be settled at Smyrna. Catherine accepted, and became the possessor of the diamond for letters of nobility, 600,000 roubles, and 170,000 paper roubles, making together about two and a half millions of francs. Shafras, not being able to return to

his country, where he would have had to give an account of two homicides and two fratricides, fixed himself at Astracan, where he married a countrywoman of his, and had seven daughters. One of his sons-in-law poisoned him for the sake of possessing a share of his property. The immense fortune which the murderer had acquired (from ten to twelve millions) was divided, and soon spent by his successors, and several of the grandchildren of Shafras are now living at Astracan in abject misery."

From the descriptions of the emperor's coronation afterwards published in Europe, it would appear that these precious treasures were not parted with, at all events irrecoverably. But it is quite true that very extraordinary and humiliating exertions had to be made to keep up the public credit in a measure, or supply the sinews of war.

The only remaining public act of the emperor, which was of interest beyond the bounds of his own empire, was a manifesto to Europe, through his ministers and agents at foreign courts. It was communicated in the form of a note from the grand-chancellor. It was the first official paper given to Europe by the new emperor, and will therefore be peculiarly interesting to the page of history. Its contents were also felt to be important in every court and cabinet. This document will appropriately close the chapter on the accession of Alexander II. to the imperial throne:—

*St. Petersburg, March 10*

My despatch, of the 2nd inst., will have informed you of the accession of his Majesty the Emperor Alexander II. I also, at the same time, had the honour of sending you the manifesto of our illustrious sovereign, issued the first day of his reign. This document expresses his Majesty's profound sense of the importance of the duties which he is called to fulfil. Those duties have been imposed on him by Divine Providence in the midst of severe trials. Assuming the throne of his ancestors, he beholds Russia involved in a war, the like of which occurring a new reign history cannot produce. Our illustrious sovereign accepts these trials, trusting in God, confident in the unwavering devotedness of his people, and filled with religious reverence for the memory of his much-loved father. In a child-like spirit of piety he accepts as his heritage two obligations, which, in his eyes, are equally sacred. The first demands from his Majesty the employment of all the power which the will of God has placed in his hands for the defence of the integrity and honour of Russia. The second imposes on his Majesty the duty of steadily devoting his care to the completion of that work of peace, the bases of which were sanctioned by the Emperor Nicholas. Faithful to the ideas which predominated in the last dispositions and arrangements of his illustrious father, the emperor has renewed and confirmed the instructions with which the plenipotentiaries of Russia had been provided from December until the time when the Vienna conferences were to have been opened. In this way the intentions of the Emperor Nicholas are certain to be fulfilled. Their aim was—

To restore to Russia and Europe the blessings of peace. To confirm the freedom of worship and the welfare of the Christian peoples of the East without distinction of race. To place the immunities of the principalities under a collective guarantee. To secure the free navigation of the Danube in favour of the trade of all nations. To put

and to the rivalries of the great powers respecting the East, in such manner as to preclude the return of new complications. Finally, to come to an understanding with the great powers respecting the revision of the treaties by which they have recognised the principle of closing the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, and in this way to arrive at an honourable settlement.

A peace concluded upon such a basis as this, since it would terminate the calamities of war, would call forth the blessings of all nations upon the new government. Russia, however, feels deeply, and all Europe must acknowledge the fact, that the hope of a restoration of peace would prove vain, if the conditions of an adjustment would overpass that just limit which a sense of the dignity of the crown led our august lord to fix irrevocably. The emperor will wait tranquilly until the cabinets called together in common with Russia on this question of universal interest for all Christendom shall declare the laws by which their policy will be guided. Our august lord will enter upon these important deliberations in a sincere spirit of concord; this is the declaration which I

am expressly commissioned by his majesty to make to you in his name.

The general instructions with which you are provided prescribe to you the course which you are to continue to follow in your intercourse with the governments to which you are accredited. The emperor, in confirming you in the post to which you were appointed by the grace of his illustrious father, relies implicitly on your fidelity and zeal. It is his desire that on all occasions your conduct and language should bear witness to the loyalty with which Russia regards obligations involving fidelity to treaties; to its constant desire to live on good terms with all allied and friendly powers; and, finally, to its reverence for the inviolability of the rights of every state, as well as its firm resolve to maintain intact and make respected those rights which Divine Providence has entrusted to the emperor in making him the protector of the honour of the nation.

You are instructed to bring this to the knowledge of the court at which you had the honour to represent the Emperor Nicholas of glorious and much-loved memory.

NESSELRÖDE.

## CHAPTER LXXIII.

THE SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL IN MARCH.—PROGRESS OF THE RAILWAY.—IMPROVEMENT OF BALAKLAVA.—RESTORED HEALTH OF THE TROOPS.—ACTIVITY OF THE ENGLISH GENERALS.—UTILITY OF FOREIGN LABOURERS.—PREPARATIONS FOR A NEW BOMBARDMENT.—SORTIES, COMBATS, ETC.

“Dishonour not your mothers,—now attest  
That those whom you call fathers did beget you!  
Be copy now to men of grosser blood,  
And teach them how to war! And you good yeomen,  
Whose limbs were made in England, show us here  
The mettle of your pasture; let us swear  
That you are worth your breeding, which I doubt not,  
For there is none of you so mean and base  
That hath not noble lustre in your eyes.”

SHAKSPEARE.

UPON the progress of the railway from Balaklava to the trenches so much depended, that all intelligence concerning it was eagerly sought and perused in England. Happily it was under the direction of such men as Messrs. Peto and Barry, and the immediate superintendence of Mr. Beattie; for had it been under any government department whatever, it would either have proceeded so slowly as to be of little use, or have altogether failed. Steadily did the work proceed during the whole month of March, and by the opening of the second bombardment in April, material of war was brought up to the very trenches. At the beginning of March, the rail was very useful in carrying up ammunition and guns for portions of the way, which became more and more extended as the month advanced. Commissary-general Filder declined to use it for his purposes, even when nearly finished; alleging that forming a depot at the terminus, unloading the waggons, and in loading mules and men, would increase labour, and consume time, to such a degree as would render the use of the rail no saving to the whole. There was much force in this, the commissary was well provided with other means of transport by this time. He did not object to the commissaries of divisions using the rail, so far as it served them; and they all professed to derive the greatest advantage from it. When the shot, shell, powder, &c.,

were deposited at the temporary termini, as the rail advanced, large parties of muleteers and Highlanders received the burdens and brought them to the lines. The Highlanders were more worked in this way than any other of the troops, which may perhaps account for their indifferent health during this month, especially in the 79th. Many of them carried very oppressive burdens from the railway up to the depot behind the lines. Very early in its operations, the railway enabled the British to return the good offices of the French, who had so often assisted them with ambulances, mules, and men, in the agony of their endurance during the winter. Instead of bringing up with horses whatever was required for Bosquet's camp on the edge of the plateau overlooking the Woronzoff Road, the railway, with little labour and with rapidity, deposited such things within a convenient distance for Bosquet's *corps d'armée* to remove. The French paid many compliments to the discipline, order, and regularity which prevailed among the navvies; and evidently wondered how so much organisation and system could prevail in English departments worked by voluntary enterprise, when such confusion and helplessness pervaded everything conducted by government—the converse of this being the case among themselves. Our polite allies were not aware that the provost-marshal had to be invited more

than once to curb the rough spirit of refractory navvies. It is but justice to them to add, that although boxing and wrestling matches, and rough experiments in new sources of amusement, engaged them sometimes, to the annoyance of those around them, they were good workmen, good-tempered, good-natured, and hearty in the cause from patriotic feeling. The French were particularly obliged by the carriage of hut and hospital timber, as soon as the railway was in a working condition. One of the earliest advantages of the enterprise arose from a branch having been formed to the other side of the harbour, so that the harbour on both sides became available, and guns and ammunition were brought up from what was called the Diamond Wharf. Another great advantage, very early obtained, was the removal of the issue department for fuel and fodder belonging to the commissariat from Balaklava to Kadikoi, where the navvies constructed a depot and platform, with suitable sheds, as they would have done on an English line. The value of forming the fuel and fodder issuing department at Kadikoi may be judged from the fact that 1000 sacks of barley were daily given out. It was a great relief to Balaklava, to subtract so large an amount of business from a place where so much that was chaotic and distracting interfered with the efficient distribution of every material. The navvies worked a limestone quarry in front of the third division, whence they were enabled to obtain lime of an excellent quality, which proved not only useful for building purposes on the railway, but also for purifying Balaklava, and for placing in the pits where so many dead bodies had been putrifying. The lime-burning in front of General England's division proved a source of amusement to the British, and of great annoyance to the enemy, who, seeing the smoke so constantly ascending thence, concluded that extensive works were going forward, and shells were constantly thrown to interrupt them. The shells fell harmlessly about the lime-kilns, and thus the navvies, without losing a man, gave the enemy trouble, and caused him an extra expenditure of ammunition. These energetic fellows also erected a large washing-house for the hospital, which was of very great utility—it had been one of the chief *desiderata* both at Balaklava and Scutari, in connection with the care of the sick.

Up to the middle of March, the climate seemed to agree well with the railway labourers, but they then began to complain of lassitude, and an inability to produce their usual complement of labour; they, however, rallied in health subsequently, and performed their useful and important task. The improvement at Balaklava became very great, and the facilities of receiving from the ships what was

wanting on land, aided much the efficiency the army during March.

The electric telegraph was another of the agencies which proved a useful auxiliary. By it Balaklava and the camp were connected by prompt communication, so that Sir Colin Campbell could at once inform Lord Raglan of any operations upon his flank by the Russian army in the field, and his lordship could quickly communicate his instructions. Headquarters were, by this means, brought in contact as it were with all the attacks, and with General Bosquet. The French worked the semaphore system of telegraphs, Canrobert giving to them the preference.

The increased means of transport in various forms enabled the English to regard the time necessarily consumed in the construction of the railway without impatience; for so pressing were the demands for supplies of all sorts, the lines, that the British army would have been much endangered if relying only upon the railway, without the other new accessories, or upon the latter without the railway. The usual amount of labour at Lord Raglan's disposal would have been literally useless to meet the waste in the trenches, and the vast preparations requisite for the second bombardment, to which the expectation of the armies and of the civilised world was not turned. A considerable number of Turks from Constantinople and Smyrna, who had been employed there as porters—a motley crew from the shores of the Levant, of men good, bad, and indifferent, the bad and indifferent being much the more numerous—and still larger numbers of Croats,—were employed in the new department of the land-transport service. They worked hard, were paid well, fought fiercely among themselves, and were kept well in hand by the English provost-marshal. These men carried up prodigious loads, and were employed in promoting the objects of the sanitary commission, which arrived later than was expected, but set to work with vigorous earnestness when it did arrive, until dead horses disappeared from the surface of the plateau, houses in Balaklava were whitewashed, the burial-places covered with lime, the fleet cleared from the harbour, and various other measures completed, which the gentlemen connected with the commission and the railway co-operated in accomplishing. Mr. Rawlinson, the engineer of the sanitary commission, Doctors Sutherland and Gavin, his medical coadjutors, and certain practical men acting as inspectors, executed what, had it been left to the staff of the British army, would never have been attempted.

The health of the troops varied with the weather, and “March many weathers,” an expression so proverbial in England, applied

to the Crimea: it "came in like a lion," and went out as fiercely. Some portions of it were as mild as early summer, and the spring-like appearance of the country charmed every eye. The fruit-trees, which had not been cut down close to Balaklava, were rich with blossom; verdant grass sprung up on the trodden and bare earth behind the camp; the crocus, hyacinth, and other Crimean spring flowers, burst forth over the sun-warmed plateau; and so prolific was this fair vegetation, that it was no uncommon thing to see the crocus peeping up from beneath iron shot or bomb-shells, and to see the little snowdrop nestling in its purity and beauty amidst broken planking, piles of ammunition, or in the corner of some rude hut. The vines put forth their luxuriant branches early, pushing their way into the wooden tenements of the soldiery. The birds commenced their carolling, and all nature seemed turned into smiles and song. The soldiery caught from her this inspiration, and every face looked cheerful, and the old home ditties resounded through the camp—"Scots wha hae," and "Rory O'More," were as familiar to the ear of the dwellers at camp, as they had been in the autumn, before famine, fever, and frost, the pelting storm, and the pitiless rain, had deprived the men of joy, although no combination of misfortunes had robbed them of their courage. Frequently, however, the azure sky was suddenly overcast, and as if the Storm King made his home among the bleak hills of the Taurus, gusts of fierce power would sweep the earth and clouds. Many a night of bitter frost, and some of heavy snow, followed days of sunshine, and even of relaxing heat. The men were well supplied with warm clothing; comforters, socks, and shaggy coats of all patterns were in abundance:—the people of England had sent out enough for English, Turks, French, and Russians. The men seemed to think that, whether the day was hot or cold, these articles should be worn in honour of the donors, and many caught cold by being obliged, from excess of heat, to throw off those winter garments, and then, finding themselves on duty in the trenches, shivering for twenty-four hours for want of the articles with which they had encumbered themselves upon the sunny plateau. Sir George Brown, true to his habits as a martinet,—as he was to his sword and his queen at the day of battle,—resolved to put an end to the irregular habits of the men as to their attire, and published a divisional order, insisting upon a strict costume, and *the reappearance of the discarded stock!* And the general being a man to be obeyed, a great change was speedily effected in the light division.

Many of the men suffered from those sudden climatic changes, which were especially felt from the want of good shoes and boots. There

were large supplies of shoemaker's work of some sort, but the work itself was generally atrocious, although this had been a subject of complaint with the previous supply. Both boots and shoes were too small in the majority of cases; and when they could be got on, they seldom were worn longer than ten days before the soles came off. The thick mud of the plateau was a severe test for any shoe or boot, but those with which the soldiers were supplied were almost useless; many a night of severe frost, and often nights of rain, during that month, the soldiers did duty without soles to their shoes. From these causes there were many invalids in March, notwithstanding the abundance of fresh meat and vegetables, and the consequent disappearance of scurvy; and although the comforts of the men in other respects were various, and generally ample, the sickness, at the close of February, made the medical returns for the beginning of March rather inauspicious. Lord Raglan sent home the report of the 2nd of March, from the medical-inspector of hospitals, Dr. Hall, which was in substance as follows:—

"The result of the sanitary condition of the army is by no means so satisfactory as the previous improvement during the week of fine weather that we had, had led me to anticipate; but, though the unfavourable change in the weather, from the genial warmth of spring to the bitter cold of winter, which took place on the 20th, had an injurious effect on certain classes of disease in weakly subjects, still there is sufficient improvement remaining to enable us to look forward with confident hope to the future; and I am more inclined to indulge this hope from the favourable change which has taken place in the type of fever prevailing in the General Hospital at Balaklava, in the 93rd Highlanders and some other regiments, from low typhoid to that of a remittent, and even intermittent, form.

"Bowel complaints continue to be the most prevalent class of diseases; but I think they are not so serious as they were a short time ago; nor is scurvy so manifest as it was since the issue of lime-juice daily as a portion of the men's ration. Lately, I have instructed the medical officers of regiments to inspect the men, for the purpose of detecting this complaint (skin diseases), and seeing that the men are clean in their persons, and change their shirts and flannels at stated periods. The last weekly report is favourable. In the 4th division, which is the only report I have at hand in my hut, only 138, out of 2596 men inspected, bore any traces of scurvy; and this is one of the divisions which was as much, or more, effected with it than any division in the army a short time ago. Mr. Roberts, the staff surgeon recently appointed to superintend the

medical concerns of the division, is an intelligent, active, and zealous officer, and he has effected wonderful reforms since he joined. If the issue of fresh meat could be insured, together with vegetables and lime-juice, I am quite satisfied, now that the men are warmly clad, and will soon be better sheltered, a manifest improvement would take place in their health. And if the military operations carrying on would only admit of some longer exemption from duty, a still greater improvement would be observed. I am inclined to think our greatest difficulties and miseries have been surmounted, and we may now look forward for better and more cheering times. It was wonderful to see the cheering effect the few fine days had on the health and spirits of the men; and as the winter may now be considered nearly at an end, I am full of hope and confidence."

On the whole, the men were much better off in March than they had been since landing in the Crimea, for food, shelter, clothing, cleanliness, medical attendance, medicine, hospital accommodation, and, above all, relief from excessive labour. The generals also paid more direct attention to the men, showing a deeper personal interest in them: for the first time since the opening of the siege, a general officer visited the trenches daily. Major-general Jones, of the engineers, was also a frequent visitor of the works, inspecting everything with minute attention. His report of the conduct of the officers of engineers and artillery was very flattering. As the former class of officers in the British service were depreciated, it is but just to mention that General Jones, after the war was over, in a speech at a public meeting in England, declared that the competency, courage, and attention to duty of those who composed that arm of the service before Sebastopol, were worthy of the highest eulogy. He found the greatest promptitude to obey his orders, and the most satisfactory performance of the most arduous and intellectually difficult services. Perhaps never in any army did the artillery behave better, either as to activity, courage, or intelligent qualifications for their duties.

Pleasing, on the whole, as the accounts are which appear in the foregoing pages, it must not be supposed that confusion, mismanagement, and selfishness had taken their departure from the British camp in the Crimea, and from the harbour of Balaklava. The following incident, related by Mr. Russell, is evidence to the contrary:—"As an instance of the way in which public money is squandered by the authorities,—well, if not by the authorities, by somebody or other who is vicegerent for the Genius of Misrule at Balaklava,—I will just mention a circumstance which has recently

come to my knowledge, and which any economist on the committee of inquiry may profitably ask a question or two about. Mr. Alfred Pratt, an officer of customs, was appointed by the War-office some time ago to superintend the warehousing and landing of stores at Balaklava, and was sent out there by the government with a staff of one foreman, two workmen, eight warehousemen, and thirty dock-labourers, with whom he arrived a month ago. This little expedition has, up to the present moment, cost the country about £5000, and has not done a particle of good for the money. Mr. Pratt, who is a practical engineer, offered to build a landing-wharf, but the authorities would not give a site for it. They would not employ him on the duty which the government commissioned him to execute. He states that he has been treated with neglect, and has been subjected to contumely and affront; and at this instant he is employed side by side with a corporal in superintending the levelling of ground for wooden huts at a salary of 25s. per diem!"

It was obvious that, in the midst of improvements effected by civilians, and by persons sent out from the government with especial commissions to overrule the routine of the departments, the disposition of the official to impede all reform,—even although the public interests were sacrificed by their opposition,—was but little abated. Where they could, with any safety, obstruct, they resisted all deviation from their own ways, although horrors unutterable, and "confusion worse confounded," were the consequences of these ways. Every man who applied business habits and energy to the reformation of abuses, was "a dangerous man" in the official vocabulary, and insult as well as obstruction met him at every turn. The overbearing power of public opinion in England, and the exposure of these practices in the London press, alone protected those who saved the soldier, and saved their country from contumely and hindrance on the part of most of the Crimean authorities. These censures do not apply to the generals of division and brigade, who were, for the most part, from the commencement of the expedition, noble soldiers, men of experience in their profession and patriotism in their principle and feeling. It must not be supposed that the bad conduct and incompetency of those who have fallen under public disapprobation, at home or abroad, have been exaggerated in this work. A very small portion of the misdoings of these people, at their gross ignorance, has been noticed; at many of the most painful instances of the sort only came to light too long after the event for the public to insist upon retribution on account of them. As an instance of this, the author last quoted relates, in March, 185

(and the circumstance was first made public by him), an occurrence connected with the battle of Balaklava, which might have led to the defeat of our heavy cavalry, and would have caused such an issue but for their extraordinary skill and courage:—"It will scarcely be credited (but it does no harm now to mention it) that at Balaklava the Scots Greys *had no cartridges* to fit their carbines, and that they were armed with the old cavalry sword, which bent in several instances on coming in contact with the thick coats of the Russian horsemen. The new swords are excellent weapons, and afforded great satisfaction to all but those on whom they were tried." Such an event could not have happened by any mere mistake: either utter neglect, ignorance, cupidity, or treason, must have placed the Scots Greys almost unarmed before their foes.

It was only during the month of March that some portions of the infantry received Minié or other superior muskets, instead of the old and inferior weapons which they had brought to the Crimea.

Mr. Russell relates a striking case of mismanagement in a single instance, being felt long after, and the extraordinary impunity allowed to the perpetrators. Under date of the 6th of March, he wrote:—"We have now about sixty garrison carriages at the artillery depot, and the stores of shot and shell seem inexhaustible, but, in reality, are not too much for thirty ours' firing. Our guns of position will now be available, if ever we require to use them. The story of these guns is instructive. It will be remembered that the Russians inflicted great loss upon us by their guns of position at the Alma, and that we had none to reply to them. Indeed, had they been landed at Kalamita Bay, it is doubtful if we could have got horses to draw them. However, if we had had the horses, we could not have had the guns. The fact is, that sixty fine guns of position, with all their equipment complete, were shipped on board the *Taurus* at Woolwich, and sent out to the East. When the vessel arrived at Constantinople, the admiral in charge, with destructive energy, insisted on transhipping all the guns into the *Gertrude*. The captain in charge remonstrated, but in vain; words grew high, but led to no result. The guns, beautifully packed and laid, with everything in its proper place, were hauled up out of the hold, and huddled, in the most approved higgledy-piggledy *à la Balaklava ancienne*, into the *Gertrude*, where they were deposited on the top of a quantity of medical and other stores. The equipments shared the same fate, and the hold of the vessel soon presented to the eye of the artilleryman the realisation of the saying anent the arrangement of a midshipman's chest, everything uppermost, and nothing at hand."

The officer in charge got to Varna, and in vain sought permission to go to some retired nook, discharge the cargo, and re-stow the guns. The expedition sailed, and when the *Gertrude* arrived at Old Fort, had Hercules been set to clear the guns, as his fourteenth labour, he could not have done it. And so the medicines, that would certainly have done good, and the guns, that might have done harm, were left to neutralise each other."

In the above gross case of clumsy and incompetent management, medicines to heal the sick, and arms to fight the enemy, were huddled together, and both made inaccessible. It was the fashion at home to boast of the order and good management of everything in connection with the navy: this case is but a specimen of very many which would prove the disorderly way in which matters were managed in that branch of the service. The state of the harbour of Balaklava at any time, up to the end of March, 1855, would prove the same thing.

Perhaps one of the most glaring abuses was the way in which the transports were permitted to remain in the harbour as places of abode for certain gentlemen who preferred them to Balaklava or the camp. For these transports the government paid enormous sums; and there they remained, rocking on the waters of Balaklava harbour, perverted to private purposes, under a system of favouritism and corruption. The author of these pages does not know the names of the gentlemen who possessed these expensive hotels, while the men were in want of those things which the increased transports should have been employed to convey for them; he can, therefore, have no invidious object in view while he records this; he simply performs a duty which historical fidelity demands. The money of the nation was squandered in this way in a manner disgraceful to the government, and to the people who tolerated such faithlessness.

No exhibition of injustice and the abuse of authority was more signal than that in the case of Captain Christie, a brave and upright sailor, who did his duty with fidelity and skill. On an earlier page of this history the loss of the *Prince* and other transports was noticed, which were wrecked in the great gale of the 14th of November, in consequence of Captain Dacres having refused to allow them inside the harbour—notwithstanding the importunities of Captain Christie, who superintended the transports, for their admission, and his strong representations in reference to the *Prince* in particular, because of the value of her cargo, and the state of her anchors. It is necessary to refer to this matter again, as with the month of March the captain's services

at Balaklava terminated. The loss of the *Prince*, the *Vulcan*, and so many other transports, caused a great sensation in England, and some violent parliamentary discussions: it was necessary for the government and the heads of departments to do something to appease the public clamour, and satisfy so many of the most respectable and powerful of their own supporters, who were discontented, and openly and strongly expressed that discontent. The usual mode of procedure in such cases was resorted to: it is an infamous mode, but will of course continue so long as the electors of the United Kingdom permit. The approved plan of quieting the public to which we refer is, to sacrifice some person who has least power and political interest, and who may with some degree of plausibility be selected. Thus, to conciliate the people when discontented with the campaign of 1854 in the Baltic, an attempt was made to turn Sir Charles Napier into the "scapegoat" of the Admiralty. Sir Charles would not go silently into the wilderness; he could use his pen and tongue, had money and connexions, and, as a Jupiter Tonans of agitation, shook the old Admiralty to its foundations. Captain Christie was neither an orator, nor a writer—a rich man, nor a man of large political connexion; and it was very convenient to make a sacrifice of him, and thereby prove how zealous the government was, and how plainly any mischief which ever happened resulted from individual misdeed, which they were ever ready to punish. This was the work of the Aberdeen cabinet. Mr. Gladstone, "in his place," assured the House of Commons that Captain Christie having arrived at Malta, a telegraph ordered him back to the Crimea, to be tried by court-martial for the loss of the transports under his care. This was very satisfactory to the house, and placed the good Mr. Gladstone in a favourable light, and very much in contrast to the wicked Captain Christie, who allowed the storm to wreck the transport fleet! The real facts were, that Captain Christie never received any orders at Malta to go back to the Crimea and stand his trial. *He had not gone to Malta at all. He never left his post for a day.* He was ordered to be tried by court-martial, and after his heart was nearly broken, the admiral informed him that there was no ground for such a procedure, and he was free to go home. He was superseded in his command, and the man selected to fill his place was the Captain Heath who went about canvassing certificates from the transport captains, *that the harbour of Balaklava was in a condition of order, and that matters there were regulated with precision and system.* Every one knew at home and abroad what a scandalous imposition this would have

been if the glaring untruth of the statement did not render an imposition upon any one impossible. Captain Heath is a very efficient officer, no doubt, and may have been as competent as Captain Christie to assume the office the latter so worthily filled, but it was not therefore he was chosen. His toadyism, not his talent, gained for him the responsible post while Captain Christie, whom every member of the government and all the authorities in the Crimea knew to be free from blame, was superseded, in order to cover the delinquencies of greater favourites, and make some sacrifice to the public indignation against the mismanagement at Balaklava. The mode in which Captain Christie was worked out of his post by an unprincipled intrigue was this:—About two months, or a little more, after the disastrous gale, Quartermaster-general Airey wrote to the captain, requesting details as to the loss of the *Prince*; this letter of the general's contained an enclosure, which was a letter from Captain Dacres the harbour-master, assuring General Airey that the *Prince* should be brought in as soon as possible. To Sir Richard Airey's letter Christie replied as follows:—

*Orient, Balaklava.*

"SIR,—In reply to your letter relative to the loss of the *Prince* steamer, I beg to state that she arrived off Balaklava on the 8th of November, in fine weather, when, in attempting to anchor, she lost both bower anchors and chains, they not having been securely clenched. She hung on by the *Jason* while she disembarked her troops, and in the evening stood out to sea and got another anchor ready. Being myself on board the *Melbourne*, at anchor outside, I was most anxious to get the *Prince* into harbour, and sent an officer repeatedly to the senior naval officer to request that she might be allowed to go in; but the object being at that time to have as few vessels in the harbour at the same moment as possible, he, although as anxious as myself, would not allow it. On the 14th of November, the day of the gale, the steam of the *Prince* was up in good time, but the sea rose and became so heavy that she drove, cut away her mast, and the survivors state that the mizen rigging fouled her screw before she struck.

"I have the honour, &c.,

"P. CHRISTIE."

*"Major-general Airey, Quartermaster-general."*

No intimation of any change of feeling towards him was made to Captain Christie: from the *Times* newspaper he learned the fact, by reading the speech of Mr. Gladstone, when describing him as ordered back from Malta—a statement which might well fill the mind of the ill-used officer with amazement. On the 20th of February, however, the mystery was

cleared up, for he was informed that he was superseded, and that Captain Heath, the very officer under whose management as harbour-master Balaklava attained its very bad reputation for confusion and filth, was appointed in his place! There was literally an outburst of sympathy in the Crimea. The captains of ships subscribed £200 as a tribute of respect; and all ranks and classes out of the naval and military clique that so disastrously co-operated with the government at home, were open in their expressions of condolence and esteem. In reply to the intimation that he was to be tried by court-martial, the captain thus addressed Captain Milne of the Admiralty:—

*Orient, Balaklava, March 5, 1855.*

"MY DEAR MILNE,—Many thanks for your kind note of the 16th. Although a court-martial is at all times a formidable thing, still on this occasion I feel such perfect confidence of success, that I rather rejoice at it. It will, I am in hopes, prove to the Admiralty and the public the rectitude of all my proceedings. I am as innocent of the loss of those two ships, *Prince* and *Resolute*, as a babe in a cradle. No officer could do more than I did in my endeavour to place them in safety. I only wanted a tug and leave to enter the harbour to accomplish this. After the *Prince* arrived on the 8th of November, there were four days before the gale of the 14th in which she might have gone in. There was nothing of greater importance in my opinion going on at the time. There was plenty of room in the harbour, two tugs, two line-of-battle ships, and several other men-of-war present; yet, with all this force at command if necessary, my earnest request was not attended to, and this ship, with her one anchor and valuable cargo, was allowed to remain outside. I of course did not order her to sea with one anchor, as I expected her to be taken in every hour, and I knew that it was of great consequence to the army that the warm clothing should be landed as soon as possible, as well as the rest of the cargo. I don't think poor Daeres will ever forgive himself for this. The transport captains and agents are all outrageous at my being superseded, and I trust the lords of the Admiralty will soon be convinced how little I have merited such treatment.

"P. CHRISTIE."

It was the end of March before the gallant captain was informed, by a letter from Admiral Lyons, that he was at liberty, as no charge could be substantiated against him. On the first of April he left the Crimea, and soon died of a broken heart. He prized his professional reputation far more than his lucrative post; he was dismissed from the former

arbitrarily and unjustly, and robbed of the latter infamously.

Having sketched the general condition of affairs during the month of March, we shall now proceed to chronicle the more prominent incidents of the history of the siege.

A despatch of Lord Raglan's, written on the 3rd, discloses the view he took of matters at the opening of the month:—

*Before Sebastopol, March 3.*

MY LORD,—Some more ships are said to have been sunk since I wrote to your lordship on the 27th. I am not certain of this; but, according to my observation, the new barrier across the harbour appeared yesterday evening to have been extended beyond the point at which I had seen it two days before.

The enemy is busily occupied in establishing a work considerably nearer the French batteries, on the extreme right, than that which was attacked by our allies on the morning of the 24th.

The enemy seem to be increasing their force in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, both to the northward and upon the Tchernaya.

The railway continues to progress satisfactorily, and we already make considerable use of it in the conveyance of stores, hutting materials, &c., as far as Kadikoi; and the electric telegraph is completed between that village and my head-quarters.

The weather has again become extremely cold, and there was a fall of snow yesterday, and some little this morning.

I enclose a return of casualties to the 1st instant, inclusive.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN.

*The Lord Panmure, &c.*

No attempt to disturb the Russians in the construction of these new works was made by our allies, against whom they were chiefly directed. His lordship's despatch does not mention that the cavalry horses continued to suffer, and that Colonel Dogherty had only three horses fit for service on the 3rd of March. The late hutting of the horses of the British cavalry division was a great misfortune, as the details of the Crimean inquiry, and those given before the Chelsea board of general officers long after, proved; yet we cannot but think that both Lords Lucan and Cardigan have had far more than their just share of public censure in connection with these transactions. Mistakes and blunders were made everywhere, as if by a fatal concurrence of misfortune; and frequently, as in the case of these generals, by men who had no wish to spare themselves, and were ready to lay down life in the service of the army and of their country.

The French signalled the opening of March by throwing shells and rockets into the town of Sebastopol; the long range of these projectiles enabled our ally to set fire to houses, and alarm the enemy for the safety of their magazines.

In the despatch of Lord Raglan, he announces the fact of the Russians increasing their numbers. It was afterwards ascertained what the Russian forces were at the time his

lordship wrote, or, rather, a few days subsequently, when the reinforcements were placed to which he referred. The following was the arrangement of the Russian army in the Crimea, as reported at the French head-quarters from a reliable source of information :—

In the town and in the suburb to the south of the Great Fort .....	39,000 men.
To the north of the Great Fort, and in places distant at the utmost 6000 yards, Belbek, Tchorgoum, &c. ....	35,000 "
On the Alma and towards Eupatoria.....	25,000 "
At Perekop.....	10,000 "
At Theodosia and Kertch.....	10,000 "
Total of infantry	119,000 "
On various points—cavalry.....	15,000 "
Engineers and artillery .....	10,000 "
Sailors.....	5,000 "
Grand total.....	149,000 "

A division of infantry was announced as hourly expected; as also a division of grenadiers and a brigade of reserve.

At daybreak, on the morning of the 4th of March, the Russians made an ineffectual sortie against the French. For an hour a severe fusillade rang up the heights; the cannon also gave forth their thunders. The Russians retired, and the day rose in brightness and silence. There was a grand council between the French chiefs and Lord Raglan in the course of the morning.

On the 5th, there were smart skirmishes at dawn between the French and Russians. The ninth division of the French army was moved to the right of the British attack.

The English were in good spirits, and amused themselves in all the old home ways when that was at all practicable. A "spring meeting" took place on the top of the ridge near Karangi, where horse-racing, after a sort never seen in England, delighted jockeys and spectators. There was a large assemblage of soldiers, sutlers, railway-labourers, Turks, and Croats, who gazed with eager delight upon the scene. The Cossack videttes on Canrobert's Hill and at Kamara could not comprehend the very peculiar movements of the English, and galloped about in the strangest excitement. While the races were going on, two Russian officers deserted in an ingenious manner. They were both Poles, and one had been degraded to the ranks for a political offence. They belonged to a party of the new reinforcements, and requested the men, twelve in number, to advance with them to the English vidette, persuading the party that he was a Russian soldier—the uniform of both the English and Russian light cavalry being frequently blue. When the party approached the English dragoon, he fired his carbine, and the Russians fled, the two Poles dashing forward to the English lines. The Cossacks, perceiving their object, galloped

hard to intercept them; but the English dragoon picket, gallantly pushing forward, were enabled to protect the fugitives. Their gratitude for their escape was touchingly expressed. They rode beautiful horses, which they said were not their own, and begged that Sir Colin would return them to the enemy, that no pretext might be left for them to say that the fugitives had stolen them. Sir Colin had the horses brought out to the last position occupied by our videttes, and then letting them loose they naturally galloped back to their own lines. These men stated that a corps of 8000 men had just joined the army between Baidan and Simpheropol.

On the 6th, the news of the death of the Emperor Nicholas arrived. General Canrobert was greatly excited: immediately on receipt of the intelligence he wrote a note to each of his two chiefs of *corps d'armée*, ending his despatch with the words, "this is great news." Lord Raglan wrote home a few days afterwards as follows :—

*Before Sebastopol, March 9.*

MY LORD,—I am happy to be able to inform you that the weather is exceedingly fine, and that I entertain great hopes, derived from the reports of the principal medical officer, that the sick will materially benefit by the improvement in the temperature.

Our advanced batteries are making considerable progress.

Every effort is directed to the maintenance of the camps in a healthy state, which, as the warm weather approaches, becomes daily more important.

I enclose the return of casualties to the 8th.

I received, on the evening of the 6th inst., a telegraphic despatch from Lord John Russell, dated Berlin, the 2nd, announcing the death of the Emperor of Russia at 12 o'clock on that day. According to the information of despatchers, the event has not been promulgated at Sebastopol.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN.

*The Lord Panmure, &c.*

The tidings of the czar's death spread "like wildfire" through the camps; and perhaps never before was there so much political discussion in an army since that commanded by William III. in Ireland, or the iron host of Oliver Cromwell in England. The speculations about "the great fact" were as numerous as in the fashionable political circles of Western Europe. Whether the Russians had heard the tidings in Sebastopol was doubted; but they kept up an incessant fire all day, working their guns with fierce energy, as if to show that they had not lost heart, but were still ready to

"Confront the danger when the waves rolled high,  
Thwarting the storm."

During the previous fortnight a steamer had been anchored at the head of the harbour, armed with two long pivot-guns, which did considerable damage to the French working parties engaged around the new batteries on the heights of Inkerman. A battery of three guns, distant 1500 yards from the ship, was unmasked, and red-hot shot prepared. When

It was clear day the guns suddenly opened; the three shots passed right over the enemy's deck; the watch instantly rushed to turn up the screw; but, before she could be moved, several shots had struck her rigging, some her hull, and others her machinery. She slipped her cable, and hauled under the land. A deserter informed the English that three men were killed, three wounded, and the vessel so damaged that she was obliged to lay up and await for repairs.

It is probable that there was another vessel here, which hauled off in time to escape damage, for Lord Raglan, in a despatch written on the 8th, refers to two steamers; but other credible accounts represent the matter as it is given here. The despatch of his lordship was as follows:—

*Before Sebastopol, March 8.*

MY LORD,—The enemy continue to manifest great activity in preparing the work which I mentioned to your lordship in my despatch of the 3rd, and are now bringing up platform timber and guns for the equipment and armament of it. Vast convoys are daily observed arriving on the north side of the town; and I learn, from information entitled to credit, that the road leading from Simpheropol is covered with waggons, laden with provisions and munitions of war. This morning three British guns, placed in a battery overhanging the Tcheraya, opened upon two small steamers anchored at the head of the harbour, and, after a fire of about an hour, obliged them to take refuge behind a point. One of them appeared to have sustained considerable damage, and is supposed to have been deserted by her crew. The weather was fine yesterday, and is particularly so to-day, and the country is becoming quite dry. I have reason to hope that the sick are deriving material benefit from this change. I have established a convalescent hospital on the heights immediately above Balaklava, near a fine spring of water. The inspector-general of hospitals entertains great expectations of the advantages that will result from placing the huts in so healthy a locality. Lieutenant-general Pennefather has resumed the command of the 2nd division, and is, I am happy to be able to report, working remarkably well. I enclose the casualties to the 1st inst.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN.

*The Lord Panmure, &c.*

It was not until the 6th of March that Lord Raglan received official information of the death of the czar, which became instantly known in the camp. The next day his lordship sent information to the Russian general under a flag of truce, who thanked him coolly, and either affected to put no faith in the statement, or disbelieved it. That night they constructed several more rifle-pits—a means of annoyance to the French more harassing than any other which the besieged had as yet employed. These pits were constructed in front of the Camelon, already described, and, being opposite the French advanced parallel, were a source of destructive inconvenience to those who occupied it. Many and fierce encounters between the two hostile parties were waged for the possession of these pits; and bitter, and perhaps humiliating, reverses were experienced by our troops in the attempts made to conquer them. Some shots from the English 9-pounders scat-

tered the gabions and sand-bags, and dashed the earth and embankments about; but our allies did not, during the month's operations, storm the pits at the point of the bayonet with sufficient resolution and numbers to drive the enemy from the position.

The efforts for arming all the batteries with the heaviest armaments ever before used in war, were unceasing. Several sea-service mortars, with a range of 3500 yards, were brought up to the British front. The second parallel was converted into one great battery; and detached works were constructed within 600, 800, and 1000 yards from the enemy's guns; but the "attacks" were in the same position as on the 17th of October, when the first bombardment was opened; they were, however, enlarged, better finished, stronger, and more heavily armed.

General Simpson and Sir John McNeil having arrived in the Crimea, both made a grand tour of inspection over all the works, and at the posts about Balaklava. General Simpson assumed the office which he was sent out to fill,—that of chief of the staff,—relieving Lord Raglan of much trouble, and the quartermaster and adjutant-generals also.

The French became extremely impatient of the delay in opening the new bombardment. Mr. Russell, in his journal, seems repeatedly to have doubts whether the French were as well advanced in preparation as the British. The fact was, that while such doubts were expressed by English correspondents in the Crimea, the French commander-in-chief was painfully urgent upon Lord Raglan, and perpetually complaining to his own government of the slowness of the English commander, and the danger to the cause thus created—giving thereby the enemy every opportunity to strengthen himself for the crisis. Very early in March, Canrobert informed Lord Raglan that he would be ready to open fire along his whole line on the 13th. The reply of the English general was:—"Your excellency knows that the English engineers have begun new batteries, which will play no unimportant part in the operations against the place. These batteries are somewhat advanced, but they will not be finished on the day which you indicate; and I cannot at this moment name, with precision, the time when they, as well as the other English batteries, will be able to open fire under proper conditions of preparation." The comment made upon this letter by the commissioner of the Emperor of the French, the Baron de Bazancourt, was as follows:—"It was impossible not to see that all these delays were fatal, and that they allowed the defence to acquire a development which doubled the obstacles and multiplied the dangers. The Russians, favoured by the configuration and

nature of the ground around Inkerman and Careening Bay, had, by skilful works, rendered it impossible to attempt anything against the Malakoff, except a powerful diversion. The difficulty of this perilous position was apparent to every one; and General Canrobert therefore continued daily to urge the commander-in-chief of the English army to hasten his preparations for opening the fire."

The letter of General Canrobert to the French minister of war, written on the 17th, reveals the state of things as they appeared from the point of view taken at the French headquarters:—"Our batteries present the enormous figure of nearly 500 guns ready to fire; and I am waiting, ever since the 14th, for the English to be ready to act with us. I urge them as much as I can, officially and officiously; for I feel the imperative necessity of throwing ourselves upon that part of Sebastopol, which it may be, perhaps, possible for us to take; but I am also bound to remember that it is my duty not to act without the concurrence of our allies. The important affair of the moment is to take by storm the Mamelon on the south of the Malakoff Tower, where the enemy is strongly intrenched under the protection of an encircling fire of artillery."

Again, on the 20th of March, he wrote:—"The English cannot yet tell me when they will be ready. This delay is the more fatal as the enemy profits by it to increase daily the strength of his works, and to add new ones to those which already exist."

On the 22nd the general again writes to his minister:—"Yesterday I urged Lord Raglan as strong as circumstances would permit. I have not been able to obtain a positive reply."

It is obvious from these communications, directed to Marshal Vailant by General Canrobert, that the French considered themselves ready to open fire early in March, and that they were deterred from doing so through the delays interposed by the English general.

Returning from this consideration to the actual progress of affairs, an important event occurred in the allied camp on the 12th. Omar Pasha landed at Kamiesch. The allied generals and admirals held council of war. The decisions of the council were to the effect that the Egyptian division which for some time had been at Constantinople, should be required for service at Eupatoria, and that Omar, with 22,000 men, the pick of his army, should land at Balaklava and Kamiesch to take part in the siege. The arrival of the Egyptian division which was at Eupatoria, would enable the allies to hold the place with 30,000 men, compelling the enemy to keep an army of observation there, and preventing the hope of a successful attack. If the attack upon the town should prove successful, Omar was to return to

Eupatoria with his own troops, a French division, and an English brigade, and march against Simpheropol, or such point of the Russian line of communication with Sebastopol as might be most strategically skilful.

On the 14th General Bisson was on duty in the French trenches, and, under his directions, Captain Champanhet, at the head of his grenadiers, captured three of the Russian advanced positions. The enemy returned the same day, and found the French Colonel Frossard at work with his sappers; the suddenness of the attack placed the French at great disadvantage, who held the ground with difficulty, and must have been driven from it had not Major Gibou and a party of riflemen charged with the bayonet and driven the enemy down into the ravine. Such was the result, according to the French relaters of the action.

On the 15th five detachments of the 3rd Zouaves, headed by Colonel de Brancion, carried five ambuscades, which the sappers destroyed under a heavy fire. Some hours after, the enemy, reinforced, stormed the captured ambuscades, but, failing in their attempt to carry them, retreated, after a severe loss in killed and wounded.

The account given by Mr. Russell of the first of these contests differs, at all events, from the result. He magnifies the conflict of the 14th, and represents the issue to have been adverse to the French. Comparing the various accounts, Mr. Russell's statement of the issue appears to be the correct one. The Russians ultimately held the ambuscades, which fact our French friends somewhat disingenuously suppress. On the 15th the French held several of the ambuscades on the right; but the Russians never allowed their fire upon the spot of intermit, and our ally suffered much.

Early in the morning of the 17th a brave French officer of distinction, Lieutenant-colonel Vaissier, was killed by a shot from the Russian rifle-pits, he having volunteered to relieve the French rifles opposed to them. Of this officer the French entertained a very high opinion, and afford the following information concerning him:—"He was between forty and fifty years of age, and had served with great distinction in Africa. In 1843 General Changarnier specially recommended him to the minister, speaking of him, as 'a very distinguished officer, from whom much may be expected.' He took part in all those struggles which occurred at every instant on the coast of Africa; and everywhere he showed himself full of energetic boldness and genuine military qualities. Captain in 1846, he entered in 1852 as major, in the 16th regiment of Light Infantry. It seems, sometimes, as if war respected such audacious bravery. Thus Vaissier was not wounded until the expedition

bylia. Though struck by a shot, he continues to fight at the head of his battalion; tries the enemy's position, and receives upon the field of battle itself the congratulations of General St. Arnaud. Called to join the army the East, as lieutenant-colonel, he conducts himself brilliantly at the battle of Alma; on the sanguinary day of Inkerman he leads his troops into the thickest of the fight; he was one of the heroes of that imperishable page of military history. On the 17th of March, in the following year, he was killed in front of the enemy."

General Canrobert's despatch thus referred to the combats that had taken place, and the general progress of events:—

*Sebastopol, March 17.*

On the night between the 14th and 15th inst. we carried the first line of the enemy's ambuscades which had been established in front of that mamelon before the Malakoff Tower, on which the enemy had thrown up a new work. On this ambuscade the enemy's rifles had annoyed our working parties, and on the morning of the 14th had killed Captain Guilhot, of the engineers, whose loss we sorely lament. The troops entrusted with this operation performed it with much vigour and impetuosity, under a fire of musketry and artillery kept up from the place. It was necessary to continue the operation during the night between the 15th and 16th; as, on the previous night, it was very vigorously carried out. The ambuscades have been razed. General Bosquet highly extols the energy of the troops employed in these two combats, giving occasion, as they did, to most honourable feats of individual prowess. Generals Niel and Bizot inspected the new parallel last night, and they have prepared the execution of another parallel near the mamelon in front of the Malakoff Tower. We are about to commence it to-night, in a soil where, unfortunately, rock is very near the surface of the ground, an obstacle we have constantly had to contend against in almost every part since the commencement of the siege. On the left, we have continued our works before the central bastion. During the same nights of the 14th-15th, and 15th-16th, notwithstanding a hot fire of grape and musketry, we formed a new parallel, more than 400 metres in length, to connect the old works with the trench forming a salient angle in the direction of this bastion. These operations have cost about thirty men either killed or wounded; among the former is Captain Adin, of the 2nd regiment of the Foreign Legion. In the night between the 15th and 16th the besieged, probably wishing to create a diversion on our extreme left, and supposing also no doubt that the works commenced on the right engrossed all our attention, directed against this left a sortie composed of 450 volunteers from various corps. Their effort was supported by a company of the 10th battalion of Foot Chasseurs and the company of Voltigeurs from the 2nd regiment of the Foreign Legion. This combat was most brilliant; the assailant, received by a sharp fire, and driven back at the point of the bayonet beyond the parapet of the trench, left in our hands twenty-nine men killed or wounded, and the same number on the ground that separates the trench from the ambuscade whence he had issued. He did, however, remove a large number with the aid of detachments provided with hand-barrows. On the whole, this little affair must have cost the Russians a third of their effective force engaged in it. It cost us five men killed and twelve wounded. During the eight days that have just elapsed, we have tried the fire of a small battery which we have erected, but which is armed and served by the English, and which commands some open spots in the principal harbour. We had observed that one of the war steamers, the *Gromonosetz*, by whose fire we had been annoyed, had been struck by our balls. We now learn they had barely time to take her to the stockade in the port, when she foundered. The incident is not with-

out its value, particularly on account of the moral effect it must have produced on the garrison. The port is, in fact, the line of retreat for this garrison, and the more threatening our action becomes against that line, the more will the troops feel uneasy and discouraged.

CANROBERT.

The following despatches from Lord Raglan will throw additional light on the progress of events:—

*Before Sebastopol, March 13.*

MY LORD,—The enemy commenced working upon the mamelon in front of the Tower of Malakoff in the night of Friday; but the nature of the work, from the thickness of the atmosphere, could not be distinguished. Great progress, however, had been perceived on Sunday, and that night a strong working party of the British troops was occupied in commencing a parallel from the advanced point of our right attack, with a view to form a junction with the corresponding parallel to be made on their side by the French, who began it on the following evening; and much was done to forward the operation before daylight this morning, and it is hoped that the object will be completed to-night.

The weather is generally fine in the early part of the day, but towards evening heavy sea fogs come rolling in, and wholly obscure the view of the place.

The enemy have shown a battalion and some Cossacks on the heights above Balaklava and towards Kamara, probably with the view to interrupt the French and English wood-cutting parties for the construction of gabions in the immediate neighbourhood, but the allied detachments have not been obliged to discontinue their work.

I enclose a return of casualties to the 10th inst.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN.

*The Lord Pannure, &c.*

*Before Sebastopol, March 17.*

MY LORD,—The progress of the parallel which I reported to your lordship in my despatch of the 13th inst. has not been as rapid as was anticipated, the ground being extremely rocky, and the difficulty of procuring cover consequently excessive, and rendering it almost impossible to carry on the operation during the day. Both the English and the French have now, however, succeeded in establishing the communication between them. Her majesty's troops have not been assailed, but our allies have been kept constantly in action, and they have succeeded in driving the enemy from the rifle-pits in which they had established themselves, in their immediate front, with distinguished gallantry and great perseverance. They, however, have sustained some loss, though not equal to that which they have inflicted upon their opponents.

A steady fire has been maintained upon the mamelon in the occupation of the enemy from the guns in our right attack, and the practice of both the navy and the artillery has been conspicuously good, and reflects the highest credit on those branches of her majesty's service.

Although no positive attack had been directed against our works, our approaches are carried so close to the enemy that the casualties are greater than they have lately been, as your lordship will be concerned to remark in examining the returns I have the honour to enclose; and it is my painful duty to announce to your lordship the death of Captain Craigie, of the Royal Engineers, whose zeal and devotion to the service could not be surpassed, and who was killed on the 13th, after he had been relieved from the trenches, and was on his way to the Engineer Park, by a splinter from a shell, which burst close to him.

I have the honour to report the arrival of Lieutenant-general Simpson, who joined my head-quarters yesterday, and that of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, who reached Balaklava a few days before.

I have, &c.

RAGLAN.

*The Lord Pannure, &c.*

*Before Sebastopol, March 20.*

MY LORD,—It is with deep concern that I transmit for your lordship's information the copy of a letter which I received on the 18th inst. from General Canrobert, announcing, with every expression of concern, the death of a British officer, who appears to have wandered into the French camp, and, not answering the challenge that was repeated three times, was shot dead by the French sentry whose post he approached. This officer, Surgeon Le Blanc, of the 9th foot, occupied the tent near the hospital huts of his regiment, situated at some distance from the encampment of the regiment itself. He was a gentleman of most temperate habits, and was occupied in reading, when, suddenly, upon the alarm sounding, he rose from his seat, leaving his candle lighted and his book open, and walked out—he was never seen alive afterwards. It should be explained that shortly after the close of day on the 17th there was a very heavy fire on the left of the French right, which was maintained for several hours. None of the English posts were attacked, but it was considered prudent to get the greater portion of our troops under arms. Mr. Le Blanc was shortsighted, and probably mistook his way from the first, the night being excessively dark, for he was found far distant to the left, and must have wandered from our position without knowing the direction in which he was going. Being anxious to ascertain the facts of this unfortunate case as correctly as possible, I have set on foot an inquiry, to be conducted by English and French officers, in association with each other; and I propose to do myself the honour to send you their report. I have addressed a similar letter to the general commanding-in-chief.

RAGLAN.

The Russians not only worked with energy at Sebastopol, as the despatches of the allied generals admitted, but the energy extended to the whole of Southern Russia. Not only had large reinforcements been hurried to the Crimea as soon as the roads became passable, but preparations were made to continue thence reinforcements on a still larger scale. A letter from Odessa of the 16th appeared in the *New Munich Gazette*, to the following effect:—"The cavalry corps concentrated around Odessa, under the orders of General Schabelski, is exclusively composed of dragoons, to the number, it is said, of 12,000 men. It has received orders to proceed immediately to the Crimea, and a part of the corps left yesterday. The seventh army corps, stationed at present in Bessarabia, will leave for the Crimea. The troops remaining in Bessarabia will be placed under the orders of General Luders, who will fix his head-quarters at Bender. According to reports received at Vienna, and there held worthy of credit, Sebastopol is provisioned for three months. The garrison is only 12,000 strong, but may easily be reinforced, whilst the bulk of the army, under the immediate command of General Osten-Sacken, numbers 40,000 men at the Belbek. The Russians have cut down all the trees in the district behind Inkerman, and behind the trunks they have, during the winter, constructed intrenchments and batteries in excellent positions. Prince Gortschakoff intends, it is said, to operate from Perekop and Simpheropol against Eupatoria at the head of 60,000 men."

The Russian journals meanwhile indulged in bombastic announcements of the prowess of

the besieged, and the failures of the besiegers. According to them the fire from the all batteries was an almost harmless expenditure of ammunition. The following appeared in the *Invalide Russe*:—"In order to complete the telegraphic despatch from Sebastopol, relative to the erection of a new redoubt in front of the Korniloff bastion, during the night between March 10th and 11th, A.D.C. General Baron Osten-Sacken announces, under date March 14th, that notwithstanding the heavy fire of the besiegers, the works are being successfully carried on in the new fortification. The fire of the enemy's artillery does scarcely any harm; thus, for instance, on the 11th of March last no less than sixty bombs fell on one of our bastions, and yet only one man was wounded. The galleries of the besiegers' mine, which we discover, are constantly destroyed with unvarying success. Nothing remarkable has occurred in the neighbourhood of Eupatoria. According to the statement of the prisoners, the Turks have about 1000 men killed and as many wounded in the affair of February 17th."

General Sir Harry Jones in a speech delivered in England after the conclusion of the war, represented the fire of the allies as most destructive, and delivered with the most beautiful precision.

The condition of the British army about the middle of March is well conveyed in a brief paragraph by the *Times'* correspondent:—"The number actually under arms, not employed on any duty whatever, yesterday (March 16) amounted to 20,600 men. The effectives now amount to 26,000 men (including rank and file and sergeants). The deaths in camp yesterday (March 15), I am told, amount to 14 only. This is another sudden fall. We have now 40,000 men and more alive; and of these between 15,000 and 20,000 of the noblest and strongest troops that ever handled musket. In dear old England the cavalry have long been numbered among the dead; but surely there must have been some mighty resurrection, inasmuch as Colonels Hodge and Paget have still at their call nearly 1000 sabres."

The 17th of March was a day of account in both armies; in the British, it being "St Patrick's day," the national saint-day of Ireland, there were, of course, fun and jokes wherever an Hibernian was to be found. Our French friends had races and other amusements, whether in compliment to their Irish allies does not appear. Mr. Woods says, that nearly half of the British army displayed some green substitute for a shamrock in their hats, caps, helmets, or whatever else covered their heads. As half the army was not Irish, it is to be presumed that their British fellow-countrymen paid the Patlanders the compli-

ent of wearing the national colour on the national day. The British fourth division had a race," the Hibernians were of course numerous, and the hilarity great, and characteristic of the occasion and those who enjoyed the race-ground was within long range of the enemy, who thundered over the course during the whole time. Still they "snatched dangerous pleasure," and gave vent to all the exuberance of their high animal spirits. A letter from General Canrobert on the 14th, announced to Lord Raglan the loss of a serving British officer, in these terms:—

*Head-quarters, March 18, 1855.*

"MY LORD,—I am grieved to have to inform you of an event, much to be regretted, which painfully engrosses the French army and its commander-in-chief. Last night, while the troops were kept perpetually on the alert, an English officer presented himself before the entrance of the 18th regiment, established near the watch-tower behind our trenches of the left flank. Although summoned three times by the *qui vive* the officer did not reply; the sentinel fired, and he was killed on the spot. I can hardly understand how this unhappy officer found himself at such an hour so far from the English camp. I believe that his death can only be attributed to his own imprudence; but I do not the less deplore the event, which must also be attributed to the natural emotion of a young soldier, who, in the midst of the events which marked last night, rigorously executed the military regulation.

"GENERAL CANROBERT."

*Field-marshal Lord Raglan, &c.*

The gentleman thus referred to was Mr. Edward Le Blanc, surgeon to the 9th regiment of the line.

On the night of the 17th and 18th, the French renewed their attack on the Russian rifle-pits; for four hours the warfare was waged around the blood-stained place, but the Russians were at the end victorious. So fiercely and bravely the French fight for the possession of those buscades, that there is little doubt they could have gained possession had not their transports failed to arrive.

Our allies did not appear to advantage in his description of warfare; their attacks were from well planned, while those of their enemy were most skilfully managed. The vigilance of the Russians was generally superior on these occasions. Two British divisions were under arms to assist the French, but the latter were tired, sorely discomfited and crest-fallen, on their lines. The officers behaved with more than their usual gallantry, encouraging the men by voice and gesture, and placing themselves in the foremost position of danger. Above the roll of the musketry the

voice of the officers could be heard, exclaiming, "*En avant, mes enfans!*" "*En avant, Zou-aves!*"

On the 18th a large body of men, probably not less than 15,000, entered Sebastopol from the north side. An equal number were detached from the corps of observation at Inkerman, and moved down to M'Kenzie's Farm. There did not appear to be any object in these movements, unless to carry out some system of relief.

About four o'clock in the evening General Canrobert reconnoitred the position of the rifle-pits and the Mamelon, and seemed to pay especial attention to the large square redoubt which the Russians had raised to the right of that work. This reconnaissance was preliminary to another attack on "the pits," for at nightfall a body of troops unusually large for these nightly enterprises passed to the front with six 12-pounder fieldpieces. Once more a fierce encounter raged around these centres of slaughter, which issued in both French and Russians retiring upon their own lines.

The 19th was an eventful day, for it revealed the unwelcome fact that the labours of the Russians had been even greater than was imagined; the battery lately fought for so gallantly against the French was now fully equipped: on the Mamelon a formidable new work appeared ready to receive its armament. It was observed that, for some reason which was not conjecturable, they had closed up forty of the embrasures of their batteries. Mr. Russell, writing at this date says:—"Our siege-works are in a state of completion. Those of the French are almost as far advanced. In speaking of siege-works, I refer to those which have been recently constructed in addition to our former batteries. The defences of Balaklava are strengthened day after day, guns of large calibre are placed in position along the heights, and the disadvantages of a plunging fire are obviated as far as possible. The French have thrown up a new work, containing six guns, right above our 32-pounder battery on the road to Kadikoi."

On a previous page we pointed out the error into which this gentleman,—always so painstaking and eloquent, and generally so accurate,—had fallen as to the comparative state of the French and English works. No doubt he had seen both, and was a very keen and observant witness. Either he wrote in error, or the French were very impatient, and General Canrobert was solicitous to begin the bombardment not only before his ally was armed, but before his own batteries were prepared. Perhaps it would reconcile these discrepancies to suppose that Canrobert, finding Lord Raglan was not ready on the 12th, 13th, or 14th of March, when he was anxious to open the bombard-

ment, he also began new works, and *these* had not quite approached their completion when Mr. Russell wrote. But even this idea fails to reconcile entirely the discrepancy between the accounts of English correspondents and French despatches; for, at the end of March, General Canrobert's complaints of the English, in his *private* correspondence with the French minister of war, were as bitter as ever. The Baron de Bazancourt, so much in the imperial confidence, thus observes upon the state of Canrobert's mind, with which he must have been acquainted:—"The presentiments of the commander-in-chief as to the gravity of the situation were not slow in being realised. The Russians, to whom we conceded so much precious time, accumulated defence upon defence, and constantly held ready powerful reserves to protect their new works."

"For these reasons," wrote General Canrobert, on the 31st of March, "in the region of our new attacks, all attempts, either on our side or that of the enemy, must cause combats of large proportions; and in order to meet this serious state of things, I am obliged to reinforce the 2nd corps with the division of the reserve, and to send every evening two battalions of the guard to take up a position near to it."

"I have hopes," adds the general, "that the English will be able to open fire in the first days of next week (about Tuesday next). This fire can be actively sustained for ten or twelve days. It will facilitate the approaches of the allies towards the place; it will diminish the difficulties which are presented to us in the carrying by force of certain of the outworks; and its effects will permit one or two columns of assault to lodge themselves upon some point of Sebastopol, and to plant our flag there."

However slow the English might have been, there was a solidity in their works which our allies might well have copied; the fire of the English artillery was also superior to theirs, and was directed every day, more or less, with precision and effect upon some portion of the enemy's works. Thus, during the 18th, shot and shell were thrown from the English batteries right into the Mamelon, and into the new redoubt to the right of it. Many lives must have been lost under a fire so precise and so galling. Nevertheless, the Russians planted sixteen heavy guns in the redoubt, which was covered by the fire from Inkerman, and the forts across the Tchernaya, and the Malakoff, so as to converge upon its approaches: it now became a thoroughly formidable bulwark of defence.

The night of the 19th-20th was one of storm, and the roar of the sea and the tempest could be heard all over the plateau. The enemy were either kept quiet by the hurricane,

or were so from policy. The allies did not disturb their repose.

On the 20th, Lord Raglan sent home following despatches. The report contains his second despatch from Dr. Hall was important, as showing how far the army was physically prepared for the operations so to be undertaken.

*Before Sebastopol, March 20, 1855.*

MY LORD,—In my despatch of the 17th inst. I reported to your lordship the progress made in forming the position constructed to unite the right of our attack with that of the French on the Inkerman heights.

The contest of the latter with the enemy for the possession of the rifle-pits in their immediate front was renewed after dark on that night, and was continued several hours, the fire being excessively heavy, particularly of musketry, and considerable loss must have been sustained by our allies, I fear, as well as by the enemy who continue to hold the ambuscades; but the English persevere, notwithstanding, in working forward, and are approaching the Mamelon, on which the Russians are busily engaged in building a formidable work, the progress frequently interrupted by our batteries and those of the French.

On the night of the 17th the English parallels were not attacked; but the fire to which I have above alluded was so continuous, that the whole force was either upon arms or ready to turn out.

I enclose the returns of casualties to the 18th inst.

It was currently reported yesterday that Prince Gortschakoff had died on his way to Moscow. I have not been able to ascertain if this report be founded; but it was fully credited as to have been dispatched to Constantinople.

Prince Gortschakoff is stated to have arrived at the Tchéné Serai, and to have assumed the command of the army.

Reinforcements are reported to be on their way to Russia, and the 9th division to have reached the neighbourhood of Eupatoria. The position of the Russian troops in the vicinity of the Tchernaya remains unaltered.

The progress of the railway continues to be satisfactory, and we are already enabled to use it with considerable advantage, both for the conveyance of supplies and for the transport of troops. The progress of the railway continues to be satisfactory, and we are already enabled to use it with considerable advantage, both for the conveyance of supplies and for the transport of troops. The progress of the railway continues to be satisfactory, and we are already enabled to use it with considerable advantage, both for the conveyance of supplies and for the transport of troops.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN

*The Lord Panmure, &c.*

*Before Sebastopol, March 20, 1855.*

MY LORD,—I do myself the honour to transmit to your lordship a letter from the inspector-general of hospitals, forwarding the weekly return of sick to the 17th inst. The number of sick is not diminished, but the cases are lighter, and every day the men in camp exhibit a more healthy appearance.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN

*The Lord Panmure, &c.*

*Before Sebastopol, March 19, 1855.*

MY LORD,—In transmitting the weekly state of sick in the army to the 17th inst., I have the honour to state that though the sickness still amounts to 14.81 per cent. the mortality does not exceed 0.51 per cent., which is proof that the diseases are milder in character; and I think I may safely say, the general health and appearance of the men is greatly improved; and had not the duty, by the unavoidable operations of the siege going on, been increased of late, I think the sick list would have been still more diminished, as the men's condition is, in every other way, so much improved both in diet, dress, and accommodation.

It has been proposed by the minister-at-war to give the men tea, coffee, and cocoa, on alternate mornings and to-morrow your lordship will receive the report the medical board ordered to consider the subject. T

to first I think good, and the change will be both agreeable and beneficial to the men; but cocoa, I am afraid, requires too much preparation to be usefully adopted in an army under present circumstances.

The prevailing diseases are fevers of a low typhoid form in some instances, and in others assuming an intermittent and remittent type, and bowel complaints. Fevers have been rather on the increase of late, but bowel complaints have become much fewer in number, and milder in character. Scurvy, too, though the number appears large in the return, is on the decrease; and I can assure your lordship, from recent personal inspection of the men of the different divisions, that the generality of the cases returned under that head are of the most trifling character; and under the use of the present mode of diet, I am in hopes the disease will soon totally disappear from our list.

In the first division, the brigade of Guards continues to prove in health and appearance, from its change of location, and the brigade of Highlanders is also efficient. The 79th and 93rd are influenced by the locality of their posts, which cannot well be changed, and have more sickness than the 42nd, which are more favourably situated; and in this regiment the most scrupulous attention is paid to the sanitary condition of their camp.

To show how locality affects the health of the men, I may mention the wing of the 2nd battalion of the Rifle Brigade, which occupies the high promontory of the northern extremity of the Balaklava lines overlooking the sea; and here, though the men are exposed, and the duty is as severe as in any other part of the camp, there is little or no disease.

In the second division, the 41st and 95th regiments have been more unhealthy than the rest, and have had a larger number of fever cases than others admitted into hospital, and many of them have been of a serious character. It is difficult to account for this, as there is nothing in the locality of the ground occupied by these two regiments different from that of the rest of the division. Perhaps their tents were a little more crowded than the rest, and the hospital huts, from the pressure of sickness, had more men in them than was advisable; but this I directed to be remedied when I visited the hospitals a few days ago.

The health of the third division is improved, decidedly so in some of the regiments; and the health of the fourth and light divisions is improved also.

The cavalry, with the exception of the 2nd Dragoons, is in good health; and the health of the 2nd, the superintending medical officer seems to think, has been influenced by local causes that are now in course of removal.

The health of the artillery has been tolerably good during the week, and the cases under treatment, both in the general and convalescent hospitals at Balaklava, have progressed favourably; and when the remainder of the hospital huts at the castle come into use, I expect great advantage from their occupation, both by convalescents and wounded men, should we unfortunately have any.

I have, &c.,

J. HALL,

*Inspector-general of Hospitals.*

*To Field-marshal Lord Raglan, G.C.B.,  
Commanding-in-chief.*

## CHAPTER LXXIV.

PROSECUTION OF THE SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL, FROM THE END OF THE THIRD WEEK IN MARCH TO THE OPENING OF THE SECOND BOMBARDMENT.—DEATH OF ADMIRAL ISTOMINE.—STRUGGLES FOR THE RIFLE-PITS IN FRONT OF THE MAMELON.—DESPERATE SORTIE OF THE RUSSIANS ON THE NIGHTS OF THE 21ST-22ND.—BURIAL TRUCES, COUNCILS OF WAR, COMBATS.

"Nil actum reputans dum quid superesset agendum."

It was known on the 20th of March in the British lines that Prince Gortschakoff had succeeded Prince Menschikoff in the command in chief of the enemy's forces. Deserters reported that the latter prince had died of a wound in the leg, at Perekop; but this proved to have been an unfounded report. He was, however, severely wounded, and greatly reduced by sickness, as well as chagrin at his repeated defeats, and the displeasure of his new sovereign weighed heavily upon his heart. According to the same sources of information, the Russian admiral, Istomine, had been killed in the Mamelon, while there reconnoitring the Russian approaches. In this case the report was true. He was the last of the enemy's admirals in Sebastopol. When Nachimoff and Siniloff set out upon the expedition to Sinope, Istomine remained behind in command of the fleet. Thus all the naval chiefs who had taken part in the defence of Sebastopol perished.

On the night of the 21st an immense convoy entered the city. Complaints of the inadequate numbers of the English army for the work imposed on them were very generally heard. The engineer officers could not obtain

men to perform what was requisite; the troops were still borne down with fatigue in the trenches; and the trenches were often inadequately defended from the smallness of the covering parties. The ruinous plan of Lord Raglan in undertaking a proportion of the siege labour altogether beyond the strength of his army still bore down the men, delayed the operations, and gave to our ally cause for incessant complaint. Lieutenant-general Sir John Burgoyne left the camp and embarked at Kamara: a brave and skilful officer was lost to the army, whose services, in many respects, would have been invaluable if retained.

On the night of the 21st the French made a new attempt upon the rifle-pits; five were attacked, one was conquered; the conflict was long and sharp, and the loss on both sides considerable. Such is the testimony of Mr. Woods: Mr. Russell represents the French as more successful, having conquered and retained three of the pits, and maintained a tormenting fire against the enemy from the position thus occupied. The French accounts convey impressions still more favourable to their arms, describing the enemy as driven out of all the pits. As well as we can gather, the whole of

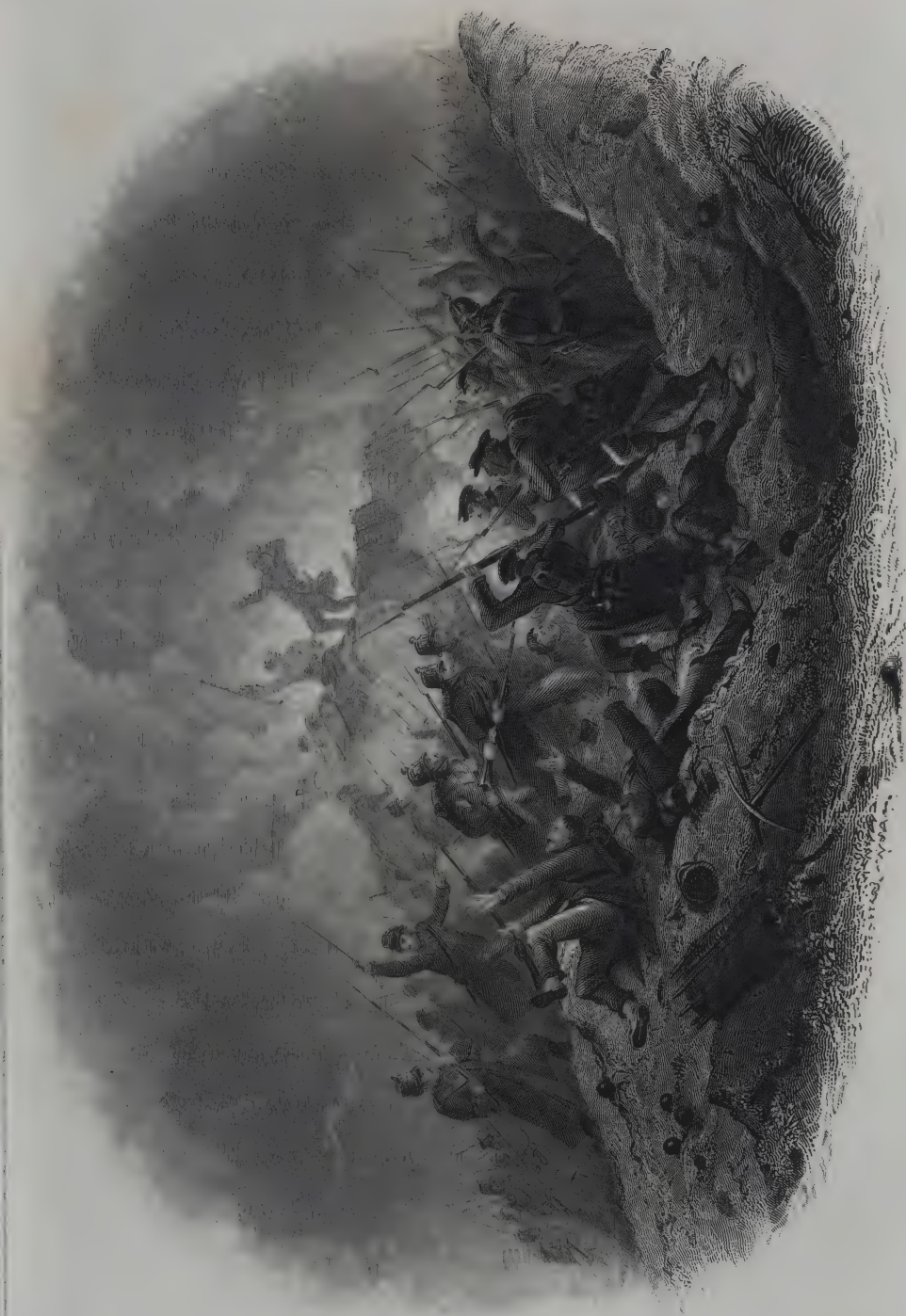
these accounts were right: the French expelled the Russians, who, reinforced, drove the French out of all the pits except three, two of which they abandoned after daylight, because of the heavy fire from the Russian batteries. The mortar practice of the British was very annoying to the defence. The two sea-service mortars recently brought up threw some splendid shells, one of which went over the Malakoff Tower, bursting among the buildings in the rear of it; another fell through the roof of one of the public buildings, of which it made a total wreck. Both the French and English threw shot and shell into the Mamelon with such precision that the enemy must have severely suffered. Prodigious exertions were made to bring up shot, shell, powder, and even guns, numerous as these weapons of destruction already were at the batteries. The British army seemed to labour in the spirit of the motto at the head of this chapter, thinking nothing done while anything remained to be done.

Some new regulations for the promotion of order at Balaklava were set on foot, where, in spite of recent improvement, they were much required. A gentleman who landed there on this day gives the following account of what he saw and what were his impressions; his representations do not accord with the official reports, and even the "own correspondents" must have been thankful for very small improvements when they wrote such pleasant things about Balaklava at this juncture:—"I was prepared to find Balaklava a muddy dirty place, but the reality far exceeded all my preconceived notions of how very dirty a place could be. What Balaklava had become in our hands I do not presume to say; but there appears to have been extraordinary ingenuity displayed in rendering what must have been a very pretty village or town almost uninhabitable. Sides and tops of houses are beaten in, streets and roads destroyed, trees cut down, and in all directions heaps of filth and rubbish impeding the paths and thoroughfares; and heaped up along the landing-places, in the midst of the mud, all sorts of costly goods. Tents, huts, fire-places, provisions, shot, shell, and in fact, whole ship-loads of things just landed so as to clear the vessels; the place crowded with extraordinarily-dressed people, and on the very roughest ungroomed and dirty miserable looking ponies and mules. The mud is garnished on each side of the road with frozen snow and icicles. The harbour crowded to excess with all descriptions of vessels, most of them having some disfigurement, the loss of a bowsprit, figure-head, or a something which made them look anything but with the usual smartness of English vessels; the boats moving about crowded with officers and men on foraging

expeditions among the shipping, and crawling from ship to ship with the most extraordinary agility; in fact, to do anything like business in Balaklava harbour it is necessary for a human being to be half cat, half monkey, as you are expected to take the most lengthy jumps from ship to ship, and scramble up a high vessel's side or over bow without ladder or rope; and it is wonderful how aguish hunger makes even a soldier. The road to the camp is distinctly traceable by all sorts of vehicles and the most motley dressed pedestrians—and alas! also by dead horses and mules putrifying and poisoning the air. The tents only partially keep out the rain, and at night your breath ascends, freezes, then thaws and descends in the form of large drops. Some days they feed well; and for days together they have nothing but their salt rations, frequently come in from the trenches wet to the skin, up to the knees in mud, tired, have a bit of salt meat and biscuit, and then sleep, wet as they are. Still, with all these drawbacks they are cheerful and happy, and many really like it. It is impossible to say too much in their praise, and if ever men deserved promotion it is those who have served, and are serving, before Sebastopol. There is more to be endured in one month of this work than in twenty 'Almas.'"

#### THE BATTLE OF THE TRENCHES.

On the night of the 22nd a furious battle was fought along the whole of the allied lines which exceeded in magnitude any which had taken place since the ever-memorable day of Inkerman. The French had united their lines at Inkerman with the British right attack by parallels; the advanced parallel passed in front of the Mamelon within five hundred yards. The line of intrenchment was thus rendered continuous from Inkerman, on the extreme right of the British to the extreme left of the French. The reader will remember that the French were obliged to occupy the extreme of the English right in consequence of the numerical incompetence of the latter to retain so extended a line as they had previously maintained. There were, however, two obstacles to the perfect continuity of the lines from Bosquet's forces, on the extreme right of the plateau, to the batteries of the extreme left attack, which was more immediately under the eye of Canrobert. These obstacles were called "valleys" by the Russians: they were, in some parts, deep ravines. One of these, the lesser, separated the extreme right of the British from the batteries at Inkerman manned by Bosquet; the other separated the extreme left of the British, where Lieutenant-general Sir Richard England held the ground and the extreme right of the original French



NIGHT ATTACK IN THE TENNESSES.  
REBELLION.



attack; this was called "the great ravine." [It will be seen from this simple description that the advanced parallels of the French (of Bosquet's *corps d'armée*) in front of the Mamelon fell upon the right of the lesser ravine, and upon the left of that valley the advanced trenches of the British right attack rested. The ground on the slopes of this ravine is broken by the edges of the quarries, which served the Russians so well as ambuscades, or, as Lord Raglan's despatch calls them, "concealments." This ravine, passing beyond the lines of intrenchment, wound round to the left, separating the English attack from the Malakoff, until it was itself lost in the great ravine where it entered Sebastopol. This description is divested of military technicalities as much as possible, so that the reader unacquainted with military matters may have a clear view of the ground upon which the bloody battle of the night of the 22nd of March was fought.

For two or three days before, the Russian batteries were comparatively silent: it was reserved this night to break the silence by a desperate attack upon the whole line of the besiegers. Deserters afterwards reported that the reason for choosing that occasion was the rival of the Grand-duke Michael; Prince Gortschakoff had, however, determined to signalise his assumption of command by some great operation. He was of opinion that the strategy of Prince Menschikoff had not been sufficiently bold, and the pro-Russian prints in Germany had boasted in virulent articles, and among telegraphic announcements, that the general Prince Gortschakoff had resolved upon the destruction of the allies, had already chosen his measures and his means, and would, upon his arrival, drive all before him, raising the siege, and sweeping the allies into the sea, or to their ships.

The attack appears to have been made with the choicest men which the prince could find available. The crews of the fleets were generally picked soldiers of the army, who, to the discipline of the land service added the hardihood of the sea service. Upon these Gortschakoff mainly relied for the execution of his purpose. Prince Gortschakoff himself described the force as consisting of "eleven naval battalions, and a detachment of the 35th crew." General D'Autemarre's report to Canrobert has estimated it:—"From the extent of the field of battle of the enemy, and calculating the depth of his columns and the length of the attack, I estimate that we have had to contend with at least fifteen or sixteen battalions." The attack was committed to the Russian general Kruleff.

In the evening of the 22nd the French threw shot and shell for several hours upon

the enemy's batteries, the latter description of missile doing considerable mischief to the parapets of the works and to the houses beyond. At about seven o'clock two Russian columns were observed descending from the Mamelon: at eight o'clock they opened a brisk fire on the French left, where the engineers were finishing some works, and this fire was maintained for some time. Mr. Russell, in his journal of this date, dated at a quarter to eleven, P.M., represents the firing as having then lasted three quarters of an hour—he could not have been in the camp earlier, or he must have been unable to hear what went on at the extreme left of the French. At nine o'clock, says the French journal of the siege, "a heavy fire of musketry begins; and in spite of the darkness we could follow the movement of the black masses deploying before our most advanced works. It was evident that the Russians wished, if not to invade our works, at least to molest them, and to stop their being finished, by a murderous fire and by the menace of an imminent attack. Such was, in fact, the purpose of the enemy. He foresaw that, in face of the new works which he was forming to connect the redoubts of Mount Sapoun (named by us '*les Ouvrages Blancs*'), we should not remain inactive; and he therefore attempted a strong sortie against the head of the French approaches."

"The column," says a staff officer of the French army, "which had thus been perceived, advanced against our front, while two others were to direct their course, the one against our right, the other upon our left. Their purpose was to turn the ravines of Karabelnaia, and to take us in flank, whilst the right extremity of the English trenches would also be attacked." The night was one of intense darkness, and the wind, which was very high, blew from the allies, rendering the noise of the Russian approach inaudible—so that the whole space along the allied front was covered with assailants before the grand rush upon the works was made.

To give a combined view of the whole action is extremely difficult, for the reasons assigned by Lord Raglan in his despatch; but it may be safely said that no account of this battle extant is at once so clear, comprehensive, and yet condensed, as that which is contained in the despatch of the British commander-in-chief. It is also the most truthfully correct—free from all exaggeration, and contrasts pleasingly with the French accounts; all of which—at all events all that we have seen—mingle sly detraction, and magniloquent eulogy, when describing the part the British took in the transactions of the night. Thus the French general of the trenches, D'Autemarre, in his private report, wrote:—"The enemy, before the ener-

getic and desperate resistance which is opposed to them, soon finish by spreading themselves along our whole left, and occupying all the space between the left 'tête-de-sap' and the zigzag occupied by the English,—unfortunately too weakly defended." The emperor's private agent adds to this:—"Before the supporting troops of our allies have been able to oppose any resistance, they penetrate, in numbers, within the parallel; spreading themselves in the communications, and making their way into the rear of our left, they take it in flank with a most murderous fire. It is at this moment that our losses are the greatest;" but appends the compliment—"On two other extreme points the enemy has rushed upon the English intrenchments. For a moment he clears them, but meets an obstinate resistance, which he vainly tries to overcome. Our brave allies have recaptured their position, of which it is impossible to dispossess them. The Russians, at length repulsed, after a violent struggle, are at this point obliged to retreat."

The despatch of Lord Raglan shows that, had the French been able to maintain their position, the British would not have been endangered, and that the greatest peril the English sustained resulted from their generous efforts to give support to their allies. Throughout this work all justice has been done to France, and all praise accorded to her braves, but, except in the mere matter of hard fighting, French writers upon the war, and French officers of distinction, have shown a disposition to run down their allies in a quiet but effectual way, where justice and truth, not to say kindness, demanded a different course.

*Before Sebastopol, March 24.*

MY LORD,—On the morning of the 22nd, the French troops in the advanced parallel moved forward and drove the enemy out of the rifle-pits in their immediate front, but nothing of any importance occurred during the day. Early in the night, however, a serious attack was made upon the works of our allies in front of the Victoria Redoubt, opposite the Malakoff Tower. The night was very dark, and the wind so high that the firing which took place, and which was very heavy, could scarcely be heard in the British camp; it is therefore difficult to speak with certainty of what occurred from anything that could be heard or observed at the moment. It appears, however, that the Russians, after attacking the head of the sap which the French are carrying on towards the Mamelon, fell with two heavy masses on their new parallel, to the rear of which they succeeded in penetrating and momentarily possessing themselves of it after a gallant resistance on the part of our allies. Having broken through, they passed along the parallel and in rear of it, until they came in contact with the troops stationed in our advanced parallel extending into the ravine, from the right of our advance, where it connects with the French trench. The enemy was here met by detachments of the 77th and 97th regiments, forming part of the guard of the trenches, who, although thus taken suddenly both in flank and rear, behaved with the utmost gallantry and coolness. The detachment of the 97th, which was on the extreme right, and which, consequently, first came in contact with the enemy, repulsed the attack at the point of the bayonet. They were led by Captain Vickers, who, unfortunately, lost his life on the occasion;

and I am assured that nothing could be more distinguished than the gallantry and good example which set to the detachment under his command. The conduct of the detachment of the 77th was equally distinguished and the firmness and promptitude with which the attack in this part of our works, was met, were in the highest degree creditable to that regiment. These troops were under the direction of Major Gordon, of the Royal Engineers, who was wounded on the occasion so severely, for some time, I fear, to deprive the army of the benefit of his valuable services.

The attention of the troops in our advanced works having been by these transactions drawn to the right, the enemy took occasion to move upon, and succeeded in penetrating into, the left front of our right attack, near the battery where two 10-inch mortars have recently been placed. They advanced along the works until they were met by a detachment of the 7th and 34th regiments, which had been at work in the neighbourhood, under the direction of Lieutenant-colonel Tylden, of the Royal Engineers, who promptly made them stand to their arms and led them with the greatest determination and steadiness against the enemy, who were speedily ejected from the works and fairly pitched over the parapet, with but little or no firing on our part. Lieutenant-colonel Tylden speaks in the highest terms of the conduct of his troops on this occasion, and particularly of that of Lieutenant Marsh, acting-adjutant of the 33rd regiment, whose services and activity throughout the night were very useful to him. Captain the Hon. Cavendish Brown of the 7th, and Lieutenant Jordan, of the 34th regiment, were unfortunately killed in this attack, after displaying the most distinguished gallantry, and Lieutenant McHenry, of the former regiment, was wounded, but I hope not very severely. Lieutenant-colonel Kelly, of the 3rd regiment, who commanded in the trenches, is, I regret to have to add, missing. The French, in retiring from the advanced parallel upon their supports, speedily rallied and fell upon the enemy, whom they repulsed with great loss, and followed so far up towards the Mamelon that they were enabled to level and destroy nearly all the "ambuscades" or "rifle concealments," erected along their front. I fear, however, that this success has not been accomplished without considerable loss on their part, although that of the enemy is much greater. Yesterday the whole of the ground between the posts of the two armies was covered with their dead, amounting several hundreds, besides those which they had undoubtedly carried off before daylight. In the meanwhile the enemy in great numbers found their way into the advanced batteries on our extreme left, which are not armed, and momentarily got possession of them. Working parties were, however, speedily collected and re-formed by Captain Chapman, of the 20th regiment, acting-engineer, and they at once drove the enemy out of the trenches with the utmost gallantry. Captain Magu, of the Royal Engineers, who was superintending the works, unfortunately fell into the hands of the enemy. I enclose the return of casualties to the 22nd inclusive. The wind is excessively high, but the weather is in all respects fine.

I have, &c.,  
RAGLAN

*The Lord Panmure, &c.*

To the description given in this despatch it is only necessary to add the detail by which the excellent outline may be filled up. On the point of the French line first attacked, the scouts descried the enemy's approach, and gave back noiselessly according to the orders that had been received. The service companies for the night, of three battalions of Zouaves, under the orders of Commandant Banon, lined the trenches, who remained silent as death until the cover of the parapets, until, at a given signal, they rose as one man just as the head of the Russian column approached near enough to be engaged, and before that manœuvre was attempted.

the whole head of the column was swept away by the volley. So sudden and terrible was the shock, that the enemy fell as if a mine had exploded, and cleared the space above it of every living thing. Before the Russians had time to recover from the shock another volley smote them, and the head of the column, which still stood without an attempt to deploy, was cut off as the corn before the reaper's sickle, or the grass before the mower's scythe. Instantly they deployed with loud cries, apparently of mingled astonishment, alarm, and ferocity; the dark masses extended rapidly to the right and left, the head of the sap was stormed, and the two wings of the assailing mass took the advanced work on either flank, where the fearless little Zouaves maintained their position against such unequal numbers. The French were surrounded, and there was no immediate help, and no way of immediate safety, but to cut through the assailing host with the bayonet. The Zouave bugle sounded the charge—it was responded to bravely, and the line of the enemy went down beneath the bayonets of the gallant little band. But they could not penetrate the dense mass of determined men before them, and fell back to their position under a galling cross fire from either flank of the redoubt. Again the trumpet sounded the charge, and the response of the few brave hearts was noble as before; a second time the front line of the enemy went down, but it was vain to persist in the attempt to pass through them—the little party fell back again to their position. Once more the trumpet rang out its clear and chivalrous blast, and a third charge, as desperate and sanguinary as those that preceded it, attested the courage and the energy of the invincible Zouaves. Still it is in vain, the mighty mass of the enemy rolls on in the darkness, happily ignorant of how few were opposed to them. At this moment no alternative to a gallant death seemed to remain for the soldiers of Africa, when Captain Montois, with two companies of *élite*, charged the enemy on the left flank of the work, clearing a passage through which the Zouaves retired upon their lines, pouring a deadly although a desultory fire into their confused and crowded foes. The Zouaves retired slowly, for Major Banon, an Irish officer in the French service, charged at the head of a battalion; he fell dead in advance of his men, pierced through the heart by a musket-ball.

On the left Colonel Janin of the Zouaves resisted the onset of the Russians, which was sudden and strong as a torrent. They overthrew the "gabionade" (a phrase given by our ally to a rifle ambushade formed with fagions and sand-bags) which the French had nearly completed, and which formed the head

of their sap. Colonel Janin had to make desperate efforts to preserve his position even for a little while; a musket-ball grazed his skull, and, while nearly blinded by the blood which flowed from his wound, a Russian soldier scrambling into the work, struck him with a huge stone in the face; having staggered back from the force of the blow, and with weakness from loss of blood, his men gave way, but recovering himself, he rushed forward upon the enemy, his men rallying by the example of their officer. Support arriving, a bayonet charge, close and bloody, in the darkness, decided the doubtful fray in favour of the Zouaves.

While these fierce contests raged along the right and left of the French positions, the British also fought and conquered an hour before their allies had cleared their front of the assailants.

Prince Gortschakoff succeeded in distracting the attention of the English outposts by causing a great excitement to appear in the Mamelon—drums beat, trumpets sounded, and loud shouts rent the air. During these proceedings, which appeared to the English on outpost duty as very odd and unaccountable, a powerful column of the enemy passed up the ravine from Sebastopol, and dividing, precipitated themselves upon the British right and left attacks. On the English right there was a newly erected mortar battery, where the Russians were for a time successful. The English sentries behaved with the greatest stupidity—they were at least as dull as they were indisputably brave. They had often been deceived all along the English line by the Russians answering the accustomed challenge in French. Whatever excuse there might be for this in General England's position, because of the contiguity of the extreme right of the French attack, there could be none on the right of the British line, until General Bosquet's corps manned the defences of Inkerman. It is to be presumed that in this case the English sentinels supposed that Bosquet's men had strayed across the ravine and stumbled upon their lines. It was a thing certainly possible; the French might in some secret attack, or stealthy reconnaissance, have got to the wrong side of the separating valley; but the probabilities were so few that the English deserve censure for this want of vigilance and soldierly alertness. When they heard the tramp of feet, they gave the usual challenge, and were answered, as the Russians *often before answered them in the surprises they effected*, by "Bono Franciz." The ruse was very stale, and one is tempted to ask concerning our sentinels, as the Bechuanas did concerning idolaters, when they first heard of them, "Had they any heads?" Hearing the clumsy phrase, "Bono Franciz," the English quietly allowed the

Russians to walk into the trenches, and were rather astonished when their guests began to bayonet those nearest to them. Then the English stood to their arms, but it was too late—the Russians were in, and not so easily sent out. The English might pronounce a great many Bonos in as bad French as that of the Russians, before one would leave who found the phrase such a convenient “open Sesame.” The steadiness of the British, thus surprised, was truly wonderful, nothing could surpass it—not even their dulness; they fought with a heroism never excelled; their obstinacy so amazed the Russians that they more than once paused as if in homage to the extraordinary valour of the few heroes who so undauntedly withstood them. The Russians were led by an Albanian, who, when next day he was seen stretched in death, was magnificently dressed. He was a chief, urged by his religious fanaticism to fight for Russia, believing that he was thereby fighting against all heretics and the yoke of Islam. He was a man of over fifty years of age, extremely handsome, and his garb resembled that of old Gaul. This man, like another of his class who had fallen in a previous sortie, had led many such attacks, and always with a courage worthy of his race. He was the first man to mount the parapet of the English mortar battery; the first to resist him was the Hon. Captain Brown, of the 7th Fusileers, who, breaking his guard, wounded him. The Albanian drew a pistol, and shot Captain Brown dead; but he fell immediately from the wound inflicted by the captain’s sword—when, turning to the magazine of the trench, the locality of which he knew, he fired another pistol into it; the ball did not penetrate the planking. The fallen chief then struck wildly about him with a large curved dagger, until the bayonets of the English pierced his heart, and extinguished his courage, energy, and fanaticism for ever.

Mr. Russell represents Mr. Brown as having been wounded in the trench, and afterwards found dead in advance of it, whither, although wounded, he had pursued the foe. Mr. Woods and Colonel Hamley declare that he was killed upon the spot by the pistol of the Albanian chief. It was at this moment that the Russian column, of not less than 8000 men, rushed upon the French parallel opposed to the Mamelon, driving out the Zouaves, after the bloody resistance already described. Having driven the French back, the attacking column divided; one division, turning to the right, took the English parallel that joined the French in the rear. D’Autemarre and Bazancourt represent the French as embarrassed by the weakness of the English defence, but this is disingenuous and untrue; it was because the French gave way (after a most desperate re-

sistance) that the enemy was able to penetrate to the rear of the English parallel. Here the Russians were received by the trench guard consisting of small detachments of the 77th and 97th (or Earl of Ulster’s own), who fought with inconceivable bravery and tenacity. The hero of the occasion was Captain Vicars, of the 97th. This gentleman was one of the noblest officers in the English army—

“Palman qui meruit ferat.”

He kept his men in hand with admirable skill and self-possession, although it was his first feat of arms. Seldom has any British officer, with so few followers, accomplished so much. Leading his men precisely at the opportune moment along the parallel, he charged the Russians in flank, exclaiming “On 97th!” “Follow me 97th!” They did follow, with the characteristic courage of Ulster men, and drove ten times their number of the enemy out. Vicars was first and bravest where all were forward and brave. Three Russians resisted his course—he was at the moment too far in advance of his men—two of them fell by his sword almost instantly; he fought like one inspired; the third fired into his side, and he fell wounded; he rose again—advanced upon the enemy—cleared the parapet—pursued them, and at last fell dead, pierced with three bayonet wounds in the breast. Never died a nobler soldier. He was a man of the most consistent and exemplary piety, and had spent the evening before the action in reading the Holy Bible and praying with his men. They were worthy of him; like him, most of them died to save their country in a desperate emergency. Never did men love an officer more dearly, or follow an officer more heroically. While this was going on Captain (Major) Gordon, of the Engineers, with a slight switch in his hand, stood upon the parapet encouraging the men, and hurling stones down upon the assailants. How this officer escaped with life is truly marvellous; he was wounded. Colonel Hamley says in the head and in the arm; Mr. Woods says he was wounded in two places; Mr. Russell says he received two balls, one in the arm and one in the shoulder; Lord Raglan represented him as severely wounded; his life was, one might say, miraculously preserved. After the death of the intrepid Vicars the Russians rallied, and swarmed into the battery in overwhelming numbers. They were probably in possession of it for a quarter of an hour, when the 90th, 34th, and 7th regiments who had been in advance of the battery to support the French, hearing the firing behind them, fell back. In the confusion and darkness no one knew what was best to be done, but Captain Vaughan, at the head of a party of the 90th light infantry, led his men stealthily

ong the covered way, and surprised the Russian flank. His men opened a galling fire of musketry, and then charged the enemy with a valour which rivalled that of the 97th. Here, from some cause, probably from the Russians not answering their fire (not having recovered from their surprise), a cry arose, "We are going into the French!" The result was that confusion ensued, and the little band was thrown into complete disorder by the Russians opening upon them a powerful fusilade. The moment was critical; Vaughan, like his predecessor, Vicars, resolved to sacrifice himself, and, flashing forward sword in hand, exclaimed, "Men of the 90th, follow me!" Sergeant Henry Clarke, Sergeant Bittle, Sergeant Essex, Corporal Caruthers, and fourteen men of the 90th, and a few of the 7th Fusiliers, charged the Russians with the bayonet. This little band fought like giants; they were giants in determination and strength. Most of them escaped with life, but covered with wounds. The parties of the 7th and 34th now arrived, and, most opportunely, a detachment of the Connaught Rangers, who seem to have gone astray from another part of the trenches; these parties shed against the enemy, and within the narrow space of the traverse and the battery hand to hand struggle took place of the most determined and murderous character. The Russians far outnumbered the scattered parties which here united against them. Colonel Kelly of the 34th commanded; he was wounded and carried off by the enemy. Lieutenant McHenry, of the 77th, had been disabled early in the action, when Captain Vicars distinguished himself so much. Colonel Tylor, of the Engineers, arrived and took the command, and skilfully organised the disjointed fragments of the victorious parties. The victory on the British right was complete. The conquerors were few, and never were conquerors covered with more glory—the living and the dead.

On the British left the struggle was less sanguinary. The detachments on duty were the 20th, 21st, and 57th regiments; they were not deceived like their comrades on the right by "Bono Franciz," to which reply they answered again by their musketry, and the enemy, daunted, fell back. Major Montagu, of the Engineers, was of too forward a courage, and fell into the hands of the enemy. Later in the night the assailants returned to the British left, the guards of which were this time not so much on the alert, supposing that danger had passed; the Russians, without firing a shot, dashed into the advanced batteries. Captain Chapman, R.E., rallied the British guard, charged the enemy with the bayonet, and in a short, clever, and decisive contest, cleared the works of them, except

their dead and wounded, who remained with the victors. Long after the English front was clear of the foe, their allies were plying the musket and the bayonet, and the whole of the British divisions were under arms and advanced to their support; the French, however, completed their own work, the enemy was beaten on all the line—beaten signally, and with terrible loss.

The loss of the British in this fierce night battle is stated in the despatch of Lord Raglan; that of the French will be found in the despatch of General Canrobert, who estimates the Russian loss much below what was afterwards discovered to be the fact:—2000 men of the Russian army were put *hors de combat*.

The following is the despatch of the French general, which contained, as enclosures, two orders of the day in reference to the preliminary combats for the ambuscades, which are appended:—

March 23.

MONSIEUR LE MARÉCHAL,—We had last night a very hard-contested, and, for our troops, very glorious combat, on our right works of attack, in front of the Malakoff Tower. At about eleven o'clock at night the enemy attempted a general sortie on that side, in which it appears that not less than fifteen battalions took part, which, according to Russian prisoners, were 1000 strong. These troops, divided in two columns, attacked *en masse*, and with savage yells, the head of the sap (*cheminement*) which we had undertaken in advance of our parallel to reach the ambuscades previously occupied by the enemy—ambuscades which it is our intention to join solidly together, to make a *place d'armes* of them. Thrice repulsed, and thrice brought up again to the attack by the exhortations of their officers, the Russians were compelled to abandon the occupation of this point, which was defended by companies of the 3rd Zouaves, commanded by Chef de Bataillon Banon. An obstinate struggle took place there, which has cost us dear, but with far greater loss to the enemy, in proportion to the masses brought against us. Colonel Janin, of the 1st Zouaves, commanded on this point, and fought personally with admirable energy. He was covered with blood from two wounds in the head, but which, happily, are not dangerous. The enemy, finding that their efforts, which only succeeded in overthrowing our gabion defences, which had not yet been filled up, were in vain, bore against the left of our parallel towards the Karabelnaia ravine, where a warm fusilade welcomed them, and prevented them from entering. They then suddenly threw themselves upon the right of the English parallel, succeeded in crossing the works, and took up a position in the rear of our left, which for a moment was exposed to a murderous cross fire. General D'Autemarre, on duty in the trenches, made the necessary dispositions with his usual energy and coolness. The fourth battalion of Chasseurs, coming up to the support, were ordered to charge in the ravine, and threw themselves valiantly upon the enemy, who, in an exposed position, and having suffered considerable loss, was driven back, to return no more. More to the left, the English, who had as yet been able only to assemble forces far inferior in number to their assailants, attacked the enemy with their habitual valour, and, after an obstinate struggle, drove him back. Still more to the left the English had been attacked by a sortie, which seemed to be a diversion, and which they soon mastered. *En résumé*, this operation of the besieged differed completely from all those hitherto attempted against our works. To effect it, and notwithstanding the strong force of the garrison, they had sent for two regiments (eight battalions) of fresh troops (regiments Dnieper and Ouglitch) from outside the walls. It was a sort of general attack upon our advances, and appears to have been well combined

for obtaining an important result. The importance of this failure of the besieged must be estimated, therefore, by the greatness of the object they had in view. The prisoners we have taken declare that their losses were enormous, and we think, in fact, that this disorderly combat, as all night combats are, and where the firing lasted for many hours, must have cost the Russians, considering the masses they brought forward, 1000 to 1200 men at least *hors de combat*. The ground in front of our parallels is strewn with the slain, and General Osten-Sacken has just sent to demand a suspension of hostilities, which has been granted, and is fixed for to-morrow, to pay the last duties to the dead. Our own loss, of which General Bosquet has only been able to send me as yet an approximate estimate, is considerable, and cannot be under 300 to 320 killed and wounded. We have especially to regret the death of Chef de Bataillon of Engineers Dumas, a superior and meritorious officer, who had a bright future before him, and who found a glorious death. He was killed by bayonet thrusts, after having already been wounded at the head of the works of attack. You knew him and esteemed him, Monsieur le Maréchal; your regret will be equal to our own. The same may be said of Chef de Bataillon Banon, of the 3rd Zouaves, who is missing and supposed to be killed. I will send you a detailed account of our losses. I have nothing to add to what I said in my last despatches respecting the health of the troops. It is satisfactory. I am informed that many families, under the pressure of other doubtless legitimate occupations, are astonished that no exchange of prisoners has as yet taken place in the Crimea, and address complaints and petitions to you on the subject. On this head I can only reply that, in concert with Lord Raglan, I wrote on the subject to the commander-in-chief of the Russian army, as far back as January last. Prince Menschikoff shortly afterwards sent a reply to the effect that he would refer the matter to his government, and that he would inform us of its ultimate decision. Thus matters rest, and I do not think it is for us to break a silence which they seem disposed to keep.

Accept, M. le Maréchal, the homage of my respectful devotion.

CANROBERT, *Commander-in-chief*.

P.S.—You will find annexed two orders of the day relative to previous combats.

#### GENERAL ORDER.

The troops of the second corps and Brunot's division, intrusted, under the direction of General Division Bosquet, with the new works of attack on the right, have vigorously opened the trenches in front of the Malakoff Tower. In the night between the 14th and 15th of March the troops under the orders of General Bisson, on duty in the trenches, did good service. Two companies *d'élite* of the 100th regiment of the line carried with much resolution the ambuscades of the enemy. Captain Champanhet's company of grenadiers especially displayed great energy in defending the post it occupied against very numerous assailants. Menaced, at daybreak, in its position by a strong force of infantry, it was supported by three companies of the Algerian Rifles, who, cheered on by the voice of Chef de Bataillon Gibou, threw themselves upon the enemy with the most daring courage, routed him, ejected him, and drove him back within the town. The commander of the Russian troops was seriously wounded; the second in command was killed. From the 15th to the 16th of March the troops under the orders of the general of the trenches, De Failly, acted with no less vigour in advance of the parallel in the attack and destruction of the Russian posts. The second battalion of the 3rd Zouaves, under the immediate orders of Colonel de Brancion, of the 50th of the line, threw itself upon the enemy with its usual impetuosity; and in this very interesting military episode, acts of courage most honourable to the performers took place. This *ensemble* of works, executed under the enemy's fire, and intermixed with combats in which, according to the enemy's own reports, the besieged always suffered considerable losses, does the greatest honour to the energy of the troops who have made their *début* in the difficult and laborious practice of siege operations. The engineer corps directed on the right

by Colonel Frossard has distinguished itself by its accustomed solidity and incessant activity, in which the Chef d'Escadron of the Staff Besson constantly took part, being charged with the laborious post of major of the trenches. On the extreme left of our works of attack the night, between the 15th and 16th of March, the besieged made a considerable sortie on the point defended by the company of the Voltigeurs of the 2nd regiment the Foreign Legion, Captain Bertrand, and by the company of the 10th battalion of Chasseurs, commanded by Second-lieutenant Bèdes. Warned by their view of these two companies calmly awaited the advance of the enemy till they were within a few metres of the parapet of the trench, when they poured in a volley almost point blank, then attacked them at the point of the bayonet without committing the fault of pursuing them too far. Notwithstanding the promptitude and care they evince in carrying off their killed and wounded, the enemy lost twenty-nine in our hands, and as many in front of the parapet on the ground traversed in their precipitate retreat. They lost in this affair at least one-third of the force engaged. This short and brilliant action does honour to the troops that fought it. They displayed coolness worthy of veterans, and with them I congratulate the Chef de Bataillon L'Hérillier, of the 2nd regiment of the Foreign Legion, whose skilful and decided dispositions were crowned with complete success.

The above general order is followed by a number of promotions in the order of the Legion of Honour.

#### GENERAL ORDER, No. 2.

The works executed by the first corps to complete the advanced parallel of our works of attack on the left, under difficult and dangerous circumstances, brought in relief the self-possession and solidity of the troops employed at them. The engineer corps has given here additional proofs of the vigorous tenacity which has earned, since the commencement of the siege, the praises and the esteem of the whole army. Captain Mouhaut, of Engineers, acting under the immediate command of Lieutenant-colonel Jourjon, has particularly distinguished himself, and I reward his ancient services by conferring upon him in the emperor's name the Cross of the Legion of Honour.

CANROBERT

On the 27th of March Lord Raglan wrote supplemental despatch, an armistice for the burial of the dead (to be noticed in another page) having in the meantime occurred; and on the 31st he concluded his despatches for the month, giving the latest official information so far home for that month:—

Before Sebastopol, March 27

MY LORD,—Adverting to my despatch of the 24th instant, I do myself the honour to state that the following officers have been brought to my notice as having distinguished themselves on the night of the 22nd and morning of the 23rd, in addition to whose names I have already submitted to your lordship:—Major the Hon. James Lyon Browne, of the 21st regiment, brother of the Hon. Captain Browne, of the Royal Fusiliers, who, it has already been my painful duty to report, fell upon this occasion; Captain Butler, of the 20th, and Captain Raman, of the 77th. I am happy to say that Captain Matagu, of the Royal Engineers, who was taken prisoner, was not wounded, and that Lieutenant-colonel Kelly, of the 34th regiment, who also fell into the enemy's hands, is not severely wounded, though he received some injury both in his head and hand. Major-general Eyre, a general officer of the trenches, highly eulogises the dispositions of Lieutenant-colonel Kelly, and laments the loss of his services. The major-general also speaks in the warmest terms of the conduct of Lieutenant-colonel Tylden, Royal Engineers, who received a contusion, which, however, I am glad to be able to assure your lordship, does not incapacitate him from continuing his exertions and displaying those qualities which render him so valuable an officer. There was a suspension of hostilities

s for about three hours on Saturday for the purpose of trying those who had fallen in the late encounters, and was evident, from the numbers of bodies of the enemy of the French, to whom the last sad offices had to be paid, that the loss sustained both by the French and the Russians had been very severe, particularly that of the latter. Some French, too, were found lying close to the Mamelon—a proof that their gallant spirit had carried them up to the enemy's intrenchments. Nothing of importance has since occurred. The siege operations continue to progress, and during the last two nights the interruption from the fire of the enemy has been inconsiderable. The enemy are very assiduous in the improvement of their defences, and in the establishment of a trench in the front of the Mamelon, towards which our army is advancing by serpentine sap. The weather continues very fine, and the appearance and health of the troops are manifestly improving. Dr. Gavin, of the Military Commission, and Mr. Rawlinson, civil engineer, have arrived, and are earnestly applying themselves to the discharge of the duties they have undertaken to perform; and I will take care that they receive every assistance it may be in my power to afford them. I close the return of casualties to the 25th instant. The *Malaya* has arrived, and has been disembarking her stores yesterday and this day in Kasatch Bay. Since writing the above, I have received the official report that Captain A. E. Hill, of the 89th regiment, was severely wounded and taken prisoner last night while posting his sentries in front of the advanced trench on our extreme right. I have, &c.,

The Lord Panmure, &c.

RAGLAN.

*Before Sebastopol, March 31.*

MY LORD,—Since I wrote to your lordship, on the 14th instant, the operations of the siege have been continued, without any material interruption from the enemy, beyond occasional shots from guns and mortars, and the more constant firing of musketry from rifle-pits, which have occasioned, I regret to say, the casualties which your lordship will see in the returns I enclose. Captain A. E. Hill, of the 89th regiment, whom I mentioned in my despatch as having been severely wounded and taken prisoner, died, I regret to say, of his wounds, before he reached the Russian ambulance, as I learned last night from General Osten-Sacken, to whom I had written for information on the subject. He had gone forward with a view to place the sentries in front of our advanced works, as I stated to your lordship on Tuesday, but he unfortunately mistook a Russian for a French soldier, and, having challenged it in French, he was immediately fired upon, and brought to the ground. Early yesterday morning a fire was observed in the town of Sebastopol, which raged with violence for a considerable time, but how it originated I have not been able to ascertain. The enemy has made no movement on the side of Tchernaya. The railway continues to progress in the most satisfactory manner, and last night had nearly reached the top of the hill usually called the Col de Balaklava, and advantage has been taken of it to bring up large quantities of ammunition and stores.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN.

The Lord Panmure, &c.

The following letters from the camp give a brief but effective picture of the feelings of those engaged, and present in their just light the heroic actions of Captain Vicars, one of the most gallant soldiers and excellent men who fell victims to the war. The description given by the national poet in his *Henry VI.*, would well apply to this good and brave soldier:—

Whilst any trumpet did sound or drum struck up,  
His sword did ne'er leave striking in the field."

*Camp before Sebastopol, March 23.*

"THE action of last night—I might almost glorify it by the name of 'battle'—has been

a glorious and decisive victory. It was Inkerman on a small scale—an attack in very great force, and on all points; and everywhere they were beaten back with vigour and heavy loss. I saw at least 300 Russian bodies lying on the field. We calculated that their loss must have exceeded 1200 men. The French lost 500, and the English four officers and about 50 men. Captain Vicars, of the 97th, was in the advanced parallel of our right attack, with a picket of his regiment. The enemy attacked the French lines close alongside where he lay; a ravine only separated them. They at first drove back the French; and part of them then turned to their right, crossed the ravine, and took our trench in flank. We were unprepared, and at first thought the advancing body was one of the French. But Vicars found out they were the Russians, and ordered his men to lie down, and wait till they came within twenty paces; and they did so. When the enemy was close enough, Vicars shouted, 'Now, 97th, on your pins and charge!' They poured in a volley, charged, and drove the Russians quite out of the trench. Vicars himself struck down two Russians, and was in the act of cutting down a third with his sword, when another man, who was quite close (for the coat was singed), fired, and the ball entered his uplifted right arm close to where it joins the shoulder, and he fell. The arteries were divided, and he must have bled to death in a few minutes. Thus his end was as peaceful and painless as a soldier's death could be, and nothing could have been more noble, devoted, and glorious than his conduct in this, his first and last engagement. He was universally beloved, and none can doubt who knew him that he is now in the presence of that great and holy God whom on earth he deeply loved, and earnestly and successfully sought to serve. Poor fellow! he chose the Psalms and lessons for the preceding day (the Day of Humiliation), and read the service, when several of us met together to worship God; all present must have noticed the fervour of his manner; little did we think that he was so soon to be numbered with the dead."

A letter dated off Sebastopol, March 24, says:—"On the 22nd the Russians made a heavy sortie in the night on both ours and the French trenches; they were repulsed with great loss, but we also suffered—nine officers and 100 men killed and missing, among whom is the colonel of the 29th—whether killed or missing is uncertain. On the same evening the town was set on fire by some of our mortars, which are doing great execution, and kept burning all night. The deserters still confirm the report of Menschikoff's death, saying he died five days after receiving the wound in his knee. Admiral Istomine was also killed

by a shell in the Malakoff Battery—the same person who was well-known to Sir Edmund Lyons, and who exchanged presents—‘a cheese for a deer,’—some time back. Summer is fast making its appearance. Thermometer often at 60 degrees, and the weather exceedingly mild. The Russian Captain Kowseloff, who was on board the *Agamemnon* some time, and was ultimately exchanged for Lord Dunkellin, was shot 48 hours after he had landed for having been captured drunk.”

One of the most painful episodes of this action was the wounding and capturing by the Russians of a Captain Létors de Crécy, of the French service:—“I was present,” writes an officer, “at the suspension of hostilities; and that is what I learned, from a Russian officer, who had been Crécy’s adversary. ‘The officer of whom you speak,’ said he, ‘has been well cared for by some of the Russian religious sisterhood. He has been able to write to his mother and wife. He was obliged to suffer amputation. He is a brave man. For a long time we fought against him hand-to-hand, and we were not able to take him prisoner, until, wounded several times, he fell exhausted; his strength failing to support his courage. He has, in me, a friend; and I make it a duty to watch over all that concerns him.’”

The following letter was directed to the Empress of Russia by the superior of the Greek Sisters of Charity concerning the fate of this officer:—“He had received several bayonet thrusts in the chest, and the head laid open by a sword-cut. He lived six days, and that struggle with death was really astonishing. He was very strong, and of a very robust constitution. He was placed in a separate room, and confided to the care of the mother Séraphine. The orders of the doctors were punctually followed, and we were much grieved when the latter declared to us that our patient had not much longer to live. On the last day, an hour before his death, I went to see him. He gave me his hand, asked after my health, and remarked that I was very pale. I could scarcely answer him; I immediately quitted the room. Mother Séraphine did not quit him, and was present at his last moments. To-day his interment took place. Our Russian priest said the prayers. A black coffin was made for him, and I with the mother Séraphine and two of our sisters accompanied him to the cemetery. The soul was saddened at the sight of this tomb, at which no relative was present. There, I thought of the letters he dictated to a French officer for his wife, his mother, and his sister. Involuntarily tears flowed from my eyes. I remained near the tomb until it had been filled. The cross of the Legion of Honour, and a few *bréloques* which he had upon his person, were sent to the French camp.”

Bazancourt adds, “Directly after the death of the captain, a flag of truce brought a little packet, upon which was written, ‘Circ of Honour of Captain Létors de Crécy, and different objects which had belonged to him. This little packet was given to Colonel Raoul, major of the trenches of the left attack, who, during the interviews of the flags of truce took place; and was immediately sent to headquarters.”

On the 24th a truce was agreed upon for burial. Mr. Russell states that the allied commanders requested the armistice: all the other authorities represent Prince Gortschakoff as having sought it. Mr. Russell describes as a two hours’ truce: all the other narrators of the event state it as having been for three hours. The truce, however, took place at a given signal, and the scene was one of considerable interest. The number of Russian dead found in and about the allied lines was very great, and the time was actively employed in removing them. Mr. Russell describes the appearance of the Russian slain as coarse and soldierly-looking; their shirts and feet (which were stripped by their conquerors for the sake of the boots) he declares to have been singularly clean. Mr. Woods says that many of these soldiers were soft and ruddy-looking, unlike English recruits, and that they were *extremely dirty*. Colonel Hamley agrees with Mr. Woods. All these gentlemen stood upon the ground during the truce, and converse with vanquished and victors. The French believed that the Russians sought the truce as *ruse de guerre*, and therefore had the trenches well guarded, and the guards well supported.

It had been a matter of surprise the previous night that the mortars in the British mortar battery had not been spiked, as the Russians were so numerous, and so long in possession of that battery after their first successful attack. The mystery was cleared by the discovery having been made that the party who seized the battery had no spikes; for at some distance in front of it an Albanian was found dead, holding the hammer and spikes which had been intended for this purpose. Near him were several Greek civilians lying among the slain—volunteers for their faith, which they believed to be concerned in the war. The allied officers had a good opportunity of seeing Sebastopol during this truce; and the Russian officers slyly informed them they would never have a nearer view of it, except as prisoners. During the truce the opposing troops mingled as on neutral ground. The Russian officers made some attempts to draw the French and English common soldiers into conversation, in the hope of thereby gaining some knowledge of the state of things in the camps. A French soldier was asked if the allies were not suffering

from want of food; but he invoked heaven and earth to support his assertion that the armies had the greatest abundance supplied by the fields. His vociferations and earnestness staggered the incredulity of his interrogator, who was surprised to hear that the invaders were in such good circumstances. Another of these inquisitive gentlemen asked an Irish soldier, in a sort of confidential tone, how many men he did duty in the trenches at night, intimating his own knowledge of the very reduced state, numerically, of the British forces. Pat, looking about him knowingly, as if afraid of being caught in giving information to the enemy, whispered, "About 7000, your honour, does duty every night in the trenches, and a *wake* covering party of 10,000." The Russian, delighted with the ready wit of the poor fellow, told the French and English officers how well he had been answered. The allies were much struck, as they retired from this friendly intercourse, by the distinctness with which their works could be seen from the side of the enemy, while from the highest ground in the allied rear, their own works, or the enemy's, could be but imperfectly seen. A number of French were found dead within the enemy's lines, whither, in their too forward valour, they had pursued the flying foe.

In narrating the course of the action, the fall of an Albanian chief has been recorded. Mr. Woods, who saw him lying where he fell, thus describes his appearance among the slain:—"At the left end of this work was the little mortar-battery. Several broken Russian firelocks were here; and between the mortars, in a row, lay some eight or ten Russian corpses, with their little round caps laid over their faces. In the corner several blood-stained stretchers leant against the parapet. Captain Chapman, R.E., was here, with one or two artillery officers; and behind, where the little group stood chatting, lay the body of the Albanian chief, who had led so many sorties against the English. He was that of a man in the prime of life, well formed and muscular. His weapons were gone, and the body had been partially stripped. The jacket was open, and showed three deep bayonet-thrusts in the chest, and the healed scars of two former wounds were plainly visible. The countenance had a horrible expression: the blood which had flowed from the mouth had dried upon it; the eyes were staring wide, and the rich black hair was matted and powzy. His flowing kilt, all torn and soiled, had been used as a kind of shroud, and partially enveloped the corpse. Outside the work, the dead lay thick, and just as they had fallen. About one hundred were there in all."

The same writer describes the Redan, and that fortification became afterwards such an important work against the operations of the

British in the two great assaults, it will interest our readers to peruse the description:—"On the left of the Malakoff, but projecting 100 yards in advance of it, was the Redan. This is now one of the most tremendous of all the Russian works. Its three faces have, in parts, double tiers of guns,—there being in this one battery alone, it is calculated, not less than 150 pieces of ordnance, some of them of the heaviest calibre used in warfare. This work, like the Malakoff, is also defended by a broad deep ditch, with an abattis on the slope of the glacis. From between these batteries a most admirable view could be had right down into the town behind. Even with the naked eye everything might be seen quite distinctly; but, with a good glass, a minute examination could be made."

Mr. Woods could see no signs of injury done to the town by the six months' cannonade; but Mr. Russell, Colonel Hamley, and others, bear a different testimony: the point of view from which it was regarded by the different observers will probably explain this diversity.

The British officers were astounded at the piles of shot, shell, splinters, broken muskets, bayonets, swords, pouches, cartouches, bags, knapsacks, &c., which choked the way in different directions, so frequent had been the struggles in the front of the allied lines.

As soon as the work of burial was over, the Russians immediately opened fire—their riflemen from the loose stones and gabions built up before the quarry-holes near the Mamelon, and the artillery from the redoubt recently constructed there. The English replied with promptitude and effect, and the French quickly joined their cannonade.

Some obscure hints had been given during the time of the truce, about a great gun that would speedily open upon the English. The significance of these hints became apparent on the morning of the 25th, when, from the left inclosure of the Mamelon, an enormous cannon directed its fire upon the British right attack, No. 3 Battery—this battery had for several days done great mischief to the Russian works. The use of the electric telegraph in the camp, where it had just been completed, was now apparent, for a message was sent to the commander-in-chief by that medium, announcing that this tremendous cannon had been just unmasked, and asking for instructions. By the same medium the instant reply was flashed to the British battery from head-quarters, "Fight it." They did fight it, and beat it. A long 68-pound ship-gun, from on board the *Terrible*, was brought up—and the name, in this case, was prophetic, for the very first shot tore away the Russian embrasure, and left the gun exposed; the next shot struck the gun in the muzzle, splitting and dismounting it.

Within five minutes the electric telegraph answered the command "to fight it" by the message, "It has been fought, and is dismounted." What a novel scene in warfare is this! and how the scientific progress of the age was marked upon the rocky siege-ground before Sebastopol, as signally as when along iron roads, or beneath stormy seas, the electric wire gives its rapidly-conveyed intelligence!

On the 26th, Captain Hill of the 89th—mentioned in the last despatch from Lord Raglan—met his death in consequence of the ignorance which he, in common with the officers generally, evinced of the topography of the country. He had wandered into the Russian lines; the sentinels challenged, "*Qui va là?*" "*Nous Français,*" was the unfortunate answer; the Russian picket fired, and Captain Hill fell dead. A few men were with him, who retired upon their own picket; but on its advance, his body was not to be found. Lord Raglan much regretted his loss.

The Russians continued to work with the mattock and the trowel, and to erect earthworks and gabions, and repair damages, with a laborious energy never surpassed in any siege. They erected two new redoubts opposite the flanks of the British right, where a few nights before there were no appearances of any intention to erect new fortifications. As fast as they erected works they armed them; as fast as they armed, they manned and used them. On Mount Sapoun, to the right of the Mamelon, new works had also been thrown up, and partly armed, although the discharge of shells upon the spot seemed to render it impossible for men to work there. They also connected their rifle-pits by a trench, which they extended to the ravine described in the account of the action of the 22nd. In this manner an intrenched line was formed within eighty yards of the French, fortified with the rifle ambuscades, and covered by the guns of the Mamelon, while it defended the approaches to the Mamelon, rendering the storming of that work an extreme difficulty. Thus, at the end of March, was Sebastopol stronger than ever.

Information reached the British camp, by deserters, that the Russian soldiers were on half rations; that their pay was long in arrears; that all the superior officers of the navy were killed, and the sailors disheartened; and that the soldiers were murmuring at want of food and want of money: but so frequently did deserters bring similar tidings, which they supposed would please the allies, that it is strange any attention was paid to them.

At Balaklava Sir Colin Campbell was kept very much on the alert. Every day the new telegraph bore its flashing message to him from head-quarters, ordering out the troops in the early mornings, which were almost

as cold then as two months before. General Osten-Sacken, who was in observation of Sir Colin's position, showed caution, vigilance, and activity: his videttes and pickets constantly annoyed Sir Colin, while he rendered his own position extremely strong, and, in his own opinion, according to his despatches, impregnable.

April opened as coldly as March ended, and the sharp nights with which it began, like those in March, tried the health of the men, notwithstanding the great improvement in that respect which had been experienced. Indeed, the very first consideration in the English army was the health of the men—reinforcements came slowly, and the sick who went to Scutari seldom returned; the hospital there was still a pest-house, and despair alone seemed to remain for those who entered its pestilence-stricken precincts. On the 3rd of April, Lord Raglan wrote to the minister of war, sending inclosures from the inspector-general of hospitals, containing important information in connection with this subject. The following is the despatch and the reports of Dr. Hall. From these the reader will be able to glean for himself the true condition of the camp, as to the health of the soldiers, and the hope that might reasonably exist in that respect:—

*Before Sebastopol, April 3.*

MY LORD,—I have the honour to transmit to your lordship a letter of this date from Dr. Hall, enclosing a weekly return of the sick of the army up to the 31st ultimo. Your lordship will see, with satisfaction, that the general health of the army continues steadily to improve. I have also to submit to your lordship, with reference to your despatch of the 26th of February, the copy of a letter from the same officer on the question of accommodation for wounded men in the event of any sudden emergency occurring. As the ships referred to by Dr. Hall are constantly on passage, and might all be so at the time they might be wanted for the wounded, I proposed to Sir Edmund Lyons to have some sailing-vessels got ready for their reception; and accordingly, with his sanction, the following transports are under preparation:—*Orient, St George Pollock, St. Hilda, William Jackson, and Poitiers* and it is calculated that they will hold from 100 to 15 men each.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN.

*The Lord Pannure, &c.*

INCLOSURE No. 1.

*Before Sebastopol, April 3.*

MY LORD,—In transmitting the weekly state of sick to the 31st of March, I have the honour to state—and I am sure it will be pleasing to your lordship to learn—the general health of the army continues steadily to improve; and, although fevers and bowel-complaints continue to prevail, they are both assuming a milder character, and the latter are of much less frequent occurrence. During the present week the admissions to strength have been in the ratio 3.93 per cent., and the deaths to strength 0.38 per cent. Last week the admissions to strength were 4.35 per cent., and the deaths 0.52 per cent., which make a decrease of 139 in the admissions, and 43 in the deaths during the week. Fever continues to prevail in some particular regiments more than in others; but I am hopeful change of locality will correct this. The comfort of the men are greatly improved in every respect, and is evinced by their cheerfulness and more healthy appearance. The rations are good and abundant, the men a

well clothed, and due attention is paid to the sanitary condition of the different camps. The supply of water is ample at present, and means are being adopted to insure it in future, by constructing new tanks, cleaning out those that already exist, and digging fresh wells. Indeed, so far as the physical wants of the men are concerned, I am of opinion the force is as well provided as any army can reasonably expect to be when employed on active service in the field. The hospitals are on a respectable footing, not crowded, and amply provided with all that is necessary for the comfort and welfare of the sick; and, if the casualties of war do not fill our hospitals, we may fairly look forward to have a diminished sick list in future. But, should the chances of war unfortunately reduce wounded, I calculate we shall be able to accommodate 1400 on shore, and arrangements are being made for the reception of between 500 and 600 on board ship, which I sincerely trust will be more than sufficient for our wants.

I have, &c.,  
J. HALL, Inspector-general of Hospitals.

To Field-marshal Lord Raglan, G.C.B., Commanding-in-chief.

INCLOSURE No. 2.

Before Sebastopol, March 23.

SIR,—With reference to the question of accommodation for wounded men in the event of any sudden emergency arising, I have the honour to state, for the information of the field-marshal commanding-in-chief, that, in addition to the accommodation which the regimental establishments of the divisions in front will afford—say from 250 to 300—I propose to occupy thirty of the new huts in rear of the third division, at present in possession of the 14th and 39th regiments, which would afford comfortable accommodation for 480; and as these huts are built on dry, elevated, clean ground, with water not very distant, I calculate thirty more of the huts might be given over in case of any very great emergency, and the troops put under canvas, which would afford room for 480 more. At the Sanitarium at Balaklava I calculate on accommodation for 200 wounded, in addition to the convalescents there at present, when the huts now in course of erection are completed. From the crowded state of the general hospitals at Scutari, the length of time they have been occupied, and the amount of fever that has prevailed in them lately, I am most unwilling to send wounded men there. I can possibly avoid it; but should necessity compel me to resort to that measure, the

Melbourne .....	130
Brandon .....	110
Sydney .....	100
Australian .....	109
Seyn .....	180

620

camers are already fitted as hospital-ships, and would be capable of transporting, with ease and comfort, 620 wounded. The hospital establishments at Smyrna, Rhodes, and Gallipoli, are full; and, as typhoid fever is reported to have made its appearance in the hospital at Smyrna, it would not be desirable to send wounded men there during its continuance. If compelled to form another hospital establishment out of the Crimea, I should suggest, from what I have heard, that Sinope be selected. I speak from hearsay, for I have never been there myself; but perhaps the commander-in-chief might be pleased to have it surveyed by some competent person, and a report made of its capabilities. Our accommodation for wounded, fixing minimum numbers, will therefore stand thus:—

Regimental hospitals .....	250 to 300
New huts occupied by the 14th and 39th regiments .....	480 to 960
Sanitarium at Balaklava .....	200
Additional .....	930
On board transports .....	620
	2080

I have, &c.,

J. HALL, Inspector-general of Hospitals.

To Major-general R. Airey, Quartermaster-general.

About that period General Forey's command of his division was accepted reluctantly by the French emperor. At first his majesty refused to accept the general's resignation, but the latter, feeling his honour hurt by certain reports affecting his loyalty raised in the Crimea, persisted in giving up his command, and the emperor appointed him to "the Oran division" in Algeria. The general did not retire from the Crimea until a later date.

It was determined by the allied commanders to renew the bombardment on the 9th of April; accordingly the labour of their soldiers for that object became incessant as the time approached, so much so that the French, whose numbers enabled them to have regular reliefs up to April, were now in the trenches three nights out of seven. From 12,000 to 14,000 men were on duty each night. The English still suffered dreadfully from over toil; the numerical strength of the English army was perilously and even preposterously small in comparison with their works; and the officers of engineers and artillery reported perpetually to the commander-in-chief their inability to execute works or work batteries without men. Still the English wrought on, and endured their fatigue without a murmur; they made a trench much nearer the enemy's works than they had yet approached, and the pickets were within sixty yards of each other, and frequently joked one another. It was strange that the Russians did not interrupt the progress of the British, although their shells burst perpetually over the working parties of the French. The enemy appeared to have inexhaustible *material* of war, and used heavy charges of powder beyond precedent in gunnery—the balls were driven with great force against the allies. The English suffered more from the balls than from the shells.

On the 1st of April there was a dangerous fire at Balaklava, but it was extinguished, chiefly by the exertions of the 71st Highlanders.

Major-general Scarlett left on the 2nd for England, summoned home by the dangerous illness of his wife. Lord G. Paget assumed the command of the cavalry.

The benefit of the railway began now to be felt in a new way: the sick and wounded soldiers were carried down by it to Balaklava in half an hour, without subjecting them to jolting, fatigue, or exhaustion. It was, alas! too frequently necessary so to employ it; yet not a man could be spared, for the total strength of the British army was but 22,000, and of them only 15,000 rank and file could be brought together for defensive or offensive operations. The English formed as to number a strong division of the French army,—this was their real position; but their lines and batteries

were very powerful, their artillery far superior to the French, and their fighting qualities unequalled by any army in the world. It could be said of them in every engagement, whether a combat or a battle—

“ Nothing could daunt, nothing dismay  
Those island warriors on that day,  
Through all the changes of the fray,  
No matter how the battle sped,  
Unbroken stood the line of red  
Majestically firm.  
The line of red that never yields,  
Victorious in a hundred fields !”

On the 2nd the French lost a very superior officer of engineers; he had previously been wounded by a rifle-ball, and the wound proved mortal.

On the 3rd a working party of the English effected a very important object, that of connecting by a trench the advanced parallels of the two attacks. Not a man was lost during this operation, although the men worked within range of the Russian riflemen, and of discharges of grape and canister from some of the Russian guns: it was moonlight—still more increasing the hazard; yet not a wound was received. As day dawned the Russians brought down two fieldpieces, but an English nine-pounder was opened upon them, and speedily silenced them. Several men were killed and wounded when daylight enabled the Russians to take surer aim.

On the 4th several officers and some of the staff had a very narrow escape: they were collected in a group near the British mortar battery, and several French officers joined them. A shell from the enemy fell into their midst, but did not explode until the officers, throwing themselves down, had rolled to a considerable distance; none of the party were hit, but a splinter wounded a French soldier fifty yards off. Most of the gentlemen hastened away as soon as the explosion took place; others remained, and were joking at the flight of their companions, when another shell fell amongst them, but all escaped, and became fugitives like their forerunners.

On the evening of the 5th the English threw two rounds of 13-inch shells from their mortar battery, each round cast three shells; the first fell in different parts of the Round Tower, and still further promoted the destruction of that dilapidated building. The effect could be distinctly seen from the British lines; a bystander thus graphically, and yet humorously, relates it:—“ Beams of timber, trunks of bodies, legs and arms of human beings, were seen to fly up in the air, and after a time a blaze of fire ran along a portion of the work, which appeared to spring from one of the enemy's mines. The second salvo must have been very destructive also. On the whole, the

result was so satisfactory to the feelings of a sailor in the battery, that he then and there expressed his decided determination to Captain Grant to reward him for his conduct with the entire use and possession of his whole ‘go of grog’ for that day.” There was heavy firing as the shades of evening fell; and during the night a party of British workmen accidentally encountered a party of Russians: a confused fight with picks and spades ensued, the English driving the Russians up towards the allied lines. At this juncture the Russian pickets advanced, and the English workmen were taken by them in the rear; the British picket advancing, the Russian workmen were placed in a similar predicament. The result, after a combat which frequently ebbed and flowed, was the defeat of the Russians with a loss of 150 men; the British loss was 37.

The 6th of April was signalised by a railway accident. A party of the 71st Highlanders went down to Balaklava from head-quarters, whither they had gone up for Lord Raglan's inspection; the train by its own momentum rushed down, rendering the breaks useless, and only for the skill and courage of the director of the train the casualties would have been heavy: as it was, one was killed, and a dozen or more wounded; several had to undergo amputations.

It was generally expected that the bombardment would open on that day; the French urged it, forgetting that the English could not be in the same readiness as themselves, engaged as they had been for days bringing up shot, shell, and other material of war to their allies.

The next day Lord Raglan sent home a brief despatch:—

*Before Sebastopol, April 7.*

MY LORD,—Some interchange of troops has taken place since I addressed your lordship on the 31st ult. Battalions and considerable convoys have entered the town, and other bodies of troops have been seen to leave the north side. The garrison has been constantly engaged in adding to the works, and particularly in connecting the rifle-pits in the immediate front of our right attack; and as we have pushed forward, the fire upon our advance has occasioned more loss, I deeply regret to say, than we have sustained since the sortie of the 23rd of March. Lieutenant Bainbridge, of the Royal Engineers, was, I lament to have to add, killed on the morning of the 4th of April, while in the execution of his duty, by the bursting of a shell. He was a young officer of much promise, and, though he had not long been here, he had acquired the esteem and good opinion of his brother officers, and his loss is greatly deplored by all. I enclose the return of casualties to the 5th inst.

I have, &c.,

RAGLAN.

*The Lord Panmure, &c.*

The convoys to which his lordship referred were immense trains of carts, loaded with provisions and various matters of utility in the defence—such as supplies of tools for the workmen, and Liege rifles with which to arm the





HERBERT GORDON EARL GORDON, BAR. OF GORDON, G.C.B., &c.

*From a Daguerotype by* [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

batteries of infantry, and the "equipages" of the navy, as the crews were called.

For the remaining days, until the bombardment, the Russians seemed to concentrate their attention on the Mamelon, which they fortified in great strength. The English brought up their fourth parallel within sixty yards of the rifle-pits; it was then intended to arm it with cohorn, to dislodge the Russian firemen from their ambuscades. By these and other batteries they prepared to clear the whole ground in front of the Redan and the Mamelon of those "concealments."

On the night of the 8th the French lost a lieutenant-colonel of infantry, a gallant man, killed by a rifle-ball. On the morning of that day Lord Raglan received instructions from home, which it was alleged compelled him to open the bombardment sooner than his own judgment approved. He ordered the artillery to be in readiness; they remonstrated, on the reasonable ground that the notice was too short. The orders were repeated and made empty; and the artillery, imperfectly prepared, after all, put forth wonderful efforts for the emergency. Too much at home had been expected from the services rendered by the railway, and the government seemed strangely to overlook the paucity of numbers in their army. The mortality from sickness had, indeed, diminished to one-fifth of what it had been when it had reached its highest point, but the men were still suffering from debility, the result of loss of sleep and overwork. It was determined, however, to renew the bombardment, an account of which is reserved for another chapter. As Sir John Burryne, upon whom so much of the responsibility of the plan of the siege rested, had retired from the army before Sebastopol before the second bombardment, and was no longer accountable for any engineering failures or successes, this seems an appropriate place to introduce his own justification of certain matters with which he was connected, and which were the subject of comment at home. In consequence of inaccuracies in a report of his evidence before the Sebastopol Committee, he directed a letter to the *Times*, which conveys substantially his evidence, and his vindication of himself in the matters to which public reference had been made:—

*Ordnance-office, Pall Mall, May 4.*

"SIR,—It has been generally stated by the press that my tone of voice in giving evidence before the Sebastopol Committee was so low and indistinct, that it was difficult to catch my expressions. It may have been partly owing to this defect of mine that in one of my articles of this day I am understood to have uttered sentiments and to entertain opinions which I do not acknowledge; but as your

desire is, no doubt, to allow the utmost latitude of discussion on matters of such importance as the proceedings of the army before Sebastopol, I feel great confidence that you will admit some explanations on my part, which I will make as concise as possible. I do not wish to enter into any controversy on the subject; my only desire is to offer an explanation of some points where my meaning appears to have been misunderstood. My reason for not commencing the construction of a road during the fine weather cannot in fairness be said to have been because I was 'in hopes we should take the place at once,' when I have constantly urged before the committee, that, from the first to the last, we had no means for constructing such a road. The censures that have been passed on 'the neglect in constructing a road between Balaklava and the camp' would seem to imply that it was no very difficult matter, but I would put it to any civil engineer to calculate what would be the requisite means for such construction, in a very short time, in soil of deep clay, for a distance of seven or eight miles. It certainly was late in the season before reflection could be turned to the advantages, among other remedial measures, that would be derived from a good road, and it was undoubtedly one of the most difficult to execute. The frightful failure in the loss of transport animals was the principal source of ill convenience as regarded the hardships of the troops. Of this I would give one instance:—The very small supply of mules furnished to the engineer field service having been carefully attended to, enabled that corps, with the Sappers, to be never without full rations throughout the winter; when warm clothing was available for them, it was brought up without delay, and nothing baffled them but the conveyance of the huts (which I would submit was not the most advantageous provision, if there had been time for full consideration); that conveyance certainly exceeded the capabilities of any reasonable amount of transport. I do not think that the period of my hopes and fears about the reduction of Sebastopol is clearly understood. After the battle of the Alma, and before we reconnoitred the place, I was in great hopes, from distant observation from the sea, and from common repute of its being an open town on the south side, that it would have fallen at once; but when I saw the natural strength of the position of which the enemy could avail himself, and the nature of the localities, so well adapted to resist a *coupe de main*, and witnessed the bold countenance which the Russians put on in consequence of that advantage, and the strength of the garrison which we had good reason to suppose was in the place, I at once altered my opinion. We were then, however, engaged in a struggle from which there was no escape; it

was necessary to do something, and while we were actively engaged in carrying on our endeavours, it would have been weak to abandon hope of success. Not long after the failure of the first cannonading in producing the desired impression, I certainly began to have misgivings that we should be detained a considerable time before the place, under many disadvantages. But no change in our plans could take place; it was still necessary to persevere in our efforts; we had no alternative. And here I must pause in my explanations, as the proceedings were so intimately connected with those of our allies, and I cannot presume to discuss any matters to which they have been parties. I would, however, observe that it was utterly out of the question to reduce the extent of our trenches, so as to withdraw men from that work, as has been often suggested, for the purpose of making a road. It was necessary to occupy the position; had we narrowed our limits, the Russians would have advanced theirs, and the actual effect of our retreating from our advanced position would have been to bring the whole of our camp under cannonade.

"The impossibility of pausing in our progress of active measures will account for many subjects of remark in attempting what appears to have been beyond our means. I would submit, however, that the want of the road, which has been so much pressed, was not of the vital importance that has been represented. The want of food—that is, to the extent of the authorised ration—was very slight. The warm clothing was brought up by degrees—I admit, with much labour; all this would, no doubt, have been greatly alleviated by a made road, but a good supply and due maintenance of transport animals (without which the best road would have been useless) would have been of more value, and that essential want has arisen from defective equipments and organisation. If great fault is to be found, I think it should be attached to those defects. To retire to

Balaklava was utterly impossible, and the other alternative of taking the field was a impossible by the British with their very small force. Turks or other natives for work were proved to be unavailing. 500 Turkish soldiers (by far the best native labour at our disposal) under the guidance of engineer officers, were employed several days in attempts to improve the road, but they were found quite inefficient. They could make no impression on the deep compact clay of which the country was composed, and Lord Raglan at length ordered the work to be discontinued. Much censure has been cast, as I think, most unduly, upon Lord Raglan. With regard to the operations, his lordship having done me the honour to place much confidence in my opinions, I am quite willing to take as large a share of the responsibility on that head as a subordinate officer can presume to do. The faults of equipments and organisation in several essential departments could not possibly be rectified by him in the midst of his difficulties. The example of the Duke of Wellington has been quoted, but it will be observed that even his wonderful talents could only be exerted in remedying these evils at some quiet time, after his army had suffered by the evil. Every one who knows Lord Raglan intimately must be sensible of his resolution, his ability, his unceasing labour, and his most anxious feeling for the welfare of the troops. I will acknowledge that I have met with great consideration, and even personal kindness, from his lordship, for which I am deeply grateful; but, while that consideration would prevent me, under any circumstances, from joining in any direct or indirect attack upon him, I hope I may have credit for truth in declaring that neither would I enter into any praise of him on that account that I did not most conscientiously believe to be correct.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"J. F. BURGOYNE,

"Lieutenant-general

## CHAPTER LXXV.

NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE BLACK SEA, AND THE SEA OF AZOFF, IN THE OPENING WINTER MONTHS, AND THE SPRING OF 1855.

"Oh for a lodge in some vast wilderness!  
Some boundless contiguity of shade,  
Where rumour of oppression, and deceit,  
Of unsuccessful, or successful war,  
Might never reach me more. My ear is pain'd,  
My soul is sick with every day's report  
Of wrong, and outrage, with which earth is filled.  
There is no flesh in man's obdurate heart—  
It does not feel for man—the natural bond  
Of brotherhood is severed as the flax,  
That falls asunder at the touch of fire!" COWPER.

IN entering upon the war with Russia, we were especially vainglorious of our fleets, which, up to the spring of 1855, had scarcely

effected anything that was expected of them. If it be said in reply, that they effectually blockaded the Russian ports, we affirm the

ven this, which would seem to follow as a matter of course from their presence in the unprotected seas, was not accomplished. The trade of Russia had not materially suffered—Odessa was still a *point d'appui* for the Crimea, and the Danube was still under the control of Russian forts and gun-boats. The horrible butchery of Sinope had, in consequence of our want of maritime vigilance, an ominous effect on our disadvantage. Nothing had been attempted by our naval forces in the Sea of Azoff. In the Pacific, Russian ships eluded our cruisers, and Russian forts repulsed our squadrons. A power confessedly inferior in maritime resources and character to either of our Western enemies, kept their fleets at bay; protecting one navy safely within her belted harbours, and sinking another with her own hands, as a successful obstruction to the attack of its rivals upon the city that sheltered it. The commercial navy of England was a matter of as much pride as her military navy; what our ships could carry was almost as much a theme of boasting as what our ships could destroy. Never was boasting more foolish and empty. Our transport service was the world's wonder for its disorganisation, dirt, and delay; and the efforts of private firms, however well-directed, were abortive under the general mismanagement. There had been hardly any exception to the waste, extravagance, business incompetency, stupidity, and corruption. Never did men act a more unprincipled and reckless part than the officers, superior and subordinate, in all the civil departments of administration in the late campaigns. Dr. Hamilton, in his sermon on the Fast Day, put it admirably to his hearers when he said (we do not quote his exact words), "That we generally believed our soldiers, after a forty years' peace, would be found inefficient, while our material organisation would effect wonders; but the reverse had been the case: our army, about which there was no boasting, did everything men could do, while the departments concerning which we were so full of self-congratulation had humiliated and disgraced us." Our French neighbours were considered the first military engineers in the world; we went to school to them, literally, in such matters. The subjugation of fortresses, or the defence of them, was French work *par excellence*; yet here they also especially failed, where they were most vainglorious; and French engineering was long and ignominiously baffled before Sebastopol by the barbarians whose military science France so much despised. It is likely that no war, except the invasion of Russia by Napoleon I., and the Spanish Armada against England, had ever been undertaken with so much boasting; and never, by Providence, since the days of the destruction

of Sennacherib, was boasting more sternly rebuked, excepting in the instances already named.

Both in the Baltic and the Black Seas the incompetency of the Admiralty to direct the navies of England was signally displayed. In the beginning of 1855 the hopes of the country were considerably excited in connection with naval matters; it was believed that with the winter would terminate the inaction of the fleets, and that the year 1855 would be one of naval glory.

During the winter nothing could be effected in the Black Sea of an effective character. The first intelligence of any activity came from a Russian source, and was quoted by a French paper as follows:—"A letter dated Theodosia, the 20th of December, transmitted via Odessa, speaks of the appearance of a British steam-frigate there in the bay on the 18th ult., at eleven in the forenoon. It was doubling the cape, and steering in a northerly direction. This was the first enemy's cruiser the inhabitants had seen since the 28th of July. It was followed shortly after by a second steamer. The frigate lay to five versts off the town, probably for enabling its consort to join it. At last both were alongside of each other, and the last comer furled her sails. After remaining stationary for some time both stood towards the east, they then wore round to the left, and steered along the coast before the town. They were both three-masted screw vessels, sailing under the English flag, but the second ship was a smaller steamer than the frigate. In the latter there were twelve port-holes for guns, but half of them were closed. The smaller steamer was black, and had mortars on deck. About two o'clock they approached the batteries, but were received with a salute of solid shot, upon which they put off to sea in great haste. A little while after they came into the bay again, lay to before the batteries behind the quarantine, opened their fire, which lasted perhaps for about an hour, and then returned to the offing, where they remained in sight till it was dark. The cannonade (says the Russian writer) did us no injury whatever, although some of their shots came from 36-pounders, and others were 12-pounder shells. One bomb, weighing eighty pounds, was found near the batteries, and it had not exploded. The enemy came near us. It seemed as if he thought the town was defenceless; but, in fact, all our towns near the shore, without exception, are defended by strand batteries."

During the winter of 1854-55 it was impossible for the admirals to do more than remain in observation of the enemy's coasts and harbours; and this was often attended with great danger, in consequence of the stormy weather which prevailed. Perhaps there is no

sea so motionless and beautiful in calm weather as the Euxine, and none is buffeted more fiercely by the storm; the poet's lines to the ocean are more appropriate to it than to any other sea:—

"Yet most I love thee, when, from low brow'd cave  
I watch, as sheds the moon her golden path,  
That leads to heaven across thy slumbering wave;  
But I abhor thee when, in senseless wrath,  
Thou swallowest up the gentle and the brave,  
In sight of home, and friends, that throng to save."

The vessels which performed the duty of watching the enemy's ports were:—

SCREW STEAM-SHIPS.		Guns.
Royal Albert .....	121	
Agamemnon .....	91	
Algiers .....	90	
Hannibal .....	90	

SAILING SHIPS.		
Rodney .....	90	
Vengeance .....	90	
Bellerophon .....	78	
Leander .....	50	

SCREW STEAM-SHIPS.		
Dauntless .....	33	
Curaçoa .....	30	
Tribune .....	31	
Highflyer .....	21	
Miranda .....	14	
Niger .....	14	
Swallow .....	9	
Curlew .....	9	
Arrow .....	4	
Beagle .....	4	
Lynx .....	4	
Snake .....	4	
Viper .....	4	
Wrangler .....	4	

PADDLE STEAM-SHIPS.		
Sidon .....	22	
Terrible .....	21	
Furious .....	16	
Valorous .....	16	
Cyclops .....	6	
Firebrand .....	6	
Fury .....	6	
Gladiator .....	6	
Inflexible .....	6	
Sphinx .....	6	
Stromboli .....	6	
Spiteful .....	6	
Vesuvius .....	6	
Triton .....	3	
Caradoc .....	2	
Banshee .....	2	

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## AT CONSTANTINOPLE AND MALTA.

SAILING VESSELS.		Guns
Britannia .....	120	
Queen .....	116	
Trafalgar .....	120	
Albion .....	90	
London .....	90	

PADDLE STEAM-SHIPS.		
Retribution .....	28	
Samson .....	6	

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The *Moniteur* contained the following notice of some of the earliest signs of any activity on the part of the navy of our ally:—"Admiral Bruat, in order to ensure an uninterrupted

supply of provisions to the French troops, has just decided that, for the future, all the stores that may be required from Constantinople shall be brought in steam vessels only. But that means there cannot well be any irregularity in the service. A little incident took place two days back in the Bay of Strelets, where provisions are frequently landed for the French army before Sebastopol. A transport vessel by some mischance went ashore within the range of the Quarantine Fort, and at once the batteries opened on her. But Admiral Bruat gave the necessary orders, and two steamers soon went in and got her off. Fortunately, notwithstanding the warm fire of the enemy, we had no one either killed or wounded. The two sorties lately made by the Russians were on the French works before Sebastopol, one in the night of the 19th of January, and the other in that of the 3rd. The allies have occupied the position of Kamara, opposite Inkerman, where the advanced guard of the corps of General Liprandi was established; these last named troops have retired to M'Kenzia. The service of the supplies of every kind, in provisions, clothing, camp equipage, &c., for the army, deserves notice for the activity displayed and the excellent results obtained. The following is a list of all the clothing sent which has arrived at the camp of the French troops in the East from the 20th of October to the 22nd of January:—23,562 camp blankets, 42,050 pairs of sabots, 30,720 pairs of socks, 100,000 pairs of worsted stockings, 34,400 flannel waistcoats, 62,806 pairs of gaiters, 72,275 great coats with hoods, 12,960 sheepskin coats, 84,504 pairs of worsted gloves, and 55,760 red worsted felt caps."

It was during the inactivity of the winter that our brave sailors, and their comrades in the French navy, heard of the votes of the British houses of parliament doing honour to their courage and persistent discharge of duty. On the 6th of January Admiral Dundas received the official communications at Malta:

*Britannia, at Malta, Jan. 6.*

MY LORD,—I have had the honour this day to receive your letter dated the 18th ult., transmitting the resolutions of the House of Lords expressive of the high estimation it entertains of the valuable services rendered by myself and by the officers, seamen, and marines of the fleet lately under my command.

Having, on the 31st ult., transferred my command to Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, I have transmitted a copy of your letter to him, and the resolutions of the House of Lords have been made known to the several officers who were serving under me.

I have also, in obedience to the order of the house, forwarded to Admiral Hamelin the resolutions, thanking that officer and the French navy for their cordial co-operation in the various services in which the combined fleet have been engaged, and as Admiral Hamelin has also transferred his command, I have sent copies to Vice-admiral Bruat for communication to the French navy.

The high honour and distinction the House of Lords has thus been pleased to confer on myself, the officers, seamen, and marines of the fleet lately under my command, will be received by all with deep gratitude and respect, and I have to beg your lordship will be pleased to accept my sincere thanks for the generous terms in which you have conveyed to me the resolutions of the house.

I have the honour to be, my lord, your lordship's most obedient, humble servant,

J. W. D. DUNDAS, *Vice-admiral*.

During the session of parliament the Speaker acquainted the house that he had received the following letters from Sir Edmund Lyons, acknowledging the vote of thanks of the house:—

*Agamemnon—off Sebastopol, Jan. 30.*

SIR,—Having succeeded Vice-admiral Dundas in the command of this station, the honour has devolved upon me of communicating to Rear-admiral the Hon. Montagu Topford, and to the several captains, officers, seamen, and marines in her majesty's fleet in the Black Sea, the unanimous expression of the thanks and approbation of the House of Commons for the services rendered by them during the present war, and of communicating to them, so, the unanimous acknowledgments of the distinguished valour and conduct of those who have perished in the struggle, and the deep sympathy felt for their relatives and friends. All are deeply impressed with the honour conferred upon them. All are encouraged in the performance of their duty to their queen and country, and the seamen and marines more so, I believe, than on any former occasion, for the blessing of education enables them to appreciate better than their predecessors the thanks and approbation of parliament.

I have the honour to be, sir, with the highest respect and regard, your most obedient and humble servant,

E. LYONS,

*Rear-admiral and Commander-in-chief.*

*Agamemnon—off Sebastopol, Jan. 30.*

SIR,—I have the honour to transmit to you herewith a letter which I have received from Vice-admiral Bruat, who has succeeded Admiral Hamelin in the command of the French fleet, showing how highly the French navy is honoured and gratified by the thanks of parliament. I have the honour to be, sir, with much respect and regard, your most obedient and humble servant,

E. LYONS,

*Rear-admiral and Commander-in-chief.*

*Vaisseau le Montebello, le 21 Janvier, 1855.*

MONSIEUR L'AMIRAL,—Je transmets aujourd'hui même aux équipages de l'Escadre de la Méditerranée les remerciements publics qui leur ont été votés par les deux Chambres du parlement d'Angleterre. C'est un honneur digne et rare qui leur est décerné. Je l'accepte pour eux et pour le digne chef qui les commandait au début de cette grande expédition, comme une précieuse récompense de leurs services, comme le gage d'une alliance intime encore, et comme l'heureux augure de nouveaux succès.

Je vous prie d'agréer, Monsieur l'Amiral, l'assurance de ma haute considération,

BRUAT, *le Vice-amiral*,

*Commandant en Chef l'Escadre de la Méditerranée.*

*Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Bart., G.C.B.,*  
*Commander-in-chief, &c.*

On receiving from Admiral Lyons the thanks voted by the two English houses of parliament to Admiral Hamelin and the French navy, Admiral Bruat issued the following order of the day to his squadron:—

VOL. II.

*Montebello, Jan. 21.*

OFFICERS AND SAILORS,—The army, by the voice of its chief, has, on more than one occasion, rendered justice to your courage and devotion. The British parliament now awards you the great and rare honour of public thanks voted unanimously by the House of Commons and House of Lords. Admiral Lyons has requested me to transmit these thanks to you, as also to Admiral Hamelin. I have accepted them for you and for the worthy chief who commanded you at the commencement of our great expedition as a precious recompense for your services, as the pledge of a still more intimate alliance, and as the happy augury of new successes. On the 15th of December, 1854, it was unanimously resolved, in the House of Commons and in the House of Lords, that the thanks of both houses should be given to Admiral Hamelin and to the French navy for their cordial co-operation with the fleet of her Britannic Majesty in the transport and landing of the allied forces on the coast of the Crimea and during the siege of Sebastopol. Vice-admiral Dundas was charged to convey that resolution to them. This order is to be posted up at the batteries, and read to the crews at muster-roll.

BRUAT,

*Vice-admiral, Commander-in-chief.*

Although so powerful a fleet was supposed to exercise due vigilance during the winter, it was painfully obvious that proper precautions had not been taken until an advanced date in January, as the following document reveals:—

*Admiralty, Jan. 22.*

The following telegraphic despatch has been received from Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons:—

“Being informed that considerable consignments of munitions and contraband of war have taken place from neutral ports of the Mediterranean to those of Odessa and Kertch, the admirals of the English and French squadrons have determined on establishing an effectual blockade of the principal Russian ports in the Black Sea, and to notify the strict enforcement of this blockade from the 1st of February, 1855. Steps have been taken to provide for an efficient force being, prior to that date, stationed before the principal ports which are to be blockaded, furnished with due authority for the purpose in the names of the two governments.”

In the increased activity which appeared at the British military head-quarters at the close of January, the admiral energetically co-operated, as his despatch of the 27th showed:—

*Agamemnon—off Sebastopol, Jan. 27.*

SIR,—I have the honour to report, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that since my last general letter, of the 23rd inst., the weather has been particularly fine. The health of the army has been much benefited by the change. A good deal of progress has been made in hutting the troops and distributing the clothing which has been so liberally sent out from England, so that the men express themselves as being comfortable.

2. The health of the fleet and of the Naval Brigade is excellent. The men are well supplied with fresh meat and vegetables, and also with oranges, sent from Malta by Rear-admiral Stewart.

3. The fire from the batteries of the allies has increased during the last week, and that of the enemy has not slackened. New guns have been mounted in our batteries during the last four days.

4. On the 24th inst. I passed the day at Balaklava, to superintend the service going on there, and to make inquiries and examine into matters connected with the duties of the port and the transport service. I met Lord Raglan there by appointment, and we made some arrangements which will, I trust, have a beneficial effect.

I have, &c.,

E. LYONS,

*Rear-admiral and Commander-in-chief.*

*To the Secretary of the Admiralty.*

The services of the Naval Brigade had given great satisfaction in England, and her majesty bestowed liberal rewards, which, it may be truthfully said, gave the gallant fellows more pleasure because of the approval of their conduct thus signified by their queen and country, than from any professional benefit derived.

The following are the terms in which the intentions of her majesty, with reference to the Naval Brigade, were announced to that meritorious corps:—

*Camp, Naval Brigade, Feb. 12, 1855.*

It is with feelings of pride and pleasure that I communicate the following copies of letters from Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Commander-in-chief, and which announce the numerous promotions the lords commissioners of the Admiralty have conferred on the officers of the Naval Brigade. I take this opportunity of thanking those officers for their gallantry and untiring energy in the execution of their duty, and I feel certain that in congratulating them (to use the words of the commander-in-chief) on their richly-deserved promotions, their good fortune will be considered by the remaining officers and seamen as a proof of the deep interest taken in our conduct and success by our gallant commander-in-chief, and that it will excite them to increased exertions and zeal in her majesty's service, with the certainty of meeting their due reward from the lords commissioners of the Admiralty. The senior officers are also requested to take this opportunity of pointing out to the crews of their respective ships the deep interest taken in their welfare by the commander-in-chief, as well as by the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, and also by our gracious sovereign Queen Victoria. Her majesty has conferred a medal on every sailor landed in the Crimea, and a clasp for such as were present on the 5th of November, 1854, whose conduct shall have been good; and has, in like manner, conferred a medal and clasps upon the nearest relative or representative of such as may have fallen. The lords commissioners of the Admiralty have granted extra pay to all petty officers and seamen of the brigade, as well as a liberal supply of warm clothing (gratis), as already communicated to them, and the commander-in-chief has further notified that the services of the petty officers and seamen are duly appreciated by the Admiralty, and will meet with further reward. I consider this a fitting opportunity of also pointing out to the brigade the deep sympathy felt for our privation and services by our countrymen and women, who have made private subscriptions for the use of the brigade, such as warm clothing and other comforts, as their means permitted.

STEPHEN LUSHINGTON,  
Captain commanding Naval Brigade.

*To the Officers of the Naval Brigade.*

(MEMORANDUM.)

*Agamemnon, Sebastopol, Feb. 12, 1855.*

It is with no small feelings of gratification that I enclose for your information a copy of a letter addressed to the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, and of the reply thereto which I have just received, and I request that you will convey to the officers of the Royal Naval Brigade my sincere congratulations on the promotions they have so richly deserved:—

“Your own meritorious services, as well as those of the captains under your immediate command, will no doubt receive their due reward, and I request you will inform the petty officers and seamen that their services are duly appreciated by the Admiralty, and will also meet with their reward.”

E. LYONS,

*Rear-admiral and Commander-in-chief.*

*To Captain Lushington,  
commanding the Naval Brigade.*

The following accompanied a return of officers who had been or were then employed with the army in the Crimea:—

*Agamemnon—off Sebastopol.*

SIR,—In compliance with the directions contained in your letter of the 15th ult., I beg leave to transmit, laid before the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, a list of all officers who have been or are now employed on shore with the army before Sebastopol, showing the period they have been so employed.

2. As I could hardly consider myself in a position to make observations as to the merits of each officer directed Captain Lushington, who has commanded the brigade ever since its formation, to do so, and their lordships will observe that the remarks against each name made by him; but I may be permitted to say that the zeal, efficiency and gallantry of the Naval Brigade have been the theme of universal admiration. Nor have they been less conspicuous for the manly and cheerful manner in which they have borne up against the sickness, exposure, and privations incidental to a life in camp at sea.

3. Vice-admiral Dundas has no doubt brought to the notice of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty the defatigable exertions of the commandant of the brigade, Captain Lushington, the chivalrous gallantry and zeal of Captain Peel, and the well-known merits of that talented officer, Captain Moorsom, under their lordships' favorable notice, and I would beg leave to call their attention to the fact that commanders Burnett, of the *Queen*, Hillyar, of the *Agamemnon*, have been with the brigade during the whole period, upwards of three months, during which time they may be said to have been continually under fire. Commander Borlase's meritorious conduct in the battle of Inkerman has been specially reported to their lordships. Commander Lord John Hay rejoins the brigade, where his valuable services and inspired leadership are highly appreciated.

4. Many of the lieutenants, mates, and midshipmen, as well as lieutenants of Royal Marine Artillery and medical officers, have been with the brigade from the first. Captain Lushington's remarks are so explicit that the lordships will have no difficulty of judging of the merits of every officer of each class; and I will only add that those who have been wounded bear a high character for their profession, and that no set of officers ever deserved their lordships' liberal considerations more than those who have served in the Royal Naval Brigade before Sebastopol.

I am, sir, &c.,

E. LYONS,

*Rear-admiral and Commander-in-chief.*

*The Secretary of the Admiralty, London.*

The blockade of the Danube was soon raised, and was a very close blockade kept up until the autumn, where in these seas up to the period of winter we write:—

*Foreign Office, March.*

It is hereby notified that the Right Hon. the Earl of Clarendon, K.G., her majesty's principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, has received a despatch from Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, G.C.B., commanding her majesty's naval forces in the Black Sea, dated 12th of February, 1855, in which he announced that the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, in conjunction with Vice-admiral Bruat, commanding the French squadron in the Black Sea, he had, on and from the 18th of February, raised the blockade of the Danube, which was established on and from the 1st day of June, 1854, and which was notified in the *London Gazette* of the 13th of June, and which has since been duly maintained.

It is hereby notified that the cruisers of the allied fleet are, and will remain, stationed off the mouths of the Danube to capture any vessels laden with contraband war destined for the use of the enemy.

On the 11th of February a very general blockade of Russian ports was declared:—

*Foreign Office, March 3, 1855.*

It is hereby notified that official information has been received from Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, G.C.B., commanding her majesty's naval forces in the Black Sea, dated H.M.S. *Agamemnon*, off Sebastopol, February 11, 1855, that from the 1st of February last, "the mouth of the River Dniester, the Ports of Akerman, Ovidiopol, Odessa, all the ports situated between Ochakoff Point and Kinburn Point, including the Ports of Nicolaiëff and Cherson, the Rivers Bug and Dnieper; also the ports between Kinburn Point and Cape Tarkan, including the ports in the Gulf of Perekop, the Port of Sebastopol, the ports comprised between Cape Aia and the Strait of Kertch, including those of Yalta, Aloushta, Soudak, Kaffa, or Theodosia. The Port of Kertch, the Strait of Kertch, the entrance to and all the ports in the Sea of Azoff, including especially the ports of Berdiansk, Taganrog, and Arabat; the River Don, and also the ports of Anapa and Soujak, were strictly blockaded by a competent force of the allied fleets of France and England. That the ports of Eupatoria, Streltzka, Kamiesch, Kazatch, and Balaklava were, and are, and will remain open and free from all blockade until further notice; and it is hereby further notified, that all measures authorised by the law of nations, and the respective treaties between her Majesty the Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and his Imperial Majesty the Emperor of the French, and the different neutral powers, will be adopted and executed with respect to all vessels which may attempt to violate the said blockade."

Soon after the declaration of blockade the allied admirals prepared for operations in the Sea of Azoff. Before noticing these proceedings it is necessary to give some account of this sea. It is connected with the Black Sea by the Strait of Kertch, formerly called the Cimmerian Bosphorus, from which, to the Biéloserai Spit, to the entrance of the Gulf of Azoff, into which the river Don falls, is more than ninety miles; from the entrance of the Gulf the sea reaches still farther about two-thirds of that distance; the whole extent from south to north being about 150 miles. From east to west, taken from Ieshtskoi Liman to Genitschi, the distance is not much less. The eastern shores are flat, and broken by lagoons; the western, or European coast, is formed by "the Spit of Arabat"—a long narrow neck of land which separates the Sea of Azoff from the inland waters called the Putrid Sea. The northern shores are broken into bays, which have narrow entrances, in consequence of currents caused by the waters of the Don driving sand across their mouths; the ground is sometimes elevated on this side, but never bold or picturesque. The southern boundaries are—the Strait of Kertch, by which this sea communicates with the Euxine, and on the European side of that Strait the peninsula of Kertch—on the Asiatic side the peninsula of Taman. The depth of its waters is at most fifty feet, and shoals skirt nearly the whole line of coast: its waters sink every year, rendering communication with the coasts by ships more and more difficult. The Putrid Sea, or "the Sivash," enters the Sea of Azoff at the Strait of Genitschi (or Yenitchi). The shores of this sea are several considerable towns, and all around corn is produced in

large quantities, constituting them the granaries of Southern Russia. Much blame was cast upon the fleet in England for not sooner penetrating that sea, and cutting off the supplies which the enemy derived thence, and which, obtaining from the Don, he husbanded on the European shores of Azoff, and near the Putrid Sea. There were, however, difficulties which were not understood then at home. Independent of the shallow waters along shore, and the want of gun-boats in the fleets during the autumn of 1854, which would have rendered operations within the sea difficult at any time, the Russians had obstructed the passage of the strait, as they did the entrance to Sebastopol, by sinking a double line of ships. During the winter that sea is entirely frozen over, so that large bodies of men may pass across the Strait of Kertch. As soon as the ice breaks up, a current gradually sets towards the Black Sea; and when later the Gulf of Azoff yields to the increasing temperature, and the Don is free, a powerful rush of waters bursts forth through the strait into the Euxine. Such was the case in 1855, as at other times; and so powerfully did the waters flood through the strait, that the sunken ships were swept into deep water, and before the Russians could sink others, the allied fleets entered and began their operations, which, during the summer, were attended with such important results.

There was a very general opinion in the English fleet that the Sea of Azoff was deeper, and that larger craft could approach its shores, than was the case. Several authorities represent the Spit of Arabat as being without wells, and the sea as affording fresh-water on the surface in the vicinity of the spit. The sea, all along the spit, from Genitschi to point Kayantis, is perfectly saline; there are wells of fresh-water, but frequently brackish, at the spots marked in the Russian maps, and in Wyld's map of the Sea of Azoff. The only parts of that sea where fresh-water is procurable is in the Gulf of Azoff, and there not until after passing the Crooked Spit (or Krivia), in the upper part of the Oukliant Liman, and at the edge of the Delta of the river Cuban in some places. The general impression in the English navy, that there was a nine feet channel from Tchongar Bridge to Genitschi, and a constant current running from Genitschi to Perekop, was thus confuted by Captain Sherrard Osborn, R.N.:

"1. If such a channel exists, why did not the Russians convey the provisions, corn and store lighters, which we found them unloading at Genitschi, up to the bridge, instead of disembarking the stores, and using waggons and arabas to convey them by land over that very bridge by a road which nearly doubled the distance? To get those lighters and small craft into Genitschi harbour they had to pass a bar,

whereon was never found more than 6½ ft. and often as little as 4 ft. 6 in. When that difficulty was surmounted, surely ascending a 9 ft. channel would have been easy work.

"2. I, with two intelligent officers and eight seamen, spent two days and nights trying to find a channel out of the wide marshes, improperly marked Putrid Sea, into the narrow part over which the bridge of Tchongar is thrown. We landed on the Tchongar peninsula, and stood within a few feet of their road; yet the deepest water we ever found in any part of that sea was 4 ft. 6 in., and for miles it was quite as much as we could do to get our light boats through sea-weed and slime. I believe there is 7 ft. or 9 ft. of water under the centre of the bridge, but there is either a bar or a most tortuous channel between it and Genitschi. That there is a space of water between the peninsular of Tchongar (at its northern part), and a point three miles west of Genitschi, few who have looked at it from a ship's masthead can doubt; and, indeed, we often saw Russian boats traversing it. With respect to the current always setting into the Sivash or Putrid Sea, we found it vary very much, and depend mainly upon the direction of the wind. An east wind would cause the water to flow into it from the Sea of Azoff, and raise the depth about two feet upon the bar; whereas with the lightest air from the westward, the current immediately turned and the waters fell.

"In the southern part of the Sivash, the wind, blowing from eastward, heaped the water up as it were on the western shore, and *vice versa*, the difference of depth at such times between the two coasts being, according to Tartar accounts, nearly two feet—a point difficult to determine, for the bottom of the Sivash slopes very gradually towards the centre; although, as your correspondent observes, the Crimean coast is everywhere abrupt, being indeed, the vertical edge of a steppe."

The first act of any importance on the part of the fleet was the blockade of Kertch, and the annoyance of the enemy there, in various ways calculated to harass and alarm. On the 22nd, the French vessel *Fulton* proceeded to the Bay of Kaffa, on the European shore of the Black Sea, near the strait; while Capt. Giffard, in H.M.S. *Leopard*, proceeded to the Asiatic coast of that sea, also near the strait. As the captain sailed thither, he observed large bodies of troops passing from Anapa to Taman. He steamed in, anchoring in 4½ fathoms water, and opened fire upon them, compelling them to deviate from their course. The enemy returned, bringing fieldpieces to bear upon the ships and boats. Being joined by the *Fulton*, both vessels opened fire upon the Russian troops, silencing the fieldpieces, and sending

destructive charges of shell among the Cossacks. A division of boats, under Lieutenant Graham landed their crews; and, after examining the place, and finding stores and barracks in dilapidated condition, and guns and munition which were intended to be landed by the enemy at Kertch, the lieutenant set about the removal of such as might be taken away, and the destruction of the remaining stores within the buildings. A sudden snow-storm rendered it impossible to execute this work, and unsafe for the boats' crews to remain on shore; Captain Giffard accordingly recalled them. The British and French commanders hovered about the place, vigilantly watching it; and, on the 24th, both the *Leopard* and *Fulton* rode in and shelled the enemy, who, although mustering 500 men, fled precipitately, without offering any resistance. They returned, however, as before, and placed field-batteries in commanding and well chosen positions, which threw an incessant discharge of shot against ships and boats. As their fire became somewhat formidable, the advanced their pieces, but the *Fulton* twice drove them from their positions, and the *Leopard* compelled them to abandon the most distant post from which their fire could be effective. The boats' crews then landed, and the place was soon in conflagration, by which seven large boats for carrying troops, two ranges of barracks, a provision store, and a small magazine were consumed, and ten new 50 cwt. 6-inch guns were captured. Not a man was lost by either ship, nor did they receive any damage, nor their boats, except the *Fulton*, which received a shot in her hull. The Cossacks literally fell in groups as they pushed down their fieldpieces, and as they retired from the advanced positions. It was a gallant little action, creditable to the sea-service of both the allied nations, and exceedingly useful in destroying the enemy's resources, interrupting his communications, and depressing his self-reliance. Sir Edmund Lyons, in sending home the report of Captain Giffard, highly complimented him, but not more than his skill and promptitude of action merited.

Royal Albert—off Sebastopol, Feb. 27.

SIR,—With reference to my letter of the 20th inst. reporting the highly creditable proceedings of the blockading squadron off Kertch, under the command of Captain Giffard, of H.M.S. *Leopard*,

I. I have now the honour to enclose copies of two letters which I have received from that active and intelligent officer, reporting his further proceedings; and of a third, having, in conjunction with H.I.M.'s steamer *Fulton*, captured and destroyed ten 50 cwt. 6-inch guns, a burnt seven large boats, two ranges of barrack buildings, also a quantity of military stores and provisions, near Boghaz, on the Cuban Lake, on the 22nd inst. And I leave to call their lordships' particular attention to the fact, that this gallant service was performed during weather which must have rendered its accomplishment exceedingly difficult; and that Vice-admiral Bruat can consider that it reflects the highest credit on Captain

Giffard, Captain Lebris, of the *Fulton*, and on the officers and men of both nations employed on the occasion.

2. The enemy appears to have lost a considerable number of men on the occasion, whereas no casualties have occurred on our side.

I have, &c., E. LYONS,  
Rear-admiral and Commander-in-chief.

To the Secretary of the Admiralty.

Inclosure reporting the capture of enemy's guns, and destruction of military stores.

*Leopard—off Kertch, Feb. 25.*

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that on the 22d inst. H.I.M.'s ship *Fulton*, having gone to Kaffa to reconnoitre, I proceeded towards Anapa in H.M.S. *Leopard*, but on passing the Boghaz of the Cuban Lake, we observed numbers of troops crossing the passage in boats from Anapa to Taman, so I ran in, and anchored off the passage in 4½ fathoms. The troops had landed, but we opened fire on them, and drove them to the hills. I sent a division of boats, under Lieutenant Graham, to examine the buildings on the points, which proved to be guardhouses, barracks, storehouses, and stables, some of which were burnt, but, a heavy snowstorm coming on, I recalled the boats. Lieutenant Graham reporting he had seen some guns and other military stores, which he had not time to destroy, and which the enemy were transporting from Anapa to Kertch, I again proceeded there on the 24th inst., in company with the *Fulton*. A few rounds of shot and shell drove the Cossacks and other troops, 400 or 500 in number, to the hills; when the boats under Lieutenant Graham landed, and M. Lebris, in the *Fulton*, took up a position to the north-west, to check the advance of the enemy, who soon after brought some field-batteries on the hills, and opened a heavy fire of shot and shell upon the ships and boats. The very accurate fire of the *Fulton* drove them from two positions, and the *Leopard's* shell from a third, after which they retreated behind the hills. After three hours' work the boats returned, having captured and destroyed ten new and handsome 50 wt. 6-inch guns, and burnt seven large boats, two ranges of barracks and buildings, also a quantity of military stores and provisions. The *Fulton* received one shot in her hull, but I am happy to say no casualties occurred. The loss of the enemy must have been considerable.

I have, &c., GEORGE GIFFARD, Captain.

Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Bart., G.C.B.

The squadron of British and French vessels cruising off Kertch made various little expeditions during March against the establishments on the adjoining coasts. Some of these might appear to be of no importance—so few casualties occurred, and the places attacked being so small; but in the aggregate there was a large amount of property destroyed—corn, ammunition, wood, fuel, naval and military *materiel*, and some fine pieces of ordnance. As an instance of these destructive attacks on a small scale, the demolition of the tower at Djimieta may be given. Lieutenant Armytage, of the *Viper* steamer, having on the early morning of the 5th March examined the mouth of the Cuban Lake, dispersed a small force of Cossacks—his shells falling among them, causing a considerable loss of men and horses. Proceeding to the south-east he took a Russian coaster, freighted with charred timber, corn, and various articles of less value. After a few hours' sailing he came opposite the tower, and, anchoring bow and stern 500 yards from shore, opened fire, killing or dispersing the few men who constituted the garrison, and destroying the

martello tower itself, without losing a man or receiving any damage to the ship. Near this were many valuable buildings, a barrack, store, and granaries, to the whole of which the boats' crews of the *Viper* set fire. Lieutenant Armytage's own report, to Admiral Lyons, of this promptly accomplished affair, was as follows:—

*Viper—off Kertch, March 8.*

I HAVE the honour to report, that I left this anchorage at 5.30 this morning, for the purpose of examining the mouth of the Cuban Lake. I arrived off there at nine, and observing a small force of Cossacks on the north spit, opened fire and dispersed them; then examined the lake in the whale-boat of this ship, but observing nothing of consequence, proceeded along the coast to the south-eastward. I had just previously taken possession of a small vessel laden with charcoal and other goods, which I have brought in with me, with three prisoners on board. I enclose you her papers, &c., as they may be useful to his excellency the commander-in-chief, and request your directions in reference to the prisoners. At 1.50 P.M. I arrived off the martello tower, at Djimieta, anchoring bow and stern at a distance of 500 yards from the beach, and at 2 P.M. opened fire upon the fort, dispersing the few Cossacks that remained. It is now my pleasing duty to inform you that I have effectually destroyed the fort, barracks, and granaries (having set fire to the latter), spiked and disabled the two guns, destroying the ammunition; and all, I am happy to say, without any casualty on board the *Viper*. I beg to bring under your notice the conduct of Mr. James Roche, second master, who commanded the landing parties; and Mr. R. Moss, master's assistant, who aided him in destroying the guns; both having performed their duty much to my satisfaction.

WM. ARMYTAGE, Lieutenant and Commander.

Captain Giffard, who commanded the little squadron before Kertch, maintained incessant activity in annoying the enemy by attacks similar to that so well executed by Lieutenant Armytage. Reconnoitring in the neighbourhood of Soujak Kaleh, with the greater part of his squadron, he received a request from the Circassians (we employ the term generically) to attack the place, as many men and guns had been withdrawn to meet the wants of the Russians elsewhere. The captain eagerly assented to the proposal, the Circassians promising, at the same time, an attack by land. These warriors, generally so valiant, did not, however, make their appearance when the time for action came. The captain shelled the place at a distance of 1000 yards, and having driven out the garrison and dismounted some of the guns, without obtaining the co-operation of the mountaineers, sheered off. It does not appear that very much mischief was done to Soujak Kaleh; some little was done to the squadron. Admiral Lyons, who possessed the art of investing with interest, in his despatches, even the most trivial incident, thus communicated his view of the matter to the authorities at the Admiralty:—

*Royal Albert—off Sebastopol, March 17.*

I HAVE the honour to enclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, a letter which has been addressed to me by Captain Giffard, stating, that while making a reconnaissance near Soujak Kaleh, with her majesty's ship *Leopard*, under his command, and accompanied by her majesty's ships *Highflyer*, *Swallow*,

and *Viper*, and also by his imperial majesty's steam-ship of war, *Fulton*, he was informed by the Circassians in the neighbourhood, that the enemy had so reduced the strength of that fortress by the removal of men and guns to Anapa, that they were ready to attack it by land if he would do so by sea; and that he, wishing to encourage the natives, and to embarrass the Russians, had assented to the proposal, and moved the ships to within 1000 yards of the south face of the fort, where he performed his part; but that, on finding the Circassians did not perform theirs, he withdrew, after having driven all the garrison out of the place, with the exception of a few gunners in the earthen batteries, and having also dismounted several guns, and done considerable damage to the arsenal and public works, leaving the garrison, about a mile from the place, surrounded by Circassians, who were collecting reinforcements. The ships appear to have been well placed, and to have fired with great effect; and Captain Giffard expresses his thanks to Captain Lebris, his able coadjutor on former occasions, as well as to Captain Moore, Commander Crauford, and Lieutenant Armytage, and their respective officers and ships' companies, for their support. Of Captain Giffard himself, I may perhaps be permitted to observe, that this is not the first time that his zeal and gallantry have been conspicuous since he has been under my command.

I am, &c.,  
E. LYONS.

Captain Giffard's own report to the admiral is less highly coloured:—

*Leopard, Soujak Bay, March 13.*

SIR,—I have the honour to acquaint you that, from the information I had received from the Circassians, at Ghe-lenjik, and also from the observations of M. Lebris, of his imperial majesty's steam-vessel *Fulton*, as well as my own, on the 6th inst., in Soujak Bay, I was led to believe the Russians had sent many guns, stores, &c., away from that fort, and would probably leave if a force appeared off it. Wishing to have more certain information for you on my return to your flag, I, on the evening of the 11th inst., when the *Highflyer* joined me, proceeded with the *Swallow* and *Viper* to Soujak Bay, where we anchored on the morning of the 12th; but a fresh gale, with a heavy swell, prevented our closing the batteries. I therefore threw some shells into the place; and the Circassians, who soon appeared in numbers, at the same time attacked the small fort at the head of the bay, opposite the town, drove out the garrison, and burnt it at 8 A.M. This morning the Circassians informed me they had a sufficient force, and would attack Soujak Kaleb by land if I would do so by sea, and, wishing to encourage them and

embarrass the enemy, I immediately moved the squadron to within 1000 yards of the south face, and opened fire on it. From this point the enemy only had ten guns to be on the ships, but the light wind and damp weather made the smoke hang over and conceal them from our fire while our masts above were conspicuous to them. We soon drove all the inhabitants and troops out of the place except those in the earthen batteries, but I was much disappointed to find that the Circassians did not advance to attack them when out of the town, as they had promised. I therefore moved out again, as with our small force of men it would have been too great a risk to land the main body of the garrison being close at hand. The arsenal and public buildings are much injured, and several of the guns were silenced and dismounted. Our loss, I am happy to say, has been small, and some injury has been done to the masts and hulls of the ships.

I was much pleased with the able way in which all the ships took up their assigned positions, and have to thank M. Lebris, of the *Fulton*, Captain Moore, Commander Crauford, and Lieutenant Armytage, commanding the *Viper*, for their able support, as well as all the officers and men.

The Russian force, apparently 1600 or 2000 men, and the other inhabitants, are now encamped about a mile north of the town, having left a few men in the batteries. They will have great difficulty in communicating with Anapa, being surrounded by the Circassians (who were collecting reinforcements), and should they return to the town, a small naval force can at any time drive them out again.

I enclose a list of casualties among the ships.

I have, &c.,

GEORGE GIFFARD, Captain.

Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Bart., G.C.B.

The operations of the vessels thus cruising about the Russian coasts were of a similar character, but still less important, until the first expedition to Kertch, which was dispatched early in May, only to be inopportunately recalled. The circumstances attending it had much to do with the resignation of General Canrobert a commander-in-chief of the French armies in the East. The events connected with the Kertch expeditions were so important in themselves, and their direct and indirect consequences involved so much, that their narrative must be reserved for separate chapters.

## CHAPTER LXXVI.

### HOME IN THE SPRING MONTHS OF 1855.

“Who will go about  
To cozen fortune, and be honourable  
Without the stamp of merit? Let none presume  
To wear an undeserved dignity.  
Oh that estates, degrees, and offices  
Were not derived corruptly; and that clear honour  
Should be purchased by the merit of the wearer!  
How many then should cover that now stand bare!  
How many be commanded that now command!”—SHAKSPEARE.

AFTER the death of the Emperor Nicholas, speculation became rife everywhere, not only as to the policy of Russia, but as to the policy of the nations allied against her. Turkey was represented to be tired of the war, suffering much from the drain of her resources, and not over confident in the zeal or sincerity of her allies. The French emperor was declared to

be warlike exceedingly, but that his people had very little taste for an alliance with England against Russia, especially where it involved such sacrifices as were demanded. The warlike manifestoes of the new czar were not supposed to be correct indices of his policy, and it was alleged that no inference concerning the real intentions of anything said or done by the

Russian government could be safely drawn, even by the keenest statesman; that the issue of the Vienna conference could alone reveal whether the future should be brightened by the halo of peace, or darkened by the frowns of war. Opinion in England was very much determined by the views taken of the premier. By one set of politicians he was represented as so bellicose that he was resolved to exact terms from Russia, at Vienna, which she could never concede while a man or a rouble remained; by another class he was described as a heart sympathising so much with all despotic governments, that he would accept a peace if only some specious appearances of concession were made.

His lordship's real leanings were liberal, but of so liberal as many supposed. He was always hindered by party ties, and incapables, in the cabinets of which he was a member, when advocating liberal measures; but his own leanings were aristocratic, and provided England's interests and honour were safe, he would make very little exception to the political peccadilloes, or crimes, of foreign tyrants. No one wished to see him play the knight-errant, and treat liberty as the knight-errants treated their lady-loves—going about in quest of any who would not do her homage, and challenging them to deadly combat; but if that balance of power of which he spoke so much during the session, to the advantage of Austria, were of any importance, England could never look upon the demolition of the independent governments of free nations, by the inroads of despotic states, without alarm for her own safety. To interfere with the governments of other nations is impolitic and wrong, but when a constitutional state is attacked by a despotic nation because of its constitutionalism, it is an attack upon our own liberties. It is a bold proclamation to us that we, in our turn, shall be attacked whenever the game has a chance to be played and won. In many cases, of late years, the moral influence of England could have saved the freedom of oppressed countries, but it was not exerted. In this respect the government of Sir Robert Peel was a disaster to the nation; and the diplomacy of his foreign minister, Lord Aberdeen, so timid, time-serving, and truculent, that it is a matter of amazement how any free people could have been content to see him at the head of affairs. But Lord Palmerston was far from blameless; he certainly did espouse the principle that England ought to interpose in favour of constitutionalism, and the independence of independent states; but he was very easily satisfied with the amount of popular liberty to be conferred. Spain and Portugal bear witness against him in that. Still, his mere recognition of the principle brought him

vast political opposition at home. The high-tory party ran him down for it as an incendiary; the Quakers attacked him as the very incarnation of the war spirit; the Manchester school denounced him as dangerous, because they require a peace-at-all-price policy, in order to secure cheap provisions and cheap labour, the two grand essentials of the cotton manufacture; the court was jealous of him, as our foreign cousins had no objection to try a little despotism on their own account; and thus the fair development of his political views, and the free action of his comprehensive foreign policy never had fair play. This admission is due in Lord Palmerston's behalf, whatever his shortcomings, or even his sins.

While the opposition offered to his lordship's government at this juncture was pertinacious and petulant in some directions, the country, as a whole, offered him a hearty support, and events soon proved that he deserved it. He watched the proceedings of Russia alike on the field of war and in the circles of diplomacy, and confirmed his great reputation for vigilance and energy. The most persevering of Lord Palmerston's antagonists were the peace party, aided by a powerful and numerous section of the Manchester school. Hired lecturers, some of them most eloquent and popular men, perambulated the country, calling public meetings and urging the people, for the sake of religion, and as they valued plenty to the people of these realms, to insist upon a peace being concluded at the Vienna conference. The common text of all these lecturers, and of a class of writers also hired to support this cause, was "Mind your own affairs, and let others alone." It would be impossible for any English government to adopt such a policy for their motto; and much as Lord Palmerston felt the pressure of the agitation of this party, he persevered in his energetic proceedings. It is very essential to the future honour and welfare of the country, that while peace should be followed for its own sake, and the Christian duty to seek it, which men and nations ought alike to cherish, should be conscientiously cultivated, yet the necessity of answering force by force, where moral suasion fails, should be clearly understood. The foreign interests of England are at all times—in peace or war—too comprehensive for peace not to be prized, and its disturbance provided against. So ramified are our political and commercial relations with the political and material condition of all nations, that there can scarcely be a hubbub of any kind, from an *émeute* in Paris, or street fight in Barcelona, to a regicide in Central Asia, or a piracy among the Malays, that does not somehow affect us. It is very easy for certain gentlemen in and out of parliament to say, that "we should mind our own affairs,

and let other people alone;" but they will not let *us* alone, and we cannot, however so inclined, shift off the connection. If a madman were dancing round his own haystack with a lighted torch in his hand, and if his stack-yard were adjoining ours, it would be very difficult to bring ourselves to the belief that we either ought or could "let him alone." We should at all events be under great temptation to plead the contiguity of our ricks to his, as a reason for putting out his brand, civilly if he would allow, roughly if he would not. We can no more be indifferent to the proceedings of neighbouring nations, in their convulsions or their infringements of one another's rights, than we could be to the freaks of an insane, or the malice of an incendiary, neighbour. Whether he were a lunatic, or had a pyrotechnical taste on a large scale, would not affect our view of policy and prerogative in *not* letting him alone. To this sort of argument the spirit of the replies made by the lecturers and writers before referred to was after this sort:—"Yes, but we English are not content with looking after our neighbours! In Burnah or Bushire, among the dark denizens of the banks of the Orange River at the Cape, or among the companions of Kangaroos in Australia—on the shores of the Don, or among the defiles of Afghanistan or Peshawur—it is all the same; we are everywhere, and everywhere telling the people about British interests, and persuading them or beating them into the idea that we are a great nation, and are considerably engaged in looking after their welfare." Our replication to all this is—that it is very difficult for us to go anywhere without finding some next-door neighbour to our own colonists. Putting western and northern Europe out of view, which are the vicinities to our own isles, we have made in our past proceedings homes by commerce or conquest nearly all the world over. Those who hold Malta and Corfu are near neighbours to Italy, and to Austria as an Italian power. Gibraltar gives us a position in Spain, and a vicinage to northern Africa. The protectorate of the Ionian Isles brings us into an intimate contiguity to the unreasonable King of Greece, and his amiable antagonist, the sultan. Happening to have a bit of property at Bombay, and an out-house at Aden, at the head of the Persian Gulf, we are in a certain neighbourly relation to Egypt and Persia. Bengal and Hongkong are places from which to take a friendly run into China now and then. And how could we possess the Sikh territory and Scinde without such Asiatic relationships in general, as involve a great many amiable talks with the people about their own affairs and ours? The larger part of the northern portion of the American continent belongs to us—and our

neighbours in these regions will hardly pretend that they have to protect themselves against any filibustering propensities on our part. As has been said, in reply to remarks of the description, that the English had no right originally to be in all these places; the rejoinder is that a nation of shopkeepers are always on the look out for customers. It may be laid to our charge that we are "queer customers," and went as often to take as to sell: we must answer, "Very likely;" there is much of the sort to be said truly to our disadvantage; but it is a matter of fact that we are in all these out of the way places: and it is a fact not less obvious, that, if the nation became ever so penitent, it would be very hard to ascertain now, to whom we should make restitution—at all events, in a great majority of cases. Continents and islands, swamps like British Guinea, and rocks like Gibraltar, the snow-fields of Northern America, the gold fields of Australia—all have had something inviting for us—and *there we are*. What is to be done? Will our excellent friends of the Peace Society pass a resolution that we are to gather up our effects, and bring these and our people home, from beneath all constellations—those who wear the southern cross, and those who dwell beneath the polar star? Or shall we keep our footing, and behave ourselves well where we keep it? If the former be "the resolution passed," we wash our hands of its advocacy, as too difficult for us; we could offer no advice upon so stupendous an undertaking. It would require the administrative genius for spoiling everything, frustrating everything, not spoiled, and confusing everything neither spoiled nor frustrated, which so eminently characterised in this war our Lord of New castle, Mr. Sidney Herbert, and their doctor and officials in the East, to venture upon the task with any tolerable appearance of self-sufficiency. If, however, our peace brethren and their energetic coadjutors in Lancashire deem that we are to make the best case we can of our position in every land, then they who offer this advice must be prepared for a great deal of discussion with all who hold contiguous positions. However enlightened are our ideas of *meum and tuum*, past, present, and to come many exceptions will be taken, and many strange grounds will be laid down on which to take them, by various descript and non-descript neighbours of ours in all directions. There are Caffres, Hottentots, Bosjesmens, Bechuanas, Fingoes, and Boers; Sikhs, Burmese, Afghans, Nepaulese, Beloochees, Cashmerians, and legions of Asiatic nations white, black, and every shade between! Our Australian bushmen, and gold-diggers; the sons of the flowery land on our Indian confines, &c. &c. &c.! All these peoples hav

tions and modes of discussion if not very original, yet very discordant with any that are ascertained by our justly esteemed brethren, the benevolent Society of Friends. We are proud that the neighbours—European, African, Asiatic—of our possessions in the Mediterranean, have ideas upon which no logical impression is ever made with such celerity as when a British admiral carries on the discussion from “the point of view” (as the phrase the day is) of a British fleet. In fact, it is our knowledge, somehow very intimately acquired by most nations, that we have usually resort to heavier arguments than “notes” and “protocols,” which gives them such a facility of conviction when our envoys do reason with them. The justice of our cause is not the first thing that strikes the litigants in cases of quarrel with us, but the mode by which we erst were in the habit of enforcing it. It is perfectly plain to any one, “with a grain of salt” (as the Bechuanas say), that along the vast boundaries of an empire so diversified—in multitudinous parts of a commerce so extensive—in the vexed complications of alliances and treaties which we are bound to keep and enforce, in the result of so ancient and complicated a history, we cannot “let everybody have his say,” and that our policy is to busy ourselves with enforcing all just claims with promptitude, and listening to all just demands with moderation. The danger of indifference to what occurs on our frontiers, or to our allies, is at least as perilous as unnecessary meddling: the latter may put us to expense and trouble, the former involve us even in war; the former will shake our credit, dispel the prestige of our power, and invite enemies to coalesce, and reach or menace us, in proportion to the *faiblesse* of our policy.

In both houses of parliament incessant and ungenerous attacks were made by the opposition party; and frequently independent members brought damaging statements and arguments to bear upon the government, both in the ministerial and opposition benches. Mr. Layard was, perhaps, the most formidable opponent of the government; he knew the history of the events of the war from personal observation, and he was well acquainted with the East, its habits, character, wants, and prospects. The Peelites were very bitter against the honourable member, as his speeches had contributed so much to break up the Aberdeen government.

The death of Captain Christie (to which in her chapter reference has been made) led to a discussion of great importance in the house, disclosing the injustice to which faithful servants were subjected unless surrounded by powerful interest, whenever the sinister interests of party require, or appear to require, their sacrifice; the debate also showed the

acrimony with which independent members of parliament were pursued, who complained of the conduct of the war; and the utter want of principle and honour which characterised the artifices and parliamentary tactics of men who had held high offices, and claimed to be the rulers of the nation. A general attack against Mr. Layard seemed to have been contrived for the purpose of extinguishing his public usefulness, or of at least deterring him from proceeding in his intrepid course of parliamentary opposition to the maladministration of all the war departments. So general was the “cry down” in the house, that Sir James Graham was emboldened to make one of his rash and enterprising speeches, such as had so often embarrassed the parties to which he had belonged on either side of the house. He resolved upon giving the *coup-de-grâce* to his formidable antagonist, especially as the rules of the house would not allow Mr. Layard then to rebut the statement which he intended to make. This was no other than a direct charge that the death of Captain Christie was hastened, if not occasioned, by charges alleged against him by Mr. Layard, and which constituted the ground of the court-martial ordered to be held upon his conduct, which circumstance broke Captain Christie’s heart. We have no doubt that Sir James Graham’s intention was that this error—for such it proved to be—should go forth to the country, and make its full damaging effect upon Mr. Layard’s character, before this gentleman could have an opportunity of rebutting it in the place where it was uttered. With all the sly sophistry with which the Cumberland baronet is accustomed to “make the worse appear the better cause,” he displayed the deepest sympathy for Captain Christie, and dwelt much upon the rankling and incurable wound inflicted upon him by Mr. Layard’s “charges,” which, he repeatedly asserted, had produced the court-martial,—winding up the pathetic appeal by declaring that he did not envy Mr. Layard his feelings in having been instrumental in hastening the death of an innocent and deserving officer. The old proverb declares that “one story is good until another is told,” and so it turned out in this case. The “thing which was not,” as they say in Turkey, so pathetically proclaimed by Sir James Graham, was not long allowed to remain unanswered and disproved; Mr. Layard did not, it is true (and we think he acted with both judgment and spirit), attempt to set himself right with the public by an explanation in the assembly in which the charge was made, and where probably he would have been hooted down and silenced, as had been attempted on two previous occasions. He took the more sensible

and direct course of stating the whole truth in a letter to that terror of ministries, the *Times* newspaper, and thus at once completely cleared himself so far as the case lay between him, Sir James Graham, and the late Captain Christie. And what was the case, and in what respects did the real facts bear out Sir James Graham's specious and insidious appeal to the House of Commons? Why, that so far from the court-martial on Captain Christie's conduct having been the result of any charges brought against him by Mr. Layard, that gentleman had alleged nothing against him, but that he considered him near seventy years old, and far too infirm for the position he held at Balaklava. And, moreover, he proved that the court-martial had been ordered, and Captain Christie removed from Balaklava by Sir James Graham himself, weeks before Mr. Layard's allegation, and consequently on totally different grounds, with which Mr. Layard had nothing to do! In fact, by Sir James Graham's own admission, if any one was accessory to Captain Christie's death, by the instigation and appointment of the court-martial, it was Sir James Graham himself, and not Mr. Layard, whom he so unblushingly accused of it. The idea that the unfortunate but gallant captain could have been affected by what the honourable member said, was too absurd to be entertained for a moment by any reasonable man. It reminds us of a charge of cruelty brought against a gentleman by his wife, in a case of divorce, in which the most heinous instance alleged, was that he one day said to her in the presence of a gentleman, "Why, my dear, you look forty years old!" Now, we can understand why such an allegation should affect the temper and ruffle the pride of a lady, yet we much question whether one of the fair sex would absolutely die under such an imputation. But that a fire-eating captain should do so, or that his death could by any possibility be accelerated by it, was a monstrosity too great for Sir James Graham himself to believe, or for any one but himself to assert. We should be surprised that the House of Commons did not resist the indignity of having been imposed upon by so false and shameless a charge, were it not that we have known many, quite as many, disreputable matters overlooked or quashed by that honourable assembly. Finding that the letter to the *Times* had done its work, and placed his character in not the most favourable light for veracity, Sir James thought it expedient—as he could not deny Mr. Layard's statement, which was confirmed by public documents, with any hope of being believed—to "explain," as it is called—that is, he ascribed the "mistake" to a lapse of memory. But he was compelled to admit the truth of Mr. Layard's statement, and the falsehood of his

own; so that, so far as Captain Christie's death was concerned, Mr. Layard was completely exonerated, whilst he himself, by implication and by the gist of his charge against his opponent, stood convicted of the very offence which he accused his antagonist. This stance of tergiversation, perpetrated for the worthy purpose of bringing down a high opponent, was quite of a piece with the general course of Sir James Graham's political conduct. Many cases will occur to the reader's recollection, in which "Peel's little dirty boy" *Punch* designated the baronet) involved ministry in disgrace. Yet such is the versatility of his genius—shall we say rather, of his character—that although it is notorious that he has so frequently changed his principles, that, like the mixture of colours producing colour, the result has been no principle at all; he is pretty sure that, whatever party comes to power, they may find in him a ready man-of-all-work. We much question whether, if the charts were to gain the ascendancy, and form a cabinet, Sir James Graham would not become the most strenuous supporter of the five points. We suppose his having "boxed the political ear" so constantly in Downing Street, to be deemed a qualification for the office of First Lord of the Admiralty.

In the last chapter upon home events, we did not allow of our introducing an important parliamentary matter. On the 2nd of March, Mr. Roebuck—who, it will be recollected, carried a motion in the House of Commons calling for an inquiry into the causes of disasters before Sebastopol—moved that the sittings of the committee appointed in result of that motion should be secret. Mr. Roebuck wished secrecy as a protection to numerous officers who were likely to be examined, and who would be intimidated from giving their evidence openly with that delicacy which they would privately, from fear of offending the military authorities at the Horse Guards, where the administration was now, be short of a grinding and vindictive despotism. It was also desired to meet in secret, so as to give any offence to the French government which had been held in *terrorum* by the Peelite section of the Aberdeen cabinet. Mr. Roebuck's motion was resisted by the whole cabinet, and by members of the late cabinet—the "ins and the outs" alike contending that the persons examined would tell what they said; and as Sir James Graham afterwards suggested, "between No. 17 up-stairs, in the Printing House Square, a whispering gallery will be established, which day by day will disclose to the public what takes place before your committee of secrecy!" Mr. Roebuck withdrew his motion. His conduct—often centric and crotchety, as it is thoroughly fit

honourable, in political affairs—excited this occasion much public animadversion. The decision that the committee should be an one satisfied the house and the country. The motives of the official parties on both sides were in all probability not patriotic, sinister; they desired to have an authentic report of every man's evidence, so that it might be remembered in the proper official quarter, and leave him no loop-hole for escape from the responsibility to their arbitrary superiors. The proceedings of the committee are reserved for a more appropriate portion of our history.

An interesting act of sympathy with her majesty, on the part of the queen, gave the troops great satisfaction. Fifty of the Guards, who had been invalided from the Crimea, were commanded by her majesty to stand in the grand hall of Buckingham Palace, under inspection by the queen and prince. Twenty of these men were Grenadiers, and the remainder were composed of an equal number of Fusiliers and Riflemen. The commanding officer and chief non-commissioned officer of the regiment attended, and explained the services of the men, and the wounds they had received. Her majesty was accompanied by her children, except the youngest. The Prince and Princess of Saxe Coburg, and the Duchess of Leiningen, were also present. No words could describe her majesty's kindness of heart and deed to her poor brave fellows. Some of these were among the men she had seen from her balcony, when, in the dim morning of 1854, their cheers echoed through Buckingham Palace as she waved them adieu. The author had his inspection of the noble fellows, not within the precincts of the palace, but from a suitable situation in the park. They were weather-beaten, wounded, maimed, yet trying to move proudly erect the mien of men who had fought and conquered. They seemed neglected—their coats threadbare in some cases, and there was an appearance of dilapidation about them which would not fail to annoy her majesty, for whom blood had so freely and bravely flowed. As she said that she was greatly affected, and struggling with her emotions,—firm and true as the royal lady is,—she turned her head and gave free vent to her tears. The course of these pages has seen much of warriors, the pomp and trappings of gaudy military array, but never amongst the exciting scenes which transpired in the metropolis during the progress of the campaign, did he see his heart so stirred with sympathy for soldiers, and with admiration for the dignified bearing of men who, except that victory glory crowned their efforts, were so unadorned. Signs of deep personal sufferings

blended with tokens of neglect in their appearance, and some had a sad expression, especially one poor fellow, who had lost his right arm; but the prevailing expressions in every face were dignity, resignation, and fortitude.

Attempts were now made, under the auspices of the Palmerston premiership, and Lord Panmure, to correct the abuses of our military system. Lord Palmerston displayed great energy in this as in everything else. Lord Panmure made some very judicious arrangements, but both were impeded by the crushing despotism of the Horse Guards, where antiquated and corrupt practices were defended with desperate tenacity. It is painful, however, to record of two such able and liberal men as the premier and the war minister, that they did not grapple with the evils with the firmness that was expected; and by degrees Lord Panmure fell away from his reform zeal, and trod quietly in the old track. But for the sittings of the Sebastopol committee, it was plain that nothing would have been done, and when they came to an end, so did the energy of the War-office, such as it was, for reformation. After the war terminated, Lord Panmure made a very ungrateful speech, denouncing the public agitation for right and justice—which placed himself in office—as unjustifiable and unnecessary, and applying to the popular action epithets of disrespect. His lordship even expressed it as a great pity that the Duke of Newcastle, so efficient and competent for the post, had ever been dismissed from it. It is scarcely necessary to say, that Lord Panmure would have speedily followed him, had he not carefully concealed his real sympathies and opinions during the progress of the conflict. It was marvellous that the English public should permit a man to remain in such an office, even when war had ceased, who so insulted their generous and patriotic efforts, and whom they had treated with so much forbearance and deference. Truly, the English people are very patient of their lords!

A great display of official importance was made in connection with a camp at Aldershot, formed somewhat after the model of the camp at Beverloo, in Belgium. The camping ground is covered with heath, and to the extent of 3000 acres. It is undulated and picturesque, and promised to be a healthy place for the encampment of soldiers. Parliament voted £100,000 for the land, and a quarter of a million sterling for barracks. The tents were estimated to cost £100,000, exclusive of their foundations: drainage, well-sinking, parade grounds, roads, &c., were items of additional expense. It was alleged that by quartering there some 10,000 regular troops and 20,000 militia, the system of military training would be greatly improved, and the general officers gather some

experience as to the command of brigades, divisions, and of larger bodies of men.

On the 7th of March a very interesting meeting was held in the metropolis, on behalf of the wives and orphans of soldiers. It was attended by great numbers, and was characterised by unusual enthusiasm. The Duke of Cambridge presided, and spoke with his usual frankness and honesty, prudence and good taste. His speech made a very great impression in the assembly, and afterwards received a large share of favourable public notice.

On the 26th of March an address, in reply to a message sent by her majesty to the House of Lords respecting the convention lately made with Sardinia, was voted on the motion of the Earl of Clarendon.

In the commons the house went into committee to consider her majesty's message in respect to that treaty. Messrs. Bright, Cobden, and Mr. Bowyer disparaged the treaty; Mr. Bowyer bitterly attacking the Sardinian government, that gentleman being the only openly avowed abettor of Austria in the house. Mr. Bright also impugned the motives of Sardinia as interested; Mr. Cobden complimented that government and nation, but expressed his regret that it should be "dragged into an alliance with Austria." To these strictures Lord Palmerston and Mr. Gladstone made eloquent and effective replies. Mr. Disraeli denounced the convention, but in a spirit so purely partisan that his speech brought neither conviction nor moral influence, notwithstanding his brilliant abilities. An address to the queen, in harmony with the policy of the government, was carried without a division. "Out-of-doors" these proceedings were hailed with unbounded popularity.

The accession of Sardinia to the Western alliance would excite a smile on the countenance of a subject of "one of the great European powers," as they are styled *par excellence*. Austria, indeed, did not smile at this insolence, as she considered it, of her democratic neighbour, but rather showed a spirit like a ruffled wolf or hyena, which shows its teeth and erects its mane. The presumption of a petty state, just emerging from despotism like her own, was galling to Austria in the extreme. This example of independent action was dangerous to the peace of the oppressed dependencies of the house of Hapsburg, and gladly would it crush Sardinia as it crushed Hesse-Cassel, if it dared, rather than see her admitted a member of a confederacy of free states against a power with which all her sympathies were allied, and which she treacherously endeavoured to save from the fate that awaited it, by thwarting and procrastinating the efforts of the Western powers. But Sardinia was acknowledged by England and

France with a cordiality that did honour both; and with a promptness that bore resemblance to the pusillanimity and treachery of Austria. Sardinia sent her contingent troops to the seat of war, consisting of as a body of men as at any time landed in Crimea.

And what was the value of this accession of Sardinia to the Western league? This question best replied to by stating her relation to the West, her geographical position, and the political condition of her people, as compared with those of the nations around her. With respect to the first, she lay on the west, Austrian Lombardy on the north. Her population on the main-land did not much exceed five millions; but they are of a bold and warlike race, and she maintained a standing army of 60,000, and a militia of 40,000 men.

But in regard to the second point, small as Sardinia appeared in a territorial point of view, she was the representative of a principle which completely isolates her from the surrounding kingdoms and states. The events of 1848 obtained for her a constitution similar to our own, placing the subject at equal distance from the licence of republicanism on the one hand, and monarchical despotism on the other. And whatever might be thought of the theory of the first, as the most perfect form of government, the instance we have had of late years of the attempts to establish it, proved that the people were unfit for it—that it required a far greater amount of public virtue than was to be found in any European nation. Sardinia, therefore, was placed under a constitutional monarchy of her own; nor was her constitution allowed to remain a dead letter, to be cancelled on the first favourable opportunity. With an earnestness and sincerity that bespeak a high sense of the value of freedom to the governor as well as the governed, to the prince as to the people, the King of Sardinia goes hand-in-hand with the representative bodies of his kingdom, in the reform of abuses, the consolidation of national rights, the development of the constitution, and, above all, the cutting down of ecclesiastical power where it interferes with civil rights. This latter policy, beyond all others, incurred the wrath of the Viennese government; and if Austria did not menacingly show her disapprobation, it was through fear of England and France, not from consideration for Sardinia. That little kingdom stood a political oasis in the desert, a perfect contrast to the surrounding states; at once a terror and eyesore to the governments, and a pattern to the peoples. Sardinia was, in fact, the only state in Europe that reaped any permanent advantage from the outbreak of 1848. England and Sardinia are the only

ally constitutional states in Europe. Piedmont was a sacred name to Englishmen, and that country possessed the nucleus of freedom, that, if preserved intact, might prove the seed of the future freedom of Italy, if not of the whole of Europe. We trust that as Sardinia earned freedom in the school of England, the latter will support her pupil in the arduous struggle which most assuredly she will have to encounter some day with Austria, but which she will have no reason to fear with England back her.

Referring to an event which was so popular in England as the convention with Sardinia, the circumstances may appropriately be noticed, which space did not allow us to introduce in a chapter on Sardinia. An account of the constitution and modes of procedure of the Sardinian parliament will interest every reader who values parliamentary government. In a work entitled the *Sub-Alpine Kingdom*, by Henry St. John, we have the following account:—"The chamber in which the Sub-Alpine deputies meet is a magnificent one, very lofty, with a doomed roof. As in France, the form is that of a hemicycle; so that the members can divide themselves locally, as they do in name, into members of the right, the centre-right, the centre, the centre-left, and the left. A few democrats, who occupy places at the extreme left, are sometimes called the 'Mountain.' The seats rise one above the other, from a semi-circular floor, in the centre of which are placed tables for the official shorthand writers; and on the extreme verges of which, with their backs to the house, behind a long table, sit the ministers, who, as in France, may appear in the senate as well as in the chamber of deputies—without, however, the right of voting, except as members. Behind the ministers rises a tribune, from which no one scarcely ever comes to speak; and behind that the seat of the president, who is surrounded by a platform, on which sit numerous secretaries. The press has a gallery at its service, placed in a convenient position; and the diplomatic corps and municipal authorities are well provided for."

There is also the ladies' tribune; and, all round the base of the dome, is a gallery from which the miscellaneous crowd of constituents endeavour to catch what is going on below. The acoustical arrangements of the chamber are very imperfect. Most of the deputies speak in Italian, more or less pure. It is easy to see they are accustomed to address their wives, their servants, and their friends in that different idiom. The natives of Savoy and France speak in French; and the contrast of that weak succession of unaccentuated syllables perpetually disappointing the ear, with the deep, sonorous, musical sound of even bad Italian, sometimes produces a very comic

effect. An obstinate Codin starting fiercely up, whilst the house is still ringing with the musical periods of Brofferio, to express his indignation in words ending in *aiant* and *on*, always creates a smile; and every one is inevitably reminded of a giant speaking in the voice of a dwarf. By long living in France one gets accustomed to this simpering, and is able even to understand why those who use it fancy it is peculiarly masculine; but one hour in the Piedmontese Chamber of Deputies—to say nothing of Madame Ristori—re-educates the ear completely. The first debate I heard in the Piedmontese Chamber of Deputies was a grievous disappointment to me in many respects, as a friend of parliamentary government. The house was orderly and methodical, it is true,—perhaps too orderly and too methodical. Each member sat in his place with pen and ink before him, sometimes writing letters or reading newspapers; while an orator, whether of his own party or not, was impeaching the ministers. There is a coldness and stiffness in the manners of the members. They rarely cheer their friends, though they sometimes 'Oh, oh!' their opponents. A few attempts at good earnest speaking which I heard gradually subsided amidst general indifference. All this was explained by the desire of the Piedmontese to keep on their guard against their southern nature, lest they should imitate and exaggerate the boyish rioting of French deliberative assemblies; and also by the fact that, since the alliance, all warm parliamentary discussions were considered imprudent. Liberty, in fact, exists in Piedmont, they said, by sufferance; and there is always an immediate danger that, although Victor Emmanuel may be now resolved not to attempt a *coup d'état*, a powerful neighbour may come in and effect it for him. Piedmont, like Belgium, is a perpetual source of envious irritation to the people that have lost what it has retained. I was willing to accept this explanation of the dulness and want of spirit I noticed; but it was not these things that most disappointed me."

A curious letter was written to the Emperor of Russia by one of his own exiled subjects, a man of ability. This epistle excited so much attention at the time that we insert it:—

April 5, 1855.

"SIR,—You inherit the greatest empire which ever existed. Conscious of the difficulties of your task, you claim the assistance of Heaven, and it is the duty of every friend of humanity to assist you.

"I respect the sorrow you manifest on the death of your father; the praises you bestow on him are those of a good son. But let us hope that you will not pursue his policy in

all points; you could not do so even if you wished, for you have not his heart.

"Allow me to call your attention to the most important points of Russia's welfare.

"There are several millions of heretics who, with time, will revolutionise the empire if they are not helped. I always considered them as men misled by want of information. They by no means deserve the cruel measures employed by your father against them—measures which produce an effect quite contrary to their intention. The results of persecutions in religious matters, in all times of history, have been martyrdom. Let the heretics be instructed, kindly treated, and they will by degrees join the orthodox church.

"The synod is presided over by a general of cavalry, whilst you have metropolitans of the heart and intellect of Philaret. Encroachments of the Church over the State are no more to be feared in our times.

"Put aside, also, the persecutions of the Jews. All great sovereigns of all times have protected them—Constantine, Charlemagne, Peter I., Frederick II. Napoleon, and bad princes, such as Caligula, Philippe, Augustus, Edward I., have persecuted them.

"The question of serfdom in Russia is not as difficult as it seems to be. Decree, sire, that the ignominious expression of *souls*, in reckoning serfs, is not to be further used; that the possession of serfs, based only on *use and abuse*, is to cease, and voluntary conditions to take the place of the present forced ones.

"Your heart is good. Look on the sufferings of the recruits; consider that every day there are more than 100,000 lashes (blows) given to the soldiers, and remember that for each man who falls in the war, there is a mother in tears. Do not propagate orthodoxy by the sword, nor fight against freedom. What use was it for the late emperor to have saved Austria, which is now with the allies against Russia?

"Freedom is a holy thing on earth; alone it makes man resemble his Creator. Do not check it. Let thought, this dearest gift of God to man, be freely expressed in your empire. 'Give thought freedom, sire,' say I with Schiller; and convinced that if your Imperial Majesty will grant these trifling requests, you will earn glory and thankfulness,

"I remain, of your Imperial Majesty the most devoted servant,

"IVAN GOLOVIN."

Few incidents during the war excited more attention in England than the loss of the *Tiger* steam-ship near Odessa. The cruelty shown by the enemy in the attack, the death of her gallant commander, the boasting in Russia over the capture of a crew of a British man-of-

war, and the destruction of so fine a ship of her class, created painful feelings in England and excited something like a morbid interest concerning anything connected with the loss of the *Tiger* and her crew. The loss of the vessel having occurred so near the beginning of the war had also an unpleasant effect on the public mind. The captured crew was restored by exchange of prisoners, and on Thursday, 12th of April, a court-martial held upon the lieutenant of the watch on the night of the disaster, and upon the matter. This trial excited additional attention from the fact that Lieutenant Royer (who was upon his trial) had, on his return from Russian imprisonment, written a glowing account of his excellence and nobleness of everything Russian: so much was the lieutenant impressed in favour of Muscovite society and manners that no one who reads his book would fail to think it a pity he did not exchange his citizenship, and become the subject of a state with principles and tastes were so congenial to his own. The following is a correct summary of the report of this court-martial. The particulars elicited throw a light upon the transaction necessary to complete its history:—

"On Thursday the court proceeded to try First-lieutenant Royer, and Mr. Edington, master of the *Tiger*, for the loss of that ship. The court having previously acquitted all the other officers and ship's company of all blame in the said loss, they became necessary as witnesses.—Mr. Francis Edington, in answer to the president, said the log was burnt immediately after the capture of the ship.—Mr. William Elphinstone Stone sworn: I was third lieutenant on board the *Tiger*, and had the first watch on the night of the 11th of May last. The captain himself came on deck, and told me to alter the course to N. and by W.  $\frac{1}{4}$  W. and nothing to the northward; to be very particular about the look-outs, and to report any sail. Ascertained we were bound for Odessa. The master was on deck during the whole watch, with the exception of a quarter of an hour, at intervals.—Richard Maule sworn: I was captain of the maintop on board the *Tiger* on the 11th of May last, and it was my watch on the night before she was wrecked. I think the deep-sea lead was hove about seven fathoms, but I do not recollect. I do not recollect any of the men being called to heave it.—Frederick Hammond sworn: I was mate of the middle watch on the morning when the *Tiger* was wrecked. The master came on deck every hour. He was present when the soundings were taken. The weather was very foggy—very thick the whole watch.—Busby Nind sworn: I was midshipman of the watch on the morning her majesty's ship *Tiger* was wrecked. Land was not seen or reported to

heard, before the ship struck. The ship struck at about twenty minutes to six; she was under steam only. When she struck she was sinking, I should think, about four knots. Mr. Royer was the officer of the watch. The first thing done was we tried to back her off. We got the port paddle-box boat out. Got out the main bower, and laid it out by a boat. The main sheet cable was bent to it. We let go the anchor from the port quarter, took the cable to the capstan, and then tried to heave her off. This was about a quarter after six. The enemy commenced firing at us from the shore. This was about nine. We had been interrupted in our proceedings before by their firing musketry at us. We hove the main deck guns overboard fore and aft. All the water except six tons was started. Before she struck we had two look-outs—one on the port cathead and the other on the starboard middle-box. When the ship struck there were several signal guns fired from the ship and musketry as well. This was nearly immediately after she struck.—Charles Wilkinson, Corn: I was the mate of the watch. The soundings decreased gradually until we got eight fathoms, when I gave the order to go as slow as they possibly could without stopping, at the same time going down to call the captain. I called him, and told him we had eight fathoms. He asked at what rate she was going, and I replied, as slow as she possibly could at present, but that she was going four and a-half or five knots when I eased her. He then asked what kind of weather it was, and I told him very thick indeed; and he said, 'Go on about the same speed you were going before until you get five fathoms, and when you get five fathoms keep her west, and when you then shoal your water stop her immediately.' I then went on deck. We went on at seven fathoms for about six or eight minutes, and then struck. I had no exact idea of where the ship was, but I imagined we must be near to Odessa.—After the examination of several witnesses on Friday, which closed the case for the prosecution, the court adjourned.

"On Saturday the court re-assembled, when the president having called upon the accused to enter into their defence, Lieutenant Royer, addressing the court, having alluded to his services in the royal navy, extending over a period of twenty-eight years, remarked that the charges for which he, as one of the surviving officers of the *Tiger*, was then on his trial, were two, viz., the stranding of the ship whilst he was officer of the watch, and, secondly, his conduct after she got on shore, with respect to the endeavours made to float her off, and her subsequent surrender to the Russians. With regard to the first charge, he only to state that he took every precau-

tion in his power for her safe conduct, by having the leads constantly hove, by easing and stopping her to ascertain the correctness of the soundings, frequently visiting the look-outs, &c., and reporting to the captain when he thought it most requisite. When the water shoaled to seven fathoms, he ordered the engines to be eased, and at once reported to the captain. With respect to the second portion of the charges against him, he respectfully submitted that he acted in everything under the orders of the captain, who retained the command, and conducted the defence of the vessel, until he had ordered the Russian ensign to be hoisted, and an officer to land with a flag of truce. The accused then put in letters to his character from various captains in her majesty's service, and also called witnesses in support of his statements in defence.—Mr. Edington then addressed the court, stating that he believed the ship to have been set off her course to the westward by the current, which after her stranding was known to have set the paddle-box boat away from the ship in a south-westwardly direction, and at a rate of nearly four knots, particularly during the morning watch, whilst she was eased and stopped for the purpose of taking soundings. After reviewing various portions of the evidence, he concluded by stating that he felt the court would acquit him of all blame in the loss of the vessel.—The court was then cleared, and after a deliberation of four hours' duration, found as follows: 'That the ship *Tiger* was run on shore in consequence of having been rashly conducted as she approached the coast of Odessa, on the morning of the 12th of May last, and that after the ship had been run on shore the measures resorted to to get her afloat were very injudicious; but in respect to the surrender of the *Tiger* to the enemy, that as the ship was aground without any hope being entertained of floating her off, and as she was exposed to the enemy's guns, which had set her on fire, and upon which the guns of the ship could not be brought to bear, no blame attaches in consequence of such surrender. The court is further of opinion that no blame is imputable to Lieutenant Royer, since he acted under the immediate direction of his captain, and the court doth adjudicate him to be acquitted. The court is further of opinion that Mr. Francis Edington is blamable for the want of caution which was exhibited by him in approaching the shore near Odessa, but in consideration of his previous good character and long service, the court doth adjudge him to be only severely reprimanded; and the said Lieutenant Royer is hereby acquitted, and that the said Francis Edington be, and is hereby severely reprimanded.'—Both officers then retired with their friends, and the court broke up."

The subject of military promotions engaged the concern of the public, and was brought under the notice of the commons without much benefit resulting. The War-office was not filled in a manner to do justice to the service or to the country in this particular. It required a perpetual agitation out of doors to effect any reforms through the means of government or parliament. The following brief outline of the speeches of Major Reed and Captain Scobell, upon the motion of the former in the commons for a committee of inquiry, will at once illustrate the system, and show the reader the injustice to which meritorious British officers were exposed, and the way in which the country was deprived of efficient servants, while the rich, careless, and incompetent were thrust over their heads.

"Major Reed moved for the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the present mode of conferring commissions in the army, by purchase or otherwise, and to recommend a more efficient system for securing promotion to merit and long service. The existing mode of obtaining commissions and promotion by purchase was, he contended, pernicious to the service, unjust to the private soldier, and most oppressive to poor and deserving officers who had adopted the army as a profession, but could not afford to buy their advancement to its higher grades. The honourable and gallant gentleman proceeded to say, that Lieutenant Magnay was an officer in the 60th regiment; that a company became vacant to which he, as the senior lieutenant, was entitled; but, as he was not prepared to purchase, another who had more money was put over his head. He was present at the battle of the Alma, and was up to his knees in mud in the trenches before Sebastopol; but another officer, with more money and interest, obtained that to which he was by right entitled, to the disgust of the whole corps. The next case he would bring before the house was that of an officer who retired from the service in disgust, and who felt it to be his bounden duty to expose the frightful evil which resulted from the disgraceful system which existed at present. This officer stated that two-thirds of the officers in the army were crushed beneath the weight of interest and money.

"Captain Scobell, in seconding the motion, said that he was actuated by no personal feeling. His object was not to condemn the past but to amend the future, and he hoped the government would seriously consider whether some practical and beneficial result might not be obtained from an alteration of the present system of purchase. His honourable and gallant friend quoted instances enough to show the injustice of the present system; and it appeared from what he said that the royal

sign-manual was put up to sale between officer and officer at even a higher price than legal, the commander-in-chief of the army being the auctioneer. He would quote in confirmation of his view the opinion of a gentleman who lately occupied a seat on the treasury bench, but who since he left that applied it to his mind. The honourable member for Kidderminster, addressing his constituents, said, 'The cankerworm which caused the failure of this campaign is the vice of patronage.' There was a great deal of patronage in the army, but it was rampant in the navy. The honourable member for Kidderminster went on to say, 'Our statesmen are not identified with the public interests.' He hoped the noble lord would mark that. He knew there were secret influences which were holding him back, but he would not exempt his usual courage if he shrunk from discharging the duty he owed to his country in this matter.

Among the house episodes of the war was attracted public attention, was the presentation of the freedom of the City of Edinburgh to Major Nasmyth, one of the heroes of Silistria; and who took part also in the battle of Alma and Balaklava:—"Major Nasmyth is the son of a respected citizen of Edinburgh and was a pupil of the Scottish Naval and Military Academy there, was accompanied by his father. He wore the uniform of the Bombay Horse Artillery, and was decorated with the Turkish order of the Medjidie. The council chamber was crowded to excess, and the gallant officer was loudly cheered. The lord provost, having presented the burgess tickets to Major Nasmyth, with some appropriate remarks, the gallant major, in returning thanks, expressed his deep regret that his distinguished friend Captain James Butler had not been spared to reap similar rewards. In him the state lost a faithful servant, a gallant soldier, and an accomplished gentleman. It was a duty he owed to another brother soldier, and a pupil of the Military Academy, who was serving in the East, to mention the gallant services of his friend, Lieutenant Ballance of the Bombay Engineers. That officer, whose affairs in Silistria looked desperate, and whose prospect of relief all but hopeless, volunteered his valuable assistance, and essentially contributed to the successful defence of the forts. It was he who performed the last kind service on earth to poor Butler. He hoped he might be pardoned for taking that opportunity to correct what he conceived to be an erroneous impression prevalent in this country as to the qualities of the Turkish soldiers, and of bearing his testimony, after ample opportunity of judging of them, to their patient endurance and unsurpassed courage under circumstances of difficulty and of danger."

Considerable dissatisfaction was excited by the appointments to command in the Turkish contingent. General Vivian, a man of aristocratic connexions, but of no public services, gave him a claim for such distinction, obtained the chief command. Colonel Shirley was appointed to the cavalry division of the force, although he was a man utterly unknown to fame, and a number of officers of superior rank and great experience in the field were anxious for the appointment. The subdivisions of the cavalry were given to Colonel Smith, and Brigadier Mayne; the former an officer of as little military reputation as either Vivian or Shirley. Brigadier Mayne declined the inferior appointment, disgusted with the result offered to his experience as a well-known and distinguished officer. The *Times* newspaper, commenting on these proceedings, bitterly but most justly said:—"The appointments to the Turkish Contingents are a mere job. The sharp lessons of the Crimea have given no instruction to our public men. We verily believe that if the Russians were in the northward, the War-office would be looking out for some relation, friend, or *protégé* to whom alone would be entrusted the task of leading them move on." The scandalous partiality displayed in these arrangements was to be attributed to the Horse Guards, which was slyly made to bear the blame of all War-office delinquencies. Lord Panmure was answerable to the public and to posterity for the job." He had accepted the War-office to find what was amiss only so far as to keep a check what he afterwards called public clamour;" his own ideas were of the old school—he was less industrious, more experienced, and, on the whole, only a little better than the Duke of Newcastle. Both were good men, and desirous to do right, but both were under the influences of their class, especially Lord Panmure, to a degree dangerous to the public weal. It would, perhaps, be difficult to place in any office men more highly esteemed for their private virtues, but their political class prejudices and sympathies unfitted them for a position which, more than any other, required a stern patriotism, an inflexible resolution, and an entire freedom from all personal class partialities.

The recall of the Earl of Lucan from the command of the cavalry in the Crimea excited much discussion; and the energetic temperament of his lordship would not permit the matter to pass into oblivion. He urged his case in the House of Lords, and through that medium made a statement of it to the public. When recording the events of the battle of Balaklava, we expressed our conviction that the orders of Lord Raglan were such that Lord Lucan could not have disobeyed. Tak-

ing the written order in connection with Captain Nolan's own interpretation of it, we do not see how any officer could have done otherwise than Lord Lucan did—remonstrate, and obey. It seems that the noble earl is much dissatisfied with the light in which the event is narrated in these pages. But the rule of truth has been followed in this, as in every other case, to the best of the author's judgment. He feels obliged to the Earl of Lucan, as he does to other noble persons who have communicated with him, but if anything appear in a light unfavourable to him and them, impartiality and integrity so constrained. In the case of the Earl of Lucan, no other writer on the subject has regarded matters from a point of view so favourable to his lordship; even his distinguished relative, Lord Hardinge, in the correspondence which took place between them, and which Lord Lucan read to the House of Peers, decided the matter in favour of Lord Raglan. In concurrence with many officers, as competent to pronounce an opinion as Lord Hardinge himself, we have no hesitation in saying that the written order to Lord Lucan, given by his superior officer, did not clearly express what that officer afterwards declared to be his meaning; and that to the obscurity of the document, by which Captain Nolan as well as Lord Lucan was misled, the fatality of Balaklava is to be attributed. It was unfortunate that Lord Lucan did not use his prerogative as a lieutenant-general, and on his own responsibility decline the charge; but he was so peculiarly situated, both to Lords Raglan and Cardigan, that his hesitation to assume any such responsibility may be easily accounted for.

While all these incidents passed before the public view, the heart of the nation was penetrated by anxiety as to the proceedings before Sebastopol, and in the conference at Vienna, then sitting. It was felt that if the second bombardment terminated in a failure, Russia would be less willing to negotiate; and when such was the unfortunate result, the public anxiety as to the effect likely to be produced in Vienna was very great. "Vienna or Sebastopol—which?" was in every mouth. On two distinct, and it might be said rival, theatres of conflict steel and thunder were at work. In the Crimea the 18-inch mortars and the battery were employed for their sanguinary purposes from night to night; while at Vienna, although the steel pen only gave point to the enemy, and protocols alone fulminated, the contest was also keenly waged. The attention, not only of the English public, but of "the kings of the earth, and of the whole world," were divided by these separate conflicts; yet, separate as they were, both as to the scenes upon which their parts were enacted, and as to the parts themselves, their influences were re-

ciproacative. A prompt settlement at Vienna would have silenced all the thunders that boomed around Sebastopol, and sheathed the sword; a decisive victory, where the beleaguered city and beleaguered camp threw up their embankments, and worked and counter-worked their mines, would have as certainly shut up the portfolios of the ministers, and stopped the nimble steel of the writers. Well might the English public listen for foreign intelligence with suspense, and ask, "Which first?" Public hope was undoubtedly turned to Vienna, although doomed, both there and at Sebastopol, for the time to be disappointed. A wag suggested, in one of the public journals, that the English representatives at Vienna and Sebastopol should change places: Lord Raglan wrote nice letters, which would come gracefully from Vienna; whereas Lord John, whose self-sufficiency no one doubted, might as well try the direction of affairs in the Crimea. Every day during this part of April men opened the public journals eagerly, expecting to read that the Zouave and the Connaught Ranger, the tartaned Highlander and the burly Guardsman, had planted the ladder, clambered the silenced earthworks, mounted the trench, and pressed down the slopes of the defences to the barricaded streets, already swept for them by the guns pushed forward to clear their progress. It was felt that, come when it would, it must be an awful tragedy, but one more likely to settle down Europe into the equipoise of its various powers than any other which was ever enacted, not excepting sanguinary Waterloo. If that deed were accomplished, the minor diplomatists might enjoy themselves with Count Buol; while Drouyn de Lhuys could return to his cabinet, Lord John to Chesham Place and the Colonial-office, and Gortschakoff and Nesselrode go home, and give the knout to their serfs. All "the points" would have then resolved themselves into one—the point of the bayonet; terms of peace would have been within the comprehension of Lord Westmoreland, although even then his lordship would be more at home in a high mass, or an oratoria. Russia would have to make peace on the terms proposed, or her flag would be expelled from the Euxine; and there could be no doubt to which alternative she would submit.

When the intelligence arrived in England of the failure of the second bombardment (which will be recorded in another chapter), the public despondency as to the issue of the campaign was most marked, while the determination to prosecute the war was not diminished. The general opinion (not in every respect verified by events) was expressed substantially in this way:—"There is no hope of terminating the war in the East by the tactics

hitherto pursued: a vast fortress, open to supplies, and half invested (and an army auxiliary to it in the field, perhaps equal to that of the besiegers), cannot be stormed, if even storming be practicable, without the assaulting army encountering at the same moment peril from the army of relief too terrible to risk." As Wellington, supposed to be one of the first Napoleon, said that "the science of letting fortification alone" was very important in a campaign, was very much quoted. He certainly put his remark into practice in his invasion of Italy by the Alps. So did Wellington in the memorable case of Burgas. These great commanders violated the rule of never leaving well-appointed fortress behind an advancing army: they advanced to victories, which determined results of such magnitude as to leave the positions in their rear, which they did not tarry to conquer, no longer of use to the enemy. These things were the topics of conversation in the clubs and *cafés* of London, and in the exchanges and news-rooms of the provinces. It was urged that the Russian army should be driven from the Tehernaya and Bagtché Seraï, and their basis of operations made a basis for the allies themselves in the advance upon Simpheropol and Perekop. It was argued that, if in the defiles and on the slopes of the Southern Crimea the Russian army in the field were defeated, and driven across the great steppe of its northern side, they were finally expelled from the Crimea, the more men in Sebastopol the sooner its fall, and the more complete the loss to Russia, all must become prisoners of war, or fall under the successive shocks of bombardment and assault, unless famine itself were employed where arms could not conquer; but, in either way, it was alleged there could be but one issue to such a policy—the city must fall. Confident as the various sections of the English public appeared to be in the plans and projects they were willing to patronise, and eagerly tried, yet all felt that they were wandering in obscurity. Providence had hung over the "Armageddon," and its surrounding "Valley of Death" (the singularly prophetic name of the deep vale into which the allied position looked), a cloud of perplexity and mystery. It remained for that Providence to afford the solution of the mystery, by events which rapidly hurried on in the progress of the struggle.

The arrival in England of the news that the Vienna conference, like the second bombardment, was a failure, roused the nation and quickened the pulse of its military fervor. The progress and issue of that assemblage of plenipotentiaries will be noticed in a separate chapter.

Murmurs, loud and general, against the statesmen filled the country. The peace

arty took advantage of this, and Mr. George Thompson, their eloquent and almost ubiquitous lecturer was heard, in most beguiling language, persuading large assemblies of the people that the war was never necessary—that no danger was then, or at any time, to be apprehended from Russia, and that the Vienna Conference, only partially closed, should be at once formally re-opened to accept the terms of peace. The author of this History, reviewing these circumstances at the time, replied to Mr. Thompson and his coadjutors in an eminent London journal in the following terms, which constitute an appropriate notice on this page of his narrative, of the party, their arguments, and the tendencies of those arguments at that juncture:—"If our diplomacy at Constantinople and Vienna, and our foreign-office in London, had been thoroughly honest and enlightened, we need not have gone to war. Our ambassador at Constantinople had been regarded as a very able man, and, doubtless, he was well aware of the signs both of the Greek community in Turkey, and of Russia; but he had been gradually losing that energy which formerly characterised him, and was sinking down into the secure possession of a very dignified and stately embassy. Still the necessity of checking Russian designs upon the Turkish empire somehow became a necessity to European independence. This is not the place to go into elaborate proof of such a proposition, but it must be obvious that if the Russian eagles soar above the Bosphorus, Russia will command the straits, and, from the straits of the Dardanelles, menace Southern and a large portion of Western Europe. It is true England would hold Malta and Gibraltar; and they are impregnable. France would hold Toulon and Algiers; and so long as she did, Russia could not emerge with impunity through the straits of Gibraltar, but the free navigation of that great arterial sea of commerce, the Mediterranean, would of course be lost to Western Europe. Egypt would soon be, in the case supposed, the prey of Russia; she would then hold all the great granaries of the world, excepting the United States, where the increase of population so keeps pace with production, that we can hardly take her into the account as a granary for Europe. By way of the Red Sea, India would be menaced; while nothing, under such circumstances, could prevent Russia from advancing upon Persia and all Central Asia, until her arms should gleam in the deserts of Afghanistan. The world would eventually be at the feet of the czar. We own as much apprehension from the possession of Finland, and the encroachments by arms and connexions upon Sweden and Denmark, as we do from the advance of Russia upon

Europe by the Euxine. In fact, if the world has not more to apprehend from her advance in that direction, England has. Sir Charles Napier has pronounced, not only Cronstadt, but Revel and Helsingfors, impregnable by land and sea! Russia has secured, both on the Baltic and in the Black Sea, a *point d'appui* of the utmost strength and importance. Safe in her interior, she has laid a base of aggressive operations at Cronstadt, at Sebastopol, and at Warsaw, upon or near the extremities of her empire, so that, in case of any war, she has only to throw an army forth upon the territory of her neighbours, and, if worsted by a powerful coalition, as in the present case, she can skulk into her hiding-places, and from these fastnesses bid defiance to those from whom she has carried thither the booty gathered in her foray. Either the aggressive policy of Russia must be abandoned, or the balance of power thus disturbed must be restored. The independent existence of the nations of all Europe demand this. That the policy of Russia is aggressive her most specious apologists must admit. Her czars and czarinas have successively avowed it. Her progress has been an uninterrupted career of conquest. In the direction of Constantinople, the great prize, this has been most especially the case. Only 154 years ago Russia made her first treaty with Turkey—the treaty of Azoff, by which each became pledged to send an envoy to the other, and thus 'diplomatic relations' began between them. The treaty of Kainardgi, of which we hear so much, and which was ostensibly for the security of certain immunities to the Greek Christians, was not signed until 1774. And it only *formally* secured privileges which, for seventy-five years, the sultan had been accustomed to accord without it. So early as 1699, Austria, Venice, and Poland, extorted the treaty of Carlowitz, securing protection to those professing the Latin faith; but what he was thus bound by treaty to give to the Latins, the sultan conceded also to the Greeks, and Russia had no real cause for interference. To interfere, and be felt as a power, and thus find a pretext for promoting her own views of aggrandisements, were the true objects of Russia. Every step in the path taken by the Emperor Nicholas was for the same destination, and hence Sebastopol became what it is—the wonder-fortress of the world."

It is unnecessary to dwell more on the progress of events in England, during the spring of 1855, which bore upon the war, especially as the relation of one most interesting episode, pleasing alike to France and England, and significant to the rest of the world, is reserved for a separate chapter—the visit of Napoleon and Eugenie to the Queen of England.

In France there were no events during the

spring to interest the English reader, except such as incidentally came under notice in connection with English affairs, or will be recorded in the next chapter. Rumours of the emperor's proceeding to Sebastopol, to take the command of his army in person, were rife through the month of March; and it was believed that, on the 6th of April, he would take his departure, the first, as a French wit said, being too remarkable a day. Instead of an expedition to the Crimea, he, more prudently advised, paid a visit to England.

The movements of troops to the seaports were incessant during March—among them, the Guards, amounting to 12,000 men. The embarkations of reinforcements were incessant—English ships rendering great service to the French government in conveying their troops.

In the *Courrier de Marseilles* of the 20th, were the following announcements:—"Embarkations in our port for the East continue with great activity. The steamer, *City of Manchester*, which sailed to-day, had on board the first battery of the Imperial Guard, with its officers, a detachment of sixty artillerymen of the 4th regiment, and 300 horses, of which 259 belonged to the first battery of the guard. This vessel will probably reach Kamiesch in eight days. On her return she will convey wounded soldiers to Constantinople, and take in from the hospitals of the city the men in a state of convalescence, and bring them back to Marseilles. The *Glasgow*, not having yet made the requisite fittings, will not be able to put to sea before Saturday. Thanks to the kindness of her intelligent captain, Mr. Cuming, and of the amateur, Sir George Alexander, our soldiers will find in that splendid vessel of the Scotch company every comfort they can wish for; the medical department, confided to Dr. Dunbar, leaves nothing to be desired. The *Glasgow* will likewise transport sick and wounded from the Crimea. The magnificent packet *Bresil* will leave to-night for the East: this is her first trip. General Herbillon, commander of the tenth division of the French army, and his staff, General Marguenat, commander of the first brigade of that division, M. Herbillon, junior, and several other officers, are to take passage in the *Bresil*, which carries, besides thirty-four horses, and a large quantity of bombs, and incendiary rockets. The steam-packet *Hydaspes* sails this afternoon direct for Constantinople, having on board a number of officers going to join their respective corps; the second battery of artillery of the 4th regiment, consisting of 124 men, and the third battery

of the 2nd regiment, 265 men strong. The large steamer *City of Baltimore*, of the Liverpool Company, to which the *City of Manchester* belongs, and the steamers *Natal* and *Cleat*, are on their way from England to Marseille. The first two have in tow the clippers *Tico*, *deroga* and *Emma Jane*. The Sardinian steamer *Vittorio Emanuele*, of 2800 tons, built in London by Messrs. Mare and Co., left this capital on the 11th, and is hourly expected at our port. These vessels will convey at least 1100 horses and 1500 men. The American clipper *Ocean Herald*, which astonishes our population by her gigantic proportions, is remarkably fast sailer, having performed the passage from England to Gibraltar in five days and a half. The beautiful yacht *Enchanteresse*, belonging to an English baronet, who is travelling with all his family, has arrived in the port of La Joliette, on her way to the East. Two additional batteries of artillery, destined for the Crimea, are expected at Marseille. The screw ship *Charlemagne* arrived at Toulon from Algiers on the 20th instant. On the 19th the steam corvette *Volta*, of 400-horse power, was launched at L'Orient."

The justice and generosity of the French government in conferring honours and promotions upon deserving officers was very striking, and formed a remarkable contrast to the English government, whose plan was, according to an eminent London journal—"favour first seniority next, and merit as it might be."

The *Moniteur d'Armée* published imperial decrees, promoting Generals d'Allonville, D'Aurelle de Paladines, and D'Autemar d'Erville, commanding in the Crimea, and two others, to the rank of generals of division, and eight colonels, mostly serving in the East, to that of generals of brigade. The same journal contained a number of appointments in the Swiss Foreign Legion, up to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, of officers hitherto in the service of the Helvetic confederation. An imperial decree elevated Vice-admiral Romain Desfosses, formerly minister of marine, to the dignity of senator.

In April, embarkations of troops and promotions of officers continued, but the great events of that month were connected with the departure of the emperor and empress for England, their return, the attempt upon the emperor's life, the state of public feeling succeeding that crime, and the renewed demonstrations throughout France of confidence in the emperor's government, and loyalty to the person and throne. For a faithful account of these incidents the reader is referred to the next chapter.

## CHAPTER LXXVII.

VISIT OF THE EMPEROR AND EMPRESS OF FRANCE TO THE QUEEN OF ENGLAND.—WATERLOO AVENGED.—ATTEMPT TO ASSASSINATE THE FRENCH EMPEROR ON HIS RETURN TO FRANCE.—LIFE OF NAPOLEON III.—STRANGE FORTUNES OF THE FRENCH AMBASSADOR TO THE ENGLISH COURT, THE COUNT WALEWSKI.

"I well might lodge a fear  
To be again displac'd; which to avoid,  
I cut some off; and had a purpose now  
To lead out many to the Holy Land;  
Lest rest, and lying still, might make them look  
Too near unto my state. Therefore, my Harry,  
Be it thy course to busy giddy minds  
With foreign quarrels; that action, hence borne out,  
May waste the memory of the former days."

SHAKSPEARE. *Henry IV.*

A VISIT from their imperial majesties to the Queen of the Isles" had been for some time talked of in England and France. This was at last resolved upon at the court of Paris; and on the 15th of April the imperial pair left the Tuileries in an open carriage, escorted by the Cent Gardes. However suitable the day might be to the taste of the Parisians, his majesty showed, by selecting it, that his residence as an exile in England had not taught him all the peculiarities of the people whose sovereign he was about to visit—many of whom received the intelligence of his Sunday journey with dissatisfaction, as it appeared to them to show some deficiency in his majesty's consideration or the feelings (or prejudices, as he might deem them) of the vast majority of the British nation. The emperor was accompanied on his journey by Marshal Vaillant, Minister of War, and Grand Marshal of the Palace; the Duke de Bassano, Grand Chamberlain; General de Montebello, Colonel Fleury, and the Marquis de Foulangeon, his aides-de-camp. The empress was attended by the Princess Essling, grand mistress of her household; the Countess de Montebello and the Countess Maralset, ladies of the palace; and Count d'Archer de la Pagerie, first chamberlain to her majesty.

The departure from Paris was attended by every demonstration of popular good wishes and respect. The Parisians were proud to see their emperor set forth to such a destination. At Calais the imperial suite proceeded to Messin's Hotel, where apartments were fitted up in great state for their reception. The old town of Calais was literally festooned with flowers, and brilliant illuminations lighted up the quaint dark streets. The next morning they embarked on board the *Pelican*, war-steamer, where they were received by the French admiral, the British ambassador to the court of Paris, Baron Rothschild, Sir Robert Peel, as a lord of the British Admiralty, Marshal Bugey d'Hilliers, the British consul at Calais, and various other persons of minor note, whose official position bestowed the privilege, or im-

posed the duty, of being present. Admiral Chabannes conducted the empress on board, the emperor condescending to offer the support of his arm to the Princess d'Essling. The emperor was dressed in the uniform of a marshal of France; the empress wore a small chip bonnet, and a broad silk plaid dress, with a pretty grey hood, giving her the appearance and air of "a bonnie Scotch lass" of the higher ranks of society. It was an appropriate attire—her majesty being of Scottish lineage; and her style of face, complexion, and the tint of her hair, bearing strong resemblance to the more delicate types of Scottish beauty, the dress she patronised exceedingly became her. The *Pelican* was attended by a royal squadron. Scarcely had the imperial flotilla cleared the harbour, when a dense fog obscured the horizon, which rapidly became more dense, until the ships were separated, and danger to the vessel which bore the imperial charge was apprehended. After considerable delay, however, the *Pelican* reached Dover Harbour at a quarter past one.

Prince Albert, and a retinue of royal attendants, were waiting at the landing-place; and as the time for the imperial arrival passed away, and the delay became protracted, the royal party grew very apprehensive of accident, for the fog hung gloomily over Dover, and out at sea. At last all alarm was dissipated by the *Pelican* looming through the fog, in which could be barely discerned, even at the landing-place, the tricolor at the poop, the standard of England on the foremast, and the imperial flag at the main. Before the ship could be well seen, the music of the splendid band on board was wafted on shore over the hazy atmosphere, and "*Partant pour la Syrie*" thrilled through the hearts of those who waited to receive the longed-for guests. As soon as the music was heard, it was answered by a loud British cheer, the most appropriate, cordial, and, to the imperial guest, no doubt, pleasing welcome; for he understood English manners better than most foreigners, and knew that, when an English cheer greeted a public man, it was sincerely

given. A vast concourse had assembled, dim as the afternoon was, but there was no disorder; the ground was kept by detachments of militia; and the East Kent mounted rifles, a beautiful corps, appropriately formed the escort when their majesties landed. Before that event various interesting incidents occurred. It was known, by the electric telegraph at Dover, that their majesties had set sail almost as soon as the royal squadron moved from Calais, and immediately all the bells in Dover were made to give forth their merriest peals; vessels of all sorts made their way through the fog to give the imperial guests a joyous welcome; the band of the Royal Bucks Militia poured forth its best melody.

As soon as the *Pelican* came alongside, a gangway was run out, and his Royal Highness Prince Albert took his station upon it. The emperor and the prince shook hands, the empress and her train gracefully courtseying to his royal highness, who was not deficient in those gallant attentions appropriate to his position. The Count and Countess Walewski, who had been amongst the anxious expectants of the emperor's arrival, and had requested Lord Alfred Paget to put off in a man-of-war's boat on a cruise of investigation, were amongst the first persons noticed by the emperor, and all the bystanders were struck by the cordial and familiar greeting which his majesty vouchsafed to him. The Mayor of Dover presented his respectful congratulations upon the safe arrival of the emperor, who acknowledged the attention in a manner which showed his familiarity with English habits on such occasions.

After the ceremonies attendant upon the landing came to an end, the whole party proceeded to the Warden Hotel, where a luncheon was prepared in a style worthy of the occasion. On the way, the populace and multitudes of visitors at Dover, from far and near, raised their joyous acclamations. The empress had known England, having received a portion of her education in Bath, so that the mode in which the imperial pair acknowledged the gratulations of the people, showed their appreciation of the welcome they received.

After luncheon the corporation of Dover waited upon his majesty to present an address, which was read by Mr. Bodkin, the recorder of the borough, and listened to with marked attention by the imperial pair. The document itself was without any particular feature of interest, resembling most other provincial corporate addresses to royal personages.

The reply of the emperor was off-hand, and delivered with almost volubility: a slightly foreign accent gave interest to the expression. As the first words addressed by Napoleon III. to any public body of Englishmen, that brief

speech ought to be recorded on the pages of history:—"I am exceedingly grateful to your queen has allowed me to find such an occasion to pay my respects to her, and show my sentiments of esteem and sympathy for the English people. I hope that the nations will be always united, in peace and war, for I am convinced that it will be for the welfare of the whole world, and for their prosperity. I am exceedingly grateful to you for the sentiments you have expressed towards myself and the empress, and I hope you will be the interpreter of my sentiments and hopes to your countrymen."

Immediately upon the withdrawal of the corporation, Prince Albert conducted his guests to the railway-station, which adjoins the hotel, where an apartment, elegantly decorated, received them for a short time, until the carriage was in readiness to convey the royal group to the capital. During this interval, Mr. Child, with gallantry and good taste, presented the empress with a very beautiful bouquet. When the train started, a loud and hearty cheer from the vast multitude rang forth, and the royal train dashed off at full speed. The fog at this juncture cleared off, and the undulated landscapes of Kent were revealed to the admiring visitors. Along the whole line ovation awaited their majesties. At every station crowds pressed forward; the embankments of the railway were, at numerous recurring intervals, topped with eager groups whose cheers greeted and followed the rapidly passing train. Sometimes the children of public schools waved their tiny hands, and raised their shrill voices; labourers, workmen, rustics, anon flourished their headgear, and bellowed loudly a boisterous welcome; tasteless flags danced in the light, gay air; and here and there inscriptions of compliment showed how hearty was the popular reception. At Tonbridge the train stopped for a short time, and a vast concourse of persons pressed their way through every barrier, and cheered—as if cheering was the only way to convey any proof of demonstration of their gladness. The Adolphus Cadets were drawn up at Croydon; the band played the French national anthem, and the cheers of the young soldiers greeted heartily the nephew of the greatest soldier the world ever produced. The imperial suit were much delighted as they approached the Crystal Palace, which gleamed beneath the white sunshine like the "Koh-i-noor," or "mountain of light." Perhaps that fairy structure never appeared so advantageously to travellers on the rail as it did that day; and the beautiful arrangement of upland and dale around it, looking so cheerful in the spring light, enhanced the beauty of the palace of crystal. At six o'clock, some hours after the time expected

the train reached the terminus. There the queen of England's carriages awaited its arrival; and in these the guests proceeded *en route* to the Paddington Station of the Great Western. From the Bricklayer's Arms Station, on the Old Kent Road, along the whole line of procession to Paddington, the footpaths were thronged with eager crowds; and the whole resources of London, in vehicles, private and public, were brought into requisition. Flags hung from the windows and housetops; the Tricolor flirled with the Union Jack in the most public thoroughfares. Across streets triumphal arches, decorated sometimes with taste, sometimes with a profusion which taste rejects, were intended to tempt the imperial eyes to behold the loyalty and good faith of the Londoners, and their purpose to do all that belonged to them in maintaining the *entente cordiale*. While the multitudes along the course traversed by the royal *cortège* were everywhere great, at some places the crowds were overwhelming. Perhaps the first of these specially multitudinous assemblages met with was at the "Elephant and Castle." As soon as the carriages turned from the New Kent Road, the scene which met the gaze of their occupants was extraordinary: every window, numerous scaffoldings, and the very house-tops swarmed with human beings: all the roads converging upon that spot were filled with great blocks of people—as at a little distance they appeared. From the countless masses wild hurrahs arose, like the voice of many waters; it was sublime—for the shout of an excited, joyous, or triumphant multitude is sublimer than the sounds of sea or storm. The line of progress was by the Westminster Road to Westminster Bridge: many banners flaunted on high on either side; and Astley's Equestrian Theatre was nearly hidden by British, French, Turkish, and Sardinian flags.

The poor old bridge of Westminster, over which many a gay cavalcade and triumphal procession had passed, was supposed to be too frail to sustain an unusual crowd. Measures were taken to prevent a concourse there, or it would have been one of the most closely-occupied spots in the long line of progress. The bridge was profusely decorated with the flags of the allied nations. Parliament Street was most tastefully ornamented, throughout its extent flags and floral displays were richly and elegantly exhibited. From this point of view the appearance of the multitudes all along Whitehall to Trafalgar Square was very striking, for there is no sight so commanding as a multitudinous people, as there is no sound so sublime as their voice. On this occasion, we could not but feel that the sight of the mighty concourse was even awing. No city in

the universe could assemble such well-dressed numbers, nor such numbers of any degree or quality. London had poured out that day all that were available of her three millions; and whatever may be the grandeur of the gay and gaudy capital of continental Europe, it could produce no such sight as met the eyes of the emperor, and those of the fair partner of his triumph, on that day. In Whitehall there was a grand display of the flags of all nations, the enemy's alone excepted. The government buildings were very gay. Over the portico of the Admiralty a military band performed French and British national airs. The Chapel-Royal, Horse Guards, and other public buildings, and the line of Richmond Terrace, were fitted up with seats, which were occupied by the *élite* of English society. Their reception of the imperial guests, especially of the empress, was most enthusiastic, and her fair face glowed with satisfaction as she bowed in acknowledgment of their plaudits. Trafalgar Square afforded a convenient stand-point, from its wide area and the facility afforded by its elevation: it was literally packed with an excited but most orderly multitude. Both the emperor and empress were struck with the vast concourse which came within range of their vision; and the acclamations which shook the air greatly affected the imperial visitors, who expressed to his royal highness their sense of the great cordiality shown to them.

The line of carriages passed through crowded streets—crowded from the kerbstones to the housetops—until they reached Hyde Park Corner. It is said that the emperor pointed out to the empress the street leading into St. James's Street, where he had humble lodgings, when, seven years before, he was an exile residing in London. On the 10th of April, 1848, he turned out, baton in hand, to serve as a special constable, when the Chartists, under the guidance of the unfortunate Fergus O'Connor, threatened an invasion of London. Seven years and one week, save a day, had elapsed since he was thus obscure; and it was reserved for him to pass through the streets of the great city, guarded by the household troops of her majesty, her guest, and the companion of her consort, while her whole people turned out to confirm her invitation, and add to the honours she had reserved for him. *O tempora mutantur, et mutantur cum illos!* When the illustrious visitors entered Hyde Park, an entirely new scene awaited them. Comparatively few of the lower classes were there; but nowhere else in Europe could such an array of carriages and horsemen be presented. The writer of this History took up his position near the Magazine, where a tolerable opportunity of seeing the procession was offered; but so dense were the carriages and the equestrians,

that persons attending on foot were much impeded. The imperial pair, with Prince Albert, were seated in an open barouche. Six of the royal carriages, each drawn by four horses, and attended by outriders, conveyed the visitors and suite to the Great Western Station. The pace was too rapid for the gratification of the people, and the respect due to their efforts to make them welcome. This, of course, was no fault of their imperial majesties. Immediately on the arrival of the royal and imperial party at the Paddington Station they proceeded to Windsor, where they arrived at seven o'clock. The Queen, accompanied by the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, the Duke of Cambridge, and the Prince of Leiningen, received her guests, who alighted at the grand hall. The band of the 94th regiment played the French national anthem. In passing from the railway-station at Windsor to the castle, the illustrious company occupied several beautiful pony-carriages, and the population welcomed them with the same enthusiasm as in every other place since their landing. The yeomen of the guard lined the guard hall and staircase, under Captain Macdonald, the exon in waiting—the other officers of the corps being also in attendance. The great officers of state, and of the household, in levée-dress, and the ladies and maids of honour in waiting, were in attendance with the queen at the grand hall. Viscount Palmerston and the Earl of Clarendon were the members of the cabinet present. The royal and imperial group passed up the grand staircase, through the music-room, into the throne-room, where the younger members of the royal family were assembled, and where the ladies and gentlemen of the household were presented. The members of the different households then retired to their private apartments. Her majesty gave a dinner in the evening in St. George's Hall, which was attended by the band of the Grenadier Guards. The queen's private band afterwards performed in the music-room. The state apartments of the castle were appropriated to the royal guests.

The next day was one of the finest April days ever seen in England. The Emperor and Empress, the Queen and Prince Albert, walked upon the slopes. The approaches to the castle were crowded. Every train from London brought down new accessions to the numbers which, from all the surrounding country, thronged Windsor. At three o'clock the mayor and corporation arrived at the castle to present an address. They were conveyed in nine carriages, the first of which was a superb equipage, and was occupied by the mayor and recorder; then followed the state-carriage of the Lord Mayor of London, with those of the sheriffs, and members of the court of lieutenancy.

The following address was read by the recorder:—

"May it please your imperial majesty,—We, her Britannic majesty's loyal and dutiful subjects, the mayor, aldermen, and burgesses of the borough of New Windsor, most respectfully beg leave to approach your imperial majesty with our sincere and hearty congratulations on the arrival of your majesty and your imperial consort in our country, and on your visit to our gracious monarch at the long favoured seat of the sovereigns of this country.

"We avail ourselves of this auspicious occasion to assure your imperial majesty that we have witnessed with the highest satisfaction the alliance which has been formed between your majesty and our beloved queen in defence of the sovereign rights of an independent state which have been unjustly violated. We feel that the war, in which your majesty has exhibited so much judgment, ability, and disinterested generosity, is just in principle, that it was not rashly or hastily commenced, and is now only pursued in defence of an oppressed people, and for the establishment and maintenance of a safe and durable peace.

"We have not failed to observe, with sentiments of respect and sympathy, the admirable skill, indomitable courage, and extraordinary endurance which have been manifested by the valiant soldiers of France in the present struggle, whereby they have more than maintained that glorious renown which their forefathers reaped in a hundred battles; nor have we been indifferent spectators of the kindness and cordiality which so happily exist between the armies of France and England, now fighting together in one common cause; and we earnestly hope that the warriors of both nations may henceforth be found contending side by side for the honour, safety, and advancement of France and England, and the peace and happiness of the world. We trust that now, under the guidance of your imperial majesty and our illustrious sovereign, a union will be formed which will bind the two countries in an indissoluble bond of cordial and lasting friendship.

"We are sensible, sire, that to the wisdom and vigour of your imperial majesty's councils and to your unceasing endeavours to promote the truest interests of the powerful and generous nation which Providence has committed to your care, may be attributed that prosperity and happiness which your country now so fully enjoys; and we venture to augur that by encouraging a friendly and personal intercourse between your imperial majesty and the sovereign of Great Britain, your majesty adopt the surest means, not only of strengthening the happy and stable alliance between the two

untries, but of sustaining the liberties and civilisation of Europe.

"May your imperial majesty and your illustrious consort long live to enjoy every domestic and personal blessing, and the loyalty and attachment of an admiring and grateful people.

"Given under the common seal of the said Mayor, aldermen, and burgesses, at the Guildhall, in the said borough, on the 9th day of April, in the eighteenth year of the reign of our sovereign lady Victoria, by the grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, queen, defender of the faith, and the year of our Lord, 1855."

To this his imperial majesty replied:—

"MR. MAYOR,—I am very much pleased with the sentiments contained in your address; and I trust that the alliance so happily formed will last for many, many years. I thank you for the hearty reception I have met with in your town; but I am sure I cannot take it to myself much as to the circumstance of my being a guest of your queen. I was much gratified by what I witnessed last night in your town; and I beg that you will express to the inhabitants of Windsor how highly pleased I was with their kindness and attention."

The lieutenantcy, deputations from the London merchants and bankers, and the representatives of other public bodies, then presented dresses, which were not of sufficient historical interest to publish here. In each case his majesty delivered an appropriate extempore reply.

After the withdrawal of the corporation and the deputations, there was a review in the Great Park of a small brigade of cavalry, consisting of the 2nd Life Guards, the Royal Horse Guards Blue, and the 6th Dragoon Guards, or Carabiniers, and two troops of Royal Horse Artillery. The ground was kept by the 94th Regiment of the line. The queen and empress attended in an open carriage. The Earl of Cardigan commanded the troops. The French emperor rode between Prince Albert and the duke of Cambridge. His imperial majesty and the prince consort were attired in the uniforms of field-marshal of their respective nations. The number of persons on the ground was enormous, and they received with great enthusiasm the illustrious *cortège*, the military bands playing "*Partant pour la Syrie*." After the review there was a sham cavalry action; and the emperor highly complimented Lord Cardigan on the manner in which the manoeuvres were conducted.

In the evening there was a grand dinner-party in St. George's Hall; and the evening party which followed was most numerously attended with aristocratic guests.

On Wednesday her majesty held a chapter

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of the garter, for the purpose of investing the emperor with the insignia of the order. The queen wore on this occasion her celebrated diadem of brilliants. The *Court Circular* afforded the following account:—

"The knights companions were called over according to their order of seniority:—The Marquis of Exeter, the Duke of Richmond, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Duke of Buckingham, the Marquis of Salisbury, the Duke of Cleveland, Earl de Grey, the Marquis of Hertford, the Duke of Bedford, the Earl of Clarendon, Earl Spencer, Earl Fitzwilliam, the Duke of Northumberland, the Earl of Ellesmere, and the Earl of Aberdeen. The officers of the order present were—the Bishop of Winchester, prelate; the Bishop of Oxford, chancellor; the Hon. and very Rev. the Dean of Windsor, registrar; Sir Charles George Young, garter king-of-arms; and Sir Augustus Clifford, gentleman usher of the black rod. The knights appeared in the mantle and collar of the garter, and the officers wore their respective robes, with their chains and badges.

"The knights companions and officers entered the throne-room, and took their seats at the table, the queen being seated in a chair of state at the head, a second (vacant) chair of state being on the right hand of her majesty. The prelate of the order stood on the right of the queen, the chancellor on the left, while the registrar, garter, and black rod, remained at the bottom of the table. The ceremony commenced by the chancellor reading a new statute, by command of the queen, dispensing with the existing statutes of the Order of the Garter, in as far as was required for the especial purpose therein mentioned, and ordaining and declaring that his Imperial Majesty Napoleon III., Emperor of the French, be declared a knight of this order, any statute, decree, rule, or usage to the contrary notwithstanding.

"By the queen's command the Emperor of the French was conducted from his apartments through the music-room, and grand reception-room, between his royal highness Prince Albert, and his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge, the two senior knights companions present, preceded by the garter king-of-arms (bearing the ensigns of the order upon a crimson velvet cushion), and by black rod. The queen and the knights of the garter received his imperial majesty standing; and the emperor, passing to the head of the table, took a seat in the chair of state on the right hand of her majesty.

"Her imperial majesty the Empress of the French, his royal highness the Prince of Wales, her royal highness the Princess Royal, his royal highness Prince Alfred, her royal highness the Princess Alice, and their royal highnesses the Duchess of Cambridge and the Princess Mary, had been conducted to the

throne-room before the entrance of the queen, in order to witness the ceremony.

"The empress and the Duchess of Cambridge were ushered to seats near the throne. The queen announced to the emperor of the French that his imperial majesty had been elected a knight of the most noble Order of the Garter. Garter king-of-arms, kneeling, presented the garter to the sovereign, and her majesty, assisted by his royal highness Prince Albert, buckled it on the left leg of the emperor, the chancellor pronouncing the admonition. Garter king-of-arms presented the riband with the George, and the queen put the same over the left shoulder of the emperor, the chancellor pronouncing the admonition. The queen then gave the accolade to the emperor, and his imperial majesty received the congratulations of his royal highness Prince Albert, his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge, his serene highness the Prince of Leiningen, and each of the knights companions present. The chapter being thus ended, the knights companions were again called over by garter, and retired from the presence of the sovereign with the usual reverences.

"Her majesty accompanied the emperor to his apartments, followed by the empress and Prince Albert, and attended by the ladies and gentlemen of the royal suites. The queen and prince afterwards returned to their own rooms.

"A guard of the honourable corps of Gentlemen-at-arms, under the command of Major Harmar, the standard-bearer, was in attendance upon her majesty the queen at the chapter-room, and a special guard of honour of the honourable corps, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Topham. The lieutenant majesty the emperor of the French at his apartments and at the chapter-room. The yeomen of the guard, under the command of Captain Macdonald, the exon in waiting, lined the grand staircase, the vestibule, and the music-room. The queen's footmen, in state-liveries, were stationed in the vestibule.

"The queen gave a state dinner in the evening, at which all the gentlemen appeared in uniform or court dress, the members of orders of knighthood wearing their respective ensigns. The magnificent service of gold plate was used on this occasion. The middle of the table was adorned with a number of beautiful *épergnes* and vases in gold, while on two buffets, at each end of St. George's Hall, in which the banquet was served, were displayed, on a background of rich crimson, a variety of beautiful specimens of art in the precious metals, in shields, tankards, jewelled cups, vases, tazzi, and other articles of *virtu* in the royal collection."

The buffets and the table were brilliantly lit by numerous wax-lights in candelabra of

silver-gilt, the St. George candelabrum forming the centre ornament. Opposite the candelabrum at the table were seated her majesty the queen, and his imperial majesty the emperor of the French; and on the opposite side his imperial majesty the empress, and his royal highness Prince Albert. The festivities of the evening were brilliant, exceedingly suggestive of some gorgeous fairy tale. It was remarkable that the insignia worn by the emperor on this occasion was that worn by Louis XVI. and Charles X., when similar honours were conferred upon them.

On Thursday morning their royal and imperial majesties visited the city. They left Windsor at a little after eleven o'clock, and proceeded by the South-western Railway to the queen's private station at Nine Elms. They were received there by the directors, the barons of the Coldstream Guards performing the national anthems of England and France. The Grenadier Guards kept the ground, and a squadron of the 1st Life Guards formed the escort. The illustrious party went along the Wandsworth Road to Vauxhall Bridge, along Milbank, Parliament Street, to the Horse Guards through the Horse Guards and St. James's Park to Buckingham Palace. Multitudes thronged the way, and their utterances of welcome rose in one perpetual shout. The state bands of the Life Guards were stationed in the front of the palace, and performed the national anthems dedicated to the two sovereign reigns. The Duke of Wellington, and other officers of the household, received their majesties with the appropriate ceremonies. The emperor and empress left Buckingham Palace at half past one o'clock, *en route* to the Guildhall, there to meet the citizens of London and accept their welcome. Their majesties and suite proceeded in seven of the royal carriages through the Mall of St. James's Park, the Horse Guards, thence to Charing Cross along Whitehall. The fineness of the day contributed to the glory of the scene which was presented in this triumphal course. From Charing Cross to Temple Bar, probably the greatest collection of persons were assembled which ever before thronged that approach to the city. Within the city, the gathering appeared, if possible, greater. All the way from Charing Cross, the royal carriages passed beneath a canopy of gaudy flags and banners which overhung the streets. The emperor and his delicate and amiable-looking empress were much affected by these demonstrations of friendship and cordial alliance. Their arrival at the Guildhall was the occasion for the grandest display of popular and civic hospitality. The Royal Horse Guards preserved order; military bands were duly stationed. A splendid canopy covered the whole area

the building, which was decorated in most costly style. The corporation was assembled, and many of the nobility, the ministers, the foreign ambassadors, and foreigners of distinction, obtained positions to witness the presentation.

At ten minutes past two their majesties arrived, and were at once conducted to the throne prepared for them. The recorder (who was surrounded by the lord mayor, aldermen, sheriffs, and various members of the court of common council) read the address which had been prepared by command of the corporation. It was as follows:—

“May it please your majesty,—We, the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, desire to offer to your majesty our heartfelt congratulations on the arrival of your majesty and the empress of the French in this country as the guests of our most gracious queen; and on behalf of our fellow-citizens and ourselves, we humbly tender to your majesties the warmest expression of our gratitude for the welcome visit by which you have deigned to honour our city on this memorable day.

“The attention of Europe and the world is already fixed on the attitude of dignity and united strength displayed by France and Great Britain in the present war, and the coming of your majesty, invited by our beloved queen at such a time, will draw closer the bonds of mutual friendship and common interests so happily uniting the two countries.

“The cordial alliance of two such mighty powers, cemented and sealed by intimate and frank intercourse between their rulers, must way the destinies of all, will abate the pride of our common enemies, increase the confidence of our allies, and give new vigour to our arms.

“By the wise policy of your majesty’s reign, all our ancient jealousies have been appeased, and the flags of France and England now mingle their colours alike in the Baltic and in the East. Ranged together in a righteous cause, braving like hardships, and shedding their blood side by side in victory, the soldiery of our united armies, and the seamen of our combined fleets, have learned to regard each other with the love of brave and generous comrades, second only to the love they bear their respective countries; and while such are the feelings, we rejoice that sentiments akin to these are growing daily, and sinking deeply into the breasts of the people of these great and neighbouring nations.

“None can doubt that the allied forces thus animated, led in perfect harmony by commanders of tried skill and valour, and guided by united counsels at home, will achieve by arms the just and ambitious objects of the

present war; unless, as we may hope, the efforts of assembled statesmen shall yet avert the calamities of protracted warfare by the speedier negotiation of an honourable and enduring peace.

“This cordial reception, therefore, of the chosen and puissant emperor of the French by the illustrious sovereign who reigns over these realms, and lives in the hearts of the British people, we regard as a type of a close and lasting friendship between the two nations, and the happiest augury of a returning time, when, undisturbed in the onward course of civilisation, the nations of Europe may again lay aside the sword, and resume their exalted rivalry in the works of beneficence alone.

“We are earnestly anxious further to express to your imperial majesty the lively pleasure and respectful admiration with which we have seen you accompanied, on this happy occasion, by your illustrious consort, her majesty the empress of the French. We tender to your majesty the expression of our confident hope that you may ever find, in the affections of domestic life, the best solace and support this world can afford, under the cares and weights of the high destiny you are now fulfilling with such conspicuous power and moderation, and we fervently pray that life and health may, by the blessing of Providence, be vouchsafed to your majesties for many years to come.”

The emperor, having received the address from the hands of the recorder, proceeded to read his reply. He said:—

“MY LORD MAYOR,—After the cordial reception I have experienced from the queen, nothing could affect me more deeply than the sentiments towards the empress and myself to which you, my lord, have given expression on the part of the city of London; for the city of London represents available resources which its wide commerce affords both for civilisation and for war.

“Flattering as are your praises, I accept them, because they are addressed much more to France than to myself. They are addressed to a nation whose interests are to-day everywhere identical with your own. They are addressed to an army and a navy united to your own by heroic companionship in danger and in glory. They are addressed to the policy of the two governments, which is based on truth, on moderation, and on justice.

“For myself, I have retained on the throne the same sentiments of sympathy and esteem for the English people that I professed as an exile, while I enjoyed here the hospitality of your country; and if I have acted in accordance with my convictions, it is that the interests of the nation which has chosen me, no

less than those of universal civilisation, have made it a duty. Indeed, England and France are naturally united on all the great questions of politics, and of human progress, that agitate the world, from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the Mediterranean—from the Baltic to the Black Sea—from the desire to abolish slavery to the hope of amelioration for all the countries of Europe. I see in the moral, as in the political world, that there are two nations—but one course and one end.

"It is, then, only by narrow considerations and pitiful rivalries that our union can be severed. If we follow, then, the dictates of common sense alone, we shall be sure of the future.

"You are right in interpreting my presence among you as a fresh and convincing proof of my energetic co-operation in the prosecution of the war, if we fail in obtaining an honourable peace. Should we so fail, although our difficulties may be great, we may surely count upon a successful result—for not only are our soldiers and our sailors of tried valour—not only do the two countries possess within themselves unrivalled resources, but above all—and here lies the superiority—it is because they stand in the van of generous and enlightened ideas.

"The eyes of all who suffer rise instinctively towards the West, because the two nations are even more powerful from the opinions which they represent, than from their armies and their fleets.

"I am deeply grateful to your queen for affording me this solemn opportunity of expressing to you my own sentiments, and those of France, of which I am the interpreter.

"I thank you, in my own name and in that of the empress, for the kind and hearty cordiality with which you have received us. We shall take back to France with us the lasting impression made on minds thoroughly able to appreciate the very imposing spectacle which England presents, where virtue, on the throne, directs the destinies of a country under the empire of liberty without danger."

Their majesties, the Duke of Cambridge, the cabinet ministers, foreign ambassadors, and various distinguished persons were then conducted to the council-chamber, where an elegant *déjeuner* was prepared, and where the freedom of the city was presented to his majesty.

The queen, with the good taste so characteristic of her, was from the first opposed to an invitation to her and the prince, lest honours should be divided, which she desired to be wholly given to her illustrious visitors.

During the *déjeuner*, and afterwards, their majesties chatted familiarly, and with that grace which is so natural to all ranks in France,

among the groups of noble and civic persons assembled around them. His majesty noticed Sir Charles Fox among the spectators, who he beckoned to his side, and shook hands with him. While *en route* from the council-chamber to the hall, where many pictures of the Buonaparte family were hung, his majesty's eye caught a fine portrait of Hortense, the mother. He paused for a moment, gazed at it, and exclaimed, "This is indeed kind!" Their majesties proceeded from the Guildhall to the Albert Gate of Hyde Park, Knightsbridge, the residence of Count Walewski, the French Ambassador. The imperial *cortège* entered the Park at Hyde Park Corner, passing to the embassy from the park. This was probably, the most brilliant portion of the day's spectacle. The whole way through the park from the statue of Achilles to the French embassy, was lined with household infantry, and a splendid escort of the Life Guards relieve that which had attended the emperor to the city. The emperor appeared in high spirits and greatly pleased; the empress was pale and seemed fatigued; but her countenance was suffused with pleasure, while, during long detention of her carriage before the park aspect of the embassy, she was enthusiastically greeted by all assembled there. At the embassy, the emperor received the respects of all the foreign ambassadors. The occupant of that noble mansion, the Count Walewski, and his beautiful countess, partook largely of the popular good feeling. The ambassador has seen alternations of prosperity and adversity corresponding with those which the emperor had experienced. A Pole by birth, and by reputation connected with the Buonaparte family, he took part in the Polish revolution of 1831, arrived an exile in France, and there found a glorious elevation. Some time after the visit of the emperor to England, he became minister of foreign affairs, and presided at the peace conference, by which, in another year, the great war was terminated. An American review then contained the following striking notice of him:—

"Within the walls of a sumptuous mansion on the Boulevard des Capucines sits the Count Walewski, the Emperor Louis Napoleon's minister of Foreign Affairs. There is a costly banquet spread, and the minister presides. The band of Guides, in their ravishing uniforms, inspire the feast. On the right of the count sits the representative of Russia; on his left, the head-servant of Windsor Castle. Indiscriminately disposed, appear the various plenipotentiaries, members of the diplomatic corps, members of the imperial cabinet, and other high functionaries of state. The Count Walewski, the dessert being laid, rises with pictorial gravity, and, in the midst of all this

golden light, this military music, this fragrant confusion of the vineyard and Hyperides, promises to these dazzling notables and nobles, the durability of the peace they have just signed with the jewelled quill of the eagle of the *Jardin des Plantes*—the imprisoned bird of the Olympian master.

"Stealing through the city of Berlin in disguise, footworn and befouled, with blood-shot eyes, roving everywhere like a suspected thief, with ears erect, watching every syllable uttered in the streets through which, as instinctive genius prompts, he passes with quick or tardy pace, there is an outlawed man, dogged by the police of Monsieur de Manteuffel, the viceroy of the Prussian capital. A Polish rebel, to his neck in treason, he journeys to Paris, and Ignacio Commonfort came hither, a few months ago, for the sinews of war and sympathy. He gets clear of Prussia—baffles the police of Monsieur de Manteuffel—runs other risks—extricates himself from all—throws off his rags and mask—leaps, with the agility of Mazzaroni, into the renovated livery of the empire—and sits there on the Boulevard des Capucines, the minister of Foreign Affairs, the Count Walewski. Yet, on the police-sheets of Berlin, and many smaller towns, from the Visula to the Elbe, the written instructions of Monsieur de Manteuffel, to arrest 'an adventurer, styling himself Walewski,'—for these are the precise words,—still remain. Times change. Your old age, look out, Walewski, for the police of Berlin!"

In the evening, her majesty and the prince consort, with her guests, visited the Italian opera, London being gorgeously illuminated. The scene was especially grand as the royal carriages emerged from St. James's Palace into Pall Mall West. The clubs and private houses were brilliantly illuminated with every imaginable device indicative of alliance with France, and resolution to carry on the war. As the carriages left the palace gates of St. James's, the multitude, who crowded every available space, raised one of the most deafening cheers we ever heard on any public occasion, even when a mighty concourse of people were most enthusiastic.

On Friday the scene of imperial and royal interest was the Crystal Palace. About 30,000 persons were assembled on the terrace; and when the queen and prince, emperor and empress, appeared on the gallery overlooking the beautiful grounds, and the multitude below, it was indeed a scene to remember for ever.

In the evening her majesty gave a concert at Buckingham Palace, where a brilliant throng of the *élite* of the land, and brave men and women from many lands, were assembled. Her majesty was dressed in blue silk, with flourishes of white lace, and wore a small

crown of rubies and diamonds, with white feathers. The empress wore a brilliant head-dress of diamonds, and her attire was at once costly and chaste. The emperor wore the uniform of a French general officer. Prince Albert was dressed in that of the British Rifle Brigade. The emperor displayed, for the first time since his investiture "the garter." Supper was served on the celebrated gold plate, the display of which, on a lofty buffet lined with crimson, as well as in the supper-service, was dazzling in the extreme.

On Saturday the imperial guests took their leave of her majesty, and departed from Windsor, accompanied by Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge, who bade them adieu at Dover, amidst a salute from the guns of the fleet. Their majesties arrived safely at their destination; and who was there in France or England that did not feel that Waterloo was at last avenged? No Englishman who visited France, or elsewhere had much intercourse with Frenchmen during the previous forty years, but must have perceived that to avenge Waterloo had been the darling passion of the French nation. We doubt even if the army was actuated by this desire more strongly than the people at large. The *bourgeoisie*, as a class, would, for the sake of peace, by which their trade might improve, forego this vengeful wish; but even amongst them the memory of Waterloo rankled and festered at the heart. Nor can we wonder at this. That victory imposed upon France the government of a dynasty made hateful by bigotry and oppression. The Bourbons of 1815 were no better than those of 1792—indeed they were not so good; for in 1792 the royal family, whatever its sins, had a love for France, but in 1815 they cared for nothing but their own interests, which were propped up solely by foreign bayonets. Whatever the demerits of the great Napoleon, he was the man of the people's choice. He was thoroughly a representative man: he was the incarnation of the pride, passion, infidelity, intellect, and glory of France. He even represented in his own predilections, opinions, and policy, the strangely-blended despotism and freedom of the French mind. France did not understand liberty for herself, or toleration for others; and yet there was a hatred of tyranny, and a love of equality of citizenship, which are potent ingredients of social liberty. Napoleon represented everything that was French to so great an extent as to be the expression to the world of the national heart: where he failed to do this he failed to rule; and partly through this failure he ceased to reign. Had he, at the epoch of his fall, more completely regarded the national will, and been more completely its representative, humanly speaking, he had not fallen. Even Waterloo, if irreparable, and

although it had brought down the imperial eagle with broken wing, had not extinguished its life and power, if a large portion of the French people were not made to feel that the imperial policy was selfish, and that Napoleon was ceasing to rule for France, and waging only the war of a dynasty.

It is doubtful whether France would have ever seen a great military despotism, but for the mistaken policy of England. The French revolution was just. It was as righteous a revolt as our own revolution against James II. England was popular amongst the revolutionists, and they desired her co-operation, and, we had almost said, protection, in forming a government, which should be based on principles more nearly resembling her own (if that be possible) than even those of the American United States. But the policy of England was directed by a party inimical to all liberty—and there was no despotism too grinding amongst the nations of the Continent for that party to foster. England, thus controlled, spurned the alliance of free France, and leagued herself with continental absolutists against the young life and prospects of a country yearning to be free. The wealth of England was lavished in attempts to create confusion and conspiracy, and many of the horrid excesses which popular fury committed were the result of the exasperation thus created in the mind of France;—a fierce and terrible policy against all who favoured the despotic system upheld by England became necessary to the very existence of the French republic.

The foreign policy of the republic became necessarily propagandist; she did, as we do ourselves with our constitutionalism, and as Russia and Austria do with their absolutism—she encouraged the republican tendencies in surrounding nations, and sought to increase her own strength by their sympathies, and their successful revolt against their own oppressors. Out of this state of things solely grew the wars of French aggrandisement and conquest, upon the fiery chariot of which Napoleon stood, the wonder and the terror of the world. England was obliged ultimately to battle for her own national integrity, in a war which she did much to originate, for the destruction of every liberty claimed by the nation against which at last she had to summon all her resources to make head. Waterloo was the final stroke of England, therefore, in a contest which not only secured her own freedom, but struck down that of France. England and the Bourbons became to France the great obstructions, not only to her glory but to her liberty, and Waterloo was the *shibboleth* of her oppressors. Whether her own government might be republican or monarchical—and, if the latter, whether hereditary and constitu-

tional, or imperial and elective—were questions for her to settle within herself, and the word “Waterloo” at once repressed hope of her ever realising that power. In the views of the theory of public feeling in France toward England, we have the support of the most competent men of the past and present generations. Henry Lord Brougham, himself endorsed them; and that enlightened politician James Montgomery, the bard of Sheffield, battled through many years of his political life to enforce them, and even endured incarceration under the allegation of having sung treason when it was treason to recall England to consistency with herself and justice to France. These views have been recently confirmed in the way of narrative, by the author of *The Reign of Terror; or, the Diary of a Volunteer of the Year II. of the French Republic*, translated by Mr. Samuel Copland; in fact, the time arrived when the injustice of the attitude upon the first French revolution was admitted by the general sentiment of England, and proclaimed by her policy.

The restored Bourbon was hurled from the throne; a younger and more corrupt branch of that house—that of Orleans—in its turn deceived France, and was swept away. Again, republic arose, the success of which would have undoubtedly been certain, but for the intrigues of a section of the priesthood. While the ultra-montane party contemplated a *coup d'état*, which must have consigned liberty and Napoleonism together to persecution, the representative of the house of Buonaparte seized the reins of power; and, amidst the acclamations of France, and of the liberal portion of the clergy, proclaimed his government as that of Napoleon III. England changed her policy. She had expended countless millions to put down republicanism in France without success, and at last public opinion there, without foreign interference, raised an empire upon its ruin. England had added to the expenditure of her treasure and her blood wasted in warring against the republic, a fresh drain of both to put down the empire; and seizing its mighty chief with mightier hand, chained him, as a fettered eagle upon the loneliest rock in the ocean. The empire was re-established in the person of a legitimate successor, and England made alliance with him; her armies and his confronted together a common enemy; her fleets and his mingled their pennants within the sinuous Baltic, the embosomed Euxine, and far upon the boundless Pacific. And after a brilliant visit, in which a hospitable welcome was accorded, he and his beautiful empress came as guests whose departure was regretted—in the halls of Windsor, where the ancient line of English royalty had held their proud estates.

ages! Verily, Waterloo was avenged!—avenged in the most noble way a people can—vengeance on an injury—by obtaining the honourable and peaceful recognition of all they had sought to gain. Yes, it was true that multitudes assembled in Trafalgar Square, at the foot of the monument erected to England's mightiest naval chief, by whom the fleets of France were scattered as wrecks before the storm—and from the voice of that multitude a shout of welcome arose, as the heir of the once-vanquished Napoleon emerged from Whitehall! What must have been his feelings, and hers who shares his destiny, when passing under the statue of the great Wellington, to and from Buckingham Palace, they beheld so gorgeous a proclamation of the fact that all the policy which England's mightiest military hero conquered to accomplish, was thus peacefully and harmoniously ignored? Was it for this that the pride and chivalry of France were rolled back from the heights of Busaco to the gates of Toulouse—and from ensanguined Waterloo to the gates of Paris—that beneath the arch which bears the statue of the conqueror the heir of the vanquished should ride in triumph? Did the fair empress cast her eye upon Apsley House—upon the statue of Achilles, fronting within the park the arch before which the equestrian statue of the hero of Waterloo is so proudly elevated without—and remember that all these things were erected because of Waterloo; and that in the gay *corège* a Duchess of Wellington added beauty and honour to her train, without feeling that Waterloo was avenged?—and thus may such needs ever be avenged, amidst national friendships, hospitalities, and peace!

The author of these pages happened to see, on the Friday, the emperor and his queenly side alight at their own house at the Albert Gate—the house of the French embassy. We stood below, while a British band played the national air of France, and while the emperor and his bride (of British lineage), from the windows of the drawing-room, stood, and returned salutations to the crowd of fashionable persons who waved their hats and offered their greetings from the park beneath. Happy sight!—to behold the resolute brow of a Napoleon illumined with pleasure by English cordiality, and his hard features softened and relieved by the reflection of her sweetness, grace, and beauty who stood beside him—we hope the emblem of future France—the very expression of modesty, taste, and gentle goodness. Yes, Waterloo was avenged, and we, upon whom it was avenged, share the glory and aid the triumph.

In a week after the emperor left the English shores, he was fired at by an assassin. His majesty, accompanied by his equerries, Colonel

Ney and Valabreque, left the Palace of the Tuileries, about five o'clock in the afternoon of Saturday, the 28th of April, to take his customary ride in the Champs Elysées, and overtake the empress, who had preceded him, and was then in the Allée Dauphine, in the Bois de Boulogne. While riding slowly through the grand avenue, a man advanced from the throng, on the promenade, to within five or six paces of the emperor's horse. The intended assassin saluted, and the emperor raised his hand to return the salutation, when the man drew from beneath his paletot a pistol, and fired; the shot missed, but the pistol had a double barrel, and the fellow immediately rested the pistol on his arm, and fired again. In all probability, the horse saved his majesty; the animal shyed at the report of the first pistol, and, by this means changing suddenly the position of his majesty, averted the aim of the second shot. The man was prepared for such a contingency; for drawing a second pistol of the same form from beneath his coat, he was about to discharge it, when the spectators rushed upon him, and a police-agent being at hand, he was at once secured. The ruffian desperately struggled, endeavouring to fire into the faces of those who held him, so that the officer of police was twice obliged to wound him with a poignard before he was rendered incapable of mischief. The people would have killed him, but for the presence and authority of the emperor. When taken to the civic guard-house, at the Barrière de l'Etoile, he was found to be an Italian, named Pinari, and a shoemaker by trade. The emperor displayed the greatest coolness and courage; and as he rode slowly on to the triumphal arch, the crowds of respectable persons who were assembled greeted him with loud acclamations, and every available demonstration of joy, on his escape. Before his majesty overtook the empress, one of his equerries galloped forward to assure her majesty, and offer a detailed relation of the incident. The emperor then gave his horse to a groom, and placing himself beside the empress in the carriage, they drove to the Tuileries, the people hurrying along by the carriage, and uttering shouts of congratulation. Eugénie was overcome by these demonstrations of respect, and the event that caused them, and wept, and laughed hysterically, as the crowd waved their hats, and uttered their hearty congratulations. In the evening, their majesties visited the Opéra Comique, and the house rang with the hearty acclamations of the people upon their entrance.

The next day the gentry of Paris hastened to the Tuileries, to congratulate his majesty on his escape. The representatives of the senate delivered a congratulatory address, to which the emperor made the following most

remarkable extempore reply, and with a tone and emphasis which betrayed the deep earnestness and solemnity of his mind in uttering it:—"I thank the senate for the sentiments it has just expressed to me. I fear nothing from the attempts of assassins; there are existences which are the instruments of the decrees of Providence. As long as I shall not have fulfilled my mission, I run no danger."

The assassin, for such he was in purpose, was a young man, and had borne arms in Italy during 1848-9. His motive, in the criminal attempt he made, was to revenge the destruction of Roman liberty, which had been accomplished by the emperor when president of the French republic. His trial took place on the 7th of May, according to the forms usually observed in criminal cases. The government desired to have him tried for high-treason, but the emperor sagaciously replied, that "the criminal should be proceeded against just as if he had perpetrated the offence against a journeyman plasterer of the Plain of St. Denis." The prisoner was remarkable for his personal beauty; he had a high intellectual forehead, dark expressive eyes, his throat, which he wore bare, was fair and rounded, his hands small, and exquisitely kept. He denied any connection with secret societies, and disclaimed all accomplices. He had evidently no control over his passions, and was in any state of society a dangerous person. He was sentenced to be executed for parricide, for which in French law there is a peculiar punishment. As the emperor would not have him indicted for treason, the judges, less wise and merciful, adopted this legal fiction. It met with general disapprobation, although all men were willing that he should suffer death for his crime. He was led to the scaffold on the 14th of May. As soon as he ascended it, he shouted "*Vive la république!*" and was about to repeat the cry, when the axe fell upon his neck, severing his head from the body.

A glance at the history of the remarkable man, who, escaping the shot of the assassin, only passed through one of the many perils of an eventful life, will here be appropriate. Charles Louis Buonaparte is the third, and only surviving, son of Louis Buonaparte, King of Holland, and brother to the great Napoleon. His mother was Hortense, daughter of Josephine, the wife of De Beauharnais, afterwards his widow, then the wife of General Buonaparte, and in course of the vicissitudes which filled up his changeful career, Empress of the French. Victor Hugo, in his intense hostility to Louis Napoleon, endeavours to disgrace Hortense, and to represent the emperor as the child of her intrigue with another than her husband. For this no proof is offered, and, if true, ought not to be used as Victor Hugo

so spitefully and meanly employs it. It alleged that the infamous Fouché, so long the great emperor's minister of police, is the author of this scandal, and that the separation of Hortense from her husband gave so plausible support to the allegation.

The subject of this notice was born in Paris on the 20th of April, 1808, seven months after the final separation of his parents. He was the first prince born of Napoleon's house and the birth gave the illustrious uncle great joy; all France was called upon to rejoice, as the thunders of her cannon announced the great event to the empire and the world. He "was born" said the emperor, "on the step of a throne."

In 1810 he was baptised at Fontainebleau. The emperor and the new empress (poor Josephine, ever loving and faithful, was basely and inhumanly repudiated) stood sponsors for him and the church lent all its pomp to the occasion.

In 1816 the Bourbon dynasty having been restored by the victory of Waterloo, Hortense, having at that time the style and title of Duchess of St. Leu, was exiled, and took up her residence in Bavaria, devoting herself to the tender and anxious culture of her boy. They were persecuted by the Bavarian government, and took refuge in Switzerland. The Bourbons, unwilling to have them in such near neighbourhood, menaced the Swiss government, and Hortense, to avoid being the cause of any calamity, took her son to Rome. Here the education of the future emperor was committed to very unworthy hands. A certain M. Lebas, son of a confidential partisan of Robespierre, was the tutor; and this political fanatic, rather than survive so glorious a republican, committed suicide.

When, in 1830, a new French revolution expelled the Bourbons once more, the house of Buonaparte assembled in counsel at Rome. There were there associated "Madame Mère," Cardinal Fesch, Jerome Buonaparte, Hortense and her son Louis Napoleon. The result was the expulsion of Hortense and Louis Napoleon, then of age, from the Papal States. Louis Napoleon resisted, but an escort of mounted *carabinieri* conducted him to the frontier, beyond which he was compelled to pass. At this time Louis' elder brother was alive, and both the young men took an active part in the revolutionary agitation which broke forth after the French revolution, which seated the infamous Louis Philippe upon the throne of France. The insurgents in the Papal States and other parts of Italy, looked to the young Buonapartes as leaders. The young men showed courage, and, joining themselves to General Lenognani, repeatedly repulsed the army of the Pontiff. A French fleet, sent out by Louis Philippe, and an Austrian army



NAPOLEON III

*Emperor of the French*



son decided the fate of the Italians. From the very beginning "*Egalité*" was a traitor to principles he avowed in ascending the French throne. The young Buonapartes were expelled from Italy, but the elder was placed beyond the vengeance of "the powers"—he sickened and died at Faenza, in March, 1831.

Hortense fled from Rome, and her son Louis, disguised as her servant, escaped with her to Cannes. Here Hortense resolved to hasten to Paris, and claim the protection of Louis Philippe from the dangers which surrounded her. Hortense had reason to calculate upon a generous reception, for it was through her influence that the mother and aunt of the Duke of Orleans were permitted to reside in France, during the days of the empire. Nor were her benevolent efforts confined to that, for the emperor, in answer to her entreaties, granted them an income of 600,000 francs to maintain their dignity. Louis Philippe was addressed by Hortense in one of the most touching letters ever written by a mother, a fugitive, and an unhappy woman; he answered by slyly endeavouring to induce her, of her own accord, to leave France. Louis Napoleon begged permission to enter the French army as a private soldier, which was of course refused. Finally, a peremptory and haughty order to mother and son to leave the kingdom, sent them once more wanderers on the face of the earth. They passed over to England. Preferring the Continent, they again found their way to Switzerland, and resided at Arnenberg. In April, 1832, he was elected by the Canton of Thurgovia to the rights of citizenship. He entered the military school of Thun as a volunteer, and studied closely the theory and practice of artillery. He also gave himself to the study of history, added to the policy and opinions of his illustrious uncle. He wrote a work on the subject of artillery, which so pleased the Bernese government that it conferred on him the commission of captain in its regiment of artillery. Thus matters went with him until 1835. During this time Hortense was one of the most affectionate of mothers, and Charles Louis Napoleon one of the most filial of sons. When Madame de Gerardin was married, April 26th, 1834, a letter was addressed to her by Hortense, which is full of sweetness and tenderness, revealing her interesting character; it is also curious from the reference it makes to her son:—

"I found you whole and entire in your charming letter, my dear Delphine," writes Hortense Beauharnais; "tell your husband not to be angry at my calling you by that name—it is the one you bore at Rome and in Switzerland, when you used to repeat to me

your pretty verses, and that I rejoiced in listening to your voice, so expressive and so truly French. You have not then forgotten me? I thank you for it—for I thought that in Paris, people forgot everything. I am glad to hear that the distrust we inspire—too well founded, perhaps, alas!—is not so general as I feared. Certainly I shall be charmed to receive often your works and your letters. You cannot doubt of my pleasure at any mark of your remembrance. I have so often asked, 'Is she married?—is she happy?' You really owed me a reply as satisfactory as the one I have received. I will think over the proposal you make to me. The difficulty will be to find some article that will seem naturally brought about. At this moment my son is writing a work upon artillery—that would not be interesting. Afterwards he means to write something on his uncle; then we may see what he could send you. He is altered since you saw him—grown to be a man; and he makes me very happy by the kindness of his disposition and his noble resignation, which modifies the vivacity of his opinions. I dare not wish our native country for him—for I am too fond of peace; and besides, there where you are feared you cannot possibly hope to be beloved. Assuredly resignation, to no matter what injustice, to no matter what deception, is the virtue best adapted to us. Believe in the delight I should feel in seeing you once more, in making your husband's acquaintance, and in repeating to you the assurance of my affectionate sentiments.

"Hortense."

In 1835 a rumour prevailed in Europe that the Queen of Portugal, then a widow, desired Louis Napoleon for a husband. The queen was the widow of his own cousin, the Duke of Leuchtenberg.

In July, 1838, Napoleon resolved to invade France. At Baden he became acquainted with Colonel Vaudrey, commanding the 4th Regiment of Artillery, then at Strasburg, which was the regiment in which the emperor served before Toulon, in the first display of his skill. Vaudrey was a Buonapartist; he had fought at Waterloo, and it was the grand idea of his existence to avenge it. M. de Persigny, so well known since to history, joined his counsels. A number of other persons, officers, nobles, gentlemen, and even ladies, were in intimate association with the project. His gentle mother knew nothing of these plots.

At eleven o'clock at night, on the 28th of October, he arrived at Strasburg, where the conspirators had prepared a small apartment for him, in the Rue de la Fontaine. On the following morning he called on Colonel Vaudrey, and submitted for his approbation a plan

of operations. The colonel would not support it, but adopted one more romantic and less patriotic. At eleven o'clock that night, Louis Napoleon, dressed as a French general of artillery, met the conspirators at a rendezvous agreed upon: they were all in uniform, and had the eagle of the 7th regiment of the line. At six the next morning a message from Colonel Vaudrey was to summon them to action. The prince consumed the night writing proclamations. A few minutes after the clock chimed six, a message arrived that Colonel Vaudrey awaited him. He issued forth—on one side of him M. Parquin, wearing the uniform of a general of brigade, and M. de Quérélles that of a *chef de bataillon*, and a dozen officers followed. They entered the barracks, and found Colonel Vaudrey, with his regiment under arms, and his sword drawn. Advancing to the soldiers, and pointing to the prince, he exclaimed—"Behold the nephew of the Emperor Napoleon!" He harangued them on the right of the nephew to succeed the uncle, and how much it would be for the glory of France and of the army. He then demanded if the prince could rely upon them, and was responded to by shouts of "*Vive Napoléon !*" "*Vive l'Empereur !*" The prince also addressed the soldiers; and snatching the eagle from M. de Quérélles, he presented it to the regiment as the emblem of past and coming glory. They then proceeded, with the band playing, to the quarters of General Virol. *En route* the prefect was arrested, and the prince's proclamations were sent to the printers. The movement was popular; the prince was everywhere received with enthusiasm. General Virol refused to join the movement, and endeavoured to bring back the troops to their loyalty; but his authority was defied, and shouts of "*Vive l'Empereur !*" rent the air. The general took to flight.

The expedition—if we may now call it so—quitted the high street, and entered the Barracks of Frükematt by a narrow lane. Here he was hemmed in as in a trap; and should the inmates of the barrack prove loyal to the government, the cause of the prince was desperate. The soldiers flocked out and listened to his harangue, and then rushed in for their arms to rejoin him. Their officers suggested doubts of his identity, and the troops hesitated; this ruined all. An ignominious *fracas* followed, in which the soldiery on either side were unwilling to wound one another, but which issued in the arrest of the prince and the whole body of the conspirators. Colonel Vaudrey destroyed the chances, which were many, in the prince's favour, by his incompetency. Had Napoleon's own plans been followed, and with the promptitude he desired, the probability was great that he would soon

have been at the head of the French army. The whole party were conveyed to prison, and were interrogated after the manner customary in criminal inquisitions in France. The conduct of the prince before the tribunal was frank, bold, and heroic. His civil jailers treated him barbarously, but his military captors behaved with the greatest consideration. On the 9th of November he was conducted from Strasburg to Paris. On the 21st he was put aboard a French frigate, which conveyed him ultimately to America.

The French vessel of war having conveyed the prince to the United States, and landed him at Norfolk, he employed himself there as a good citizen. His private character in American society has been since often inveighed against, especially at New York, to which city he repaired at once, as the most convenient place for prompt communication with his friends in Europe. According to his standards he frequented places of the lowest and worst resort, and altogether conducted himself disgracefully. Very recently a satisfactory refutation has been given to such allegations through the columns of the *National Intelligencer*, by a United States' officer of distinction whose name is well known to Europe, and who was in frequent, almost constant association with Louis Napoleon, during the whole period of his short residence in the States. The following extracts from this vindication will interest the reader:—

"His favourite topics, when we were alone, were his uncle, the emperor, his mother, and others of his immediate family, in whom he had been deeply interested; his own relation to France by birth and imperial registry; the inducements which led to the attempted revolution at Strasburg; the causes of its failure and his chief support under the mortification of the result: 'The will of God,' to use his own words, 'through a direct interposition of his Providence; the time had not yet come.'

"He seemed ever to feel that his personal destiny was indissolubly linked with France, or, as his mother, Hortense, expressed it, her will, 'to know his position;' and the enthusiasm with which at times he gave utterance to his aspirations for the prosperity, the happiness, and the honour of his country, and to the high purposes which he designed to accomplish for her as a ruler, amounted, in words, voice, and manner, to positive eloquence. Had I taken notes of some of these conversations, they would be considered now, when his visions of power and earthly glory are realised, scarcely less epigrammatic and elevated in thought, and as related to himself, less prophetic than many which have been recorded from the lips of the exile of St. Helena.

"He was winning in the invariableness of his amiability, often playful in spirits and manner, and warm in his affections. He was a most fondly attached son, and seemed to idolise his mother. When speaking of her, the intonations of his voice and his whole manner were even as gentle and feminine as those of a woman. It had been his purpose to spend a year in making a tour of the United States, but he might have a better knowledge of our institutions, and observe for himself the practical workings of our political system. With this expectation, he consulted me and others as to the arrangement of the route of travel, so as to visit the different sections of the Union at the most desirable seasons. But his plans were suddenly changed by intelligence of the serious illness of Queen Hortense, or, as then called, the Duchess of St. Leu, at her castle in Switzerland. I was dining with him the day a letter conveying this information was received. Recognising the writing on the envelope as it was handed to him at table, he hastily broke the seal, and scarce glanced over a page before he exclaimed, 'My mother! I must see her. Instead of a tour of the States, I shall take the next packet for England. I will apply for passports to the minister at every embassy in London, and, if successful, will make my way to her without delay.' This he did, and reached Arnhem in time to console by his presence the long hours of the ex-queen, and to receive in her bosom her last sigh.

"After such opportunities of knowing much of the mind and heart, and general character of Louis Napoleon, it was with great surprise to me for the first time read, in a distant part of the world, when he had become an emperor, representations in the public journals of his life in New York (and New Orleans, too, though he was never there), which would inspire a belief that he had been, when here, no better than a vagabond—low in his associations, intemperate in his indulgences, and dissipated in his habits. In both eating and drinking he was, so far as I observed, abstemious rather than self-indulgent. I repeatedly breakfasted, dined, and supped in his company, and never knew him to partake of anything stronger in drink than the light wines of France and Germany, and of these in great moderation. I have been with him early and late, unexpectedly as well as by appointment, and never saw reason for the slightest suspicion of any irregularity in his habits.

Louis Napoleon may have had some associations in New York of which I was ignorant; he, like Dickens, and other distinguished foreigners, may have carried his observations, under the protection of the police, to scenes in which I would not have accompanied him. If

he did, I never heard of it, and have now no reason to suppose such was the fact. But that he was an *habitué*, as has been publicly reported, of drinking saloons and oyster cellars, gambling houses, and places of worse repute, I do not believe. I can recall to my recollection no young man of the world whom I have ever met, who, in what seemed an habitual elevation of mind, and an invariable dignity of bearing, would have been less at home than he in such associations.

"There was, however, in New York; at the same time, and for about the same period, a Prince Buonaparte, who was, I have reason to think, of a very different character. His antecedents in Europe had not been favourable, and his reputation here was not good. He, too, was in exile, but not for a political offence. He may not have been received in society, and may have had low associations. I met him, but, from this impression, formed no acquaintance with him. For the same reason the intercourse between him and his cousin was infrequent and formal. All that has been said and published of the one may be true of the other; and in search for reminiscences of the sojourn in New York of Louis Napoleon, on his elevation to a throne fifteen years afterwards, it is not difficult to believe that those ignorant of the presence here at the same time, of two persons of the same name and same title, may have confounded the acts and character of the one with the other. This, I doubt not, is the fact; and that however general and firmly established the impression to the contrary may be, the reproach of a disreputable life here does not justly attach itself to him, who is now confessedly the most able, the most fortunate, and the most remarkable sovereign in Europe.

"C. S. STEWART, *U.S. Navy.*"

On the 5th of October Hortense died. If one dare wish the decrees of Providence altered, it would be matter of regret that the daughter of Josephine was not spared to see the son of the one, and grandson of the other, on the imperial throne.

When his mother's funeral obsequies were over, he plunged into political life with renewed vehemence, and the French government became alarmed for his residence contiguous to French territory, and much embarrassment was caused to the confederation in consequence. His partisans in France became bold, and openly justified the attempt at Strasburg. Louis Napoleon employed his pen with much effect, in France and on the Continent. In England his writings were simply ridiculed. The arch-traitor, Louis Philippe, was then the idol of the English middle classes. Success in England gives popularity; merit is unnoticed until it acquires power. In England, of all

places, the scripture sentence is verified—"Men will praise thee when thou doest good to thyself." In September, 1838, Louis Philippe sent a French army to compel the cantons to expel Louis Napoleon. These brave free states prepared to defend themselves; but Napoleon quitted the territory, and the French army marched back again. The prince found a home in England, from which tyrants could not expel him; and he is represented as exclaiming, when he landed on her shores—"Cette grande et généreuse terre d'asile de l'Europe."

He was not long in England, when an insurrection broke out at Barbes. He was represented as having fomented the disturbance; but he, like many another of the great and fallen, made use of the *Times* newspaper for his defence. The affair at Barbes was unhappily sanguinary. He was not hospitably nor generously received in England. Louis Philippe was then one of the most popular men in England; he had not been "found out." The anomalous position of the prince threw him upon inferior society, and what was false as to New York, may have been, to some extent, true as to London. His habits were undoubtedly gay, but he did not abandon his reading and thoughtful ways: he also wrote much.

In August, 1840, he entered upon a new attempt against the throne of the "Citizen King," a title which the mercenary tyrant, who then filled the French throne, assumed for the sake of popularity. The prince embarked on board the *City of Edinburgh* steamer, at Margate. His companions were General Montholon, General Voison; MM. Conneau, Mesonau, Baccocchi, and others; in all nearly sixty persons. It appears that the party conducted themselves with great insobriety, as if they wished to verify the old song, "We keep our spirits up by pouring spirits down."

On the 6th of August, at dawn, the party landed at Vernereaux, where they were confronted by the officers of customs. The prince offered a splendid reward to the lieutenant of the guard if he would join him with his men; the officer declined. The party moved on to Boulogne, shouting "*Vive l'empereur!*" Money and proclamations were scattered among the fishermen and peasants. It was said that the prince brought with him on this occasion a tame eagle. Entering Boulogne, the invaders proceeded to the heights above the town, and planted a flag, surmounted by an eagle, near the Napoleon Column. The National Guard beat to arms, and the 42nd regiment of the line marched against the expedition, which retreated, endeavouring to gain the vessel in which it came; this was frustrated, and the

whole party was arrested without any resistance, except such as the prince himself made, who fired his pistol close to the face of the commanding officer of the 42nd, which happened to miss the officer, but wounded a grenadier who was behind him. One of the prince's attendants got into the sea, and struggled hard against captivity, that he was killed; those who endeavoured to secure him: several others were wounded, and some severely.

The captives were brought to trial before the court of peers. The prince made an eloquent defence. Perhaps the most remarkable sentence in it was—"One word in conclusion to gentlemen. I represent before you a principle, a cause, and a defeat. The principle—the sovereignty of the people; the cause—is that of the Empire; the defeat—Waterloo. You have recognised the principle—you have served the cause—you would avenge the defeat!"

The eloquence of the defence did not soften, or, at all events, avert the judgment. The prince was given on the 6th of October, when all the prisoners were convicted, and condemned to various terms of imprisonment: one officer was transported for life. Louis Napoleon was condemned to perpetual incarceration. When he heard the sentence, he replied, "At all events I shall have the happiness of dying in France."

The fortress of Ham was selected for the imprisonment of the unfortunate but intrepid adventurer. His friends, Montholon and Conneau, were incarcerated with him. The treatment he received was vindictive. The cruel and spiteful "Citizen King" would have gladly worn him down by hardship. For nearly months every form of indignity was offered him, and he then complained of the severity he endured. The chambers occupied by the prince were dilapidated, and were those which Polignac, and the other ministers of Charles X., had been imprisoned: *they*, however, were treated leniently; he, "although the son of a king, nephew of an emperor, allied to all the sovereigns of Europe" (using his own language), "was pursued by every form of mean and vindictive persecution. Some mitigation of the indignities to which he was exposed was demanded by public opinion in France, to which Louis Philippe was obliged to defer."

The prince engaged himself in journalism, contributing articles to the *Progrès du Pas de Calais*. He also wrote an *Analysis of the Sugar Question*, an essay on the *Extinction of Pauperism*, and *Historical Fragments*.

For five years Napoleon was shut up in obscurity. Royal amnesties were put forth, but there were none for him. The people of Corsica petitioned that he might be set at liberty: Louis Philippe discarded the petition.

towards the close of the year 1845, the prince's father, then called Count de St. Leu, requested permission to see his son before his death, which impended. Napoleon appealed to the clemency of the French government for his permission, and pledged his honour that he were allowed to go to Florence to see his dying father, he would return to his prison-gates again whenever commanded to do so. Louis Philippe, who could do nothing in a manly, open, honourable, straightforward way, began to wriggle over this request, and to contrive some personal advantage from it; he accordingly ordered a paper to be placed in the hands of the prince for his signature, in which he could renounce all pretension to the throne of France, and express his penitence for the attempts at Strasburg and Boulogne. In terms of great boldness and dignity he spurned the command. Odillon Barrot, and other time-servers of his class, members of the Chamber of Deputies, endeavoured to persuade the prince thus to dishonour himself; but he was firm. He concluded his reply with the remarkable words, "The path of honour is narrow and slippery, and there is but a hand's breadth between the firm ground and the abyss." The king was obstinate; the prince must not be respited for even so long as to see his dying father.

Three months after he made a successful attempt to escape from the fortress of Ham. His fort was garrisoned by 400 men, furnishing daily sixty soldiers as sentries around the walls. There were three jailers who guarded the principal gate, two being always on duty. It was essential that the fugitive should elude their observation, then traverse the main court before the windows of the residence of the commandant, and thence pass through a gate before which there were sentries. At the time of the escape several rooms were undergoing repairs, so that it was easy to assume the dress of a workman, which the prince did, accommodating his hair and face as much as possible to the apparel: he then took a plank on his shoulder. This occurred on the 25th of May, 1840. The valet took the workmen some drink immediately on their entering, so that Napoleon should not meet any of them. He also was to call one of the jailers, while Dr. Conneau conversed with the keeper. Scarcely had the prince left his room, before he was spoken to by one of the workmen, who took him for one of his fellow-workmen. For the rest of this eventful incident the facts may be best learned from the pen of the fugitive himself, as he afterwards related to M. Degeorge, then editor of the *Journal la Somme*:—"At the bottom of the stairs I and myself face to face with the keeper. Fortunately, I placed the plank I was carry-

ing before my face, and succeeded in reaching the yard. Whenever I passed a sentinel, or any other person, I always kept the plank before my face. Passing before the first sentinel, I let my pipe fall, and stopped to pick up the pieces. Here I met the officer on duty; but as he was reading a letter, he paid no attention to me. The soldiers at the guard-house appeared surprised at my dress, and a drummer turned round several times to look at me. I placed the plank before my face, but they appeared to be so curious that I thought I should never escape them, until I heard them cry, 'Oh, it is Bernard!' Once outside, I walked quickly towards the road of St. Quintin. Charles,\* who the day before had engaged a carriage, shortly overtook me, and we arrived at St. Quintin. I passed through the town on foot, having thrown off my blouse. Charles procured a post-chaise, under pretence of going to Cambrai. We arrived without detention of any kind at Valenciennes, where I took the railway. I had procured a Belgian passport, but it was nowhere demanded. During my escape, Dr. Conneau, always so devoted to me, remained in prison, and caused them to believe that I was ill, in order to give me time to reach the frontier. It was necessary to be convinced that the government would never set me at liberty before I could be persuaded to quit France, and I would not consent to dishonour myself. It was also a matter of duty that I should exert all my powers to be able to console my father in his old age. Adieu, my dear M. Degeorge. Although free, I feel myself to be most unhappy. Receive the assurance of my sincere friendship, and endeavour to be useful to my kind Conneau if you can."

Dr. Conneau had proved a faithful friend. He had been sentenced for five years, which were about to expire, yet he fearlessly flung himself back again into the hands of the law, in order that the prince might escape. Dr. Conneau's attempts to conceal the prince's departure, so that he might be able to pass the frontier, were ingenious and successful. Our space does not admit of their relation. He was tried, and sentenced to three months' additional imprisonment; the valet, who was captured, to six; the commandant was tried but acquitted. Louis Napoleon did not feel himself quite safe until he was once more in England—"that country" as he had written to Lady Blessington from Ham, "in which I have spent too many happy days not to love." On his arrival in London, he wrote to the French ambassador to assure him of his peaceful intentions, his desire being to see his dying father. The English government informed him, in reply to his request, that he was quite free to live in England if he pleased; but the

\* The valet was not treated as a prisoner.

Austrian ambassador would not sign his passport to Italy, and so effectually did the foreign despots hunt the unfortunate fugitive, that his father died in July, without the possibility of the prince reaching his bed-side. Louis Napoleon owes nothing to Austria, but the remembrance of its relentlessness, cruelty, and petty spite. How this power cringed to the same man, when at last he reached the throne!

The prince remained in England until the revolution of 1848 brought him again upon the stage of French affairs. He, in common with the other members of the Buonaparte family, hurried back to France, their proscription being virtually abolished; and Louis Napoleon addressed a sagacious letter to the provisional government, announcing his presence, and proclaiming his loyalty to the new order of things. The provisional government did not believe in his loyalty to republicanism, and they advised him to quit France until the constitution should be established. A few weeks after, it was proposed in the assembly that he was to be excluded from France for life. Against this he protested in language of devotion to the republic. The deputies would not listen to this protest; they showed more jealousy of Napoleon than of the house of Orleans. Public opinion, however, soon compelled them to listen to the prince. During the elections the Seine, the Yonne, and Charente Inférieure placed his name at the head of the poll, the electors shouting "*Vive l'empereur!—à bas la république!*" A number of newspapers were started with expressive titles, such as were very ominous to the republic:—*Le Petit Caporal, Le Bonapartiste, Napoleon Republicain, La Constitution Bonapartienne, La Redingote Grise.*

On Monday, the 12th of June, crowds collected in all the approaches to the Chamber of Deputies, attracted by the expectation that Louis Napoleon would take his place in the assembly. Much uneasiness was felt by the government; the *generale* and the *rappel* were beaten, and the national guard, supported by troops of the line, occupied various positions in Paris, for the purpose of suppressing disturbance. Demonstrations in favour of the prince had been made for several successive evenings previously; the government vigorously suppressed them all, the people dispersing amidst shouts of "*Vive l'empereur!*" "*Vive Louis Napoleon!*" During the evening of the 12th combats occurred in the streets, and Lamartine, rushing into the assembly in an excited state, called out, "Blood has been shed, and the cry is '*Vive l'Empereur Napoleon!*' a law should at once be passed to put a stop to this." Lamartine was only a brilliant theorist—he was not a practical politician, or he would have known that no law

could have "put a stop" to the popular sentiment, for the election of Louis Napoleon, the assembly, and afterwards to the presidency, and finally to the throne.

On the 13th of July the populace renewed their demonstrations in favour of the prince and the walls of the National Assembly were surrounded with cannon. The people crowded up to the muzzles of the guns, and were on dispersed by charges of cavalry. They then attempted to erect barricades, but were hot pursued by the troopers and compelled to desist. After protracted discussions in the assembly, a majority decided upon the right of the people to elect whom they pleased to represent them, and as a consequence affirmed that Louis Napoleon could not be refused a seat in the assembly. The prince, however, declined to accept a seat at the cost of distraction and disturbance to France. Soon afterwards he was chosen by the electors of Corsica but again declined the honour.

On the 17th of September the new election took place for the places for which he had refused to sit, and he was again elected for a fourth time. He determined no longer to defer to a minority in the assembly, but to demand his right. At the opening of the sitting on the 25th of October, he accordingly appeared in the assembly, and took his seat. He was declared representative.

The election of president was fixed for the 10th of December, and Louis Napoleon Buonaparte was elected by an overwhelming majority; five and a half millions of Frenchmen voted for him; no other candidate possessed half the number. It has been the fashion to represent this as the result of bribery, or extraordinary efforts on the part of the Buonaparte family and faction. Such representation is simply absurd; he was elected because the majority of the French people preferred government *à la Napoleon* to any other. On the 20th of December he was called upon to take the oath to the republic. Victor Hugo thus describes the scene:—"It was about four in the afternoon; it was growing dark and the immense hall of the assembly, hitherto become involved in gloom, the chandeliers were lowered from the ceiling, and candles were placed upon the tribune. The president made a sign, a door on the right opened, and there was seen to enter the hall and rapidly ascend the tribune a man still young, attired in black, having on his breast the badge and riband of the legion of honour."

The form of the oath was as follows:—"In presence of God, and before the French people represented by the National Assembly, I swear to remain faithful to the democratic republic, one and indivisible, and to fulfil all the duties imposed upon me by the Constitution."

He afterwards addressed the assembly, declaring that "the suffrages of the people and the oath he had taken imposed duties which as a man of honour he would fulfil." He then shook hands with General Cavaignac, who had so worthily held the reins of power, until the votes of his fellow-citizens deprived him of them in favour of another. The 900 representatives shouted "*Vive la republique!*" and the two great men shook hands together at the foot of the tribune.

From that day the president and the assembly disagreed in every thing; each plotted against the other; and scarcely anything could be more imbecile and unprincipled than the conduct of the assembly. Some were for bringing in the elder Bourbons, some for the Oranians, others for a democratic and social republic; a few only trod the path of consistency or liberty. The assembly was eager for a *coup d'etat* against the president; the latter accomplished the like against them. They initiated the hostilities; he accepted them, and conquered empire.

One of the acts of the assembly sealed its fate. It was elected by universal suffrage—abolished it. Most of the representatives made a pretence of liberty to crush it. Napoleon perceived this, and demanded the restoration of the people's charter, becoming thereby the people's champion. The assembly ridiculed the demand, the measure, and the president, and threw out the proposal.

On the 1st of December a proclamation was put forth dissolving the assembly, and calling on the people by universal suffrage to accept government identical with the scheme of Napoleon I. when first consul. The proclamation made known the desire of the president to surrender his position into the hands of the people, or to accept the headship of a new government on the plan he proposed, and putting on universal suffrage. These proclamations were posted on all the walls of Paris by the night of the 2nd of December; all the leading members of the assembly were arrested; Paris was filled with troops. After struggles on the part of the assembly, and many casualties in

the streets, the eventful day of the 2nd of December wore away. On the 3rd the people awoke from the stupefaction with which the suddenness of the *coup* struck them, and preparations were made by the republicans and red republicans for resistance. On the 4th that resistance was offered; barricades were erected, and every token of a fierce contest quickened into life. Whenever an opportunity occurred, the soldiery were assassinated, and the military retaliated with savage vengeance. Men, women, and children were swept from the streets by discharges of musketry and grape. By the night of the 4th, the conflict was over. The president ruled all things. The "ticket" put to the electors was as follows:—"The French people wills the maintenance of Louis Napoleon Buonaparte's authority, and delegates to him the powers necessary to frame a constitution on the basis of his proclamation of the 2nd of December." This was to be carried by a simple affirmative or negative by all Frenchmen twenty-one years of age, in possession of their civil rights. On the 20th and 21st of December the ballot took place, and the result was that more than eight millions of men voted in the affirmative. The votes of the army were taken separately. The army in France voted almost unanimously for Buonaparte; in Algiers a large majority was against him. Before twelve months the empire was proclaimed.

On the 22nd of January, 1853, the emperor announced to the senate his intention of marriage with the Countess Téba, a Spanish lady, not of royal descent. He had previously made overtures to several royal families without success. On the 29th of January the civil service was performed in the Tuileries, and on the next day the ecclesiastical ceremony. This lovely and accomplished woman has proved equal to her situation. Eugénie Montijo, Countess Téba, is by birth a Spaniard, and by one line of ancestors is of Scottish descent. She is as amiable and benevolent as she is elegant and beautiful. Whatever be the future of France and the emperor, the name of Eugénie will shed a lustre on both.

## CHAPTER LXXVIII.

### TURKEY DURING THE SPRING OF 1855.

"I saw my sons resume their ancient fire;  
I saw fair freedom's blossoms richly blow."—BURNS.

THE language of the Scottish bard very fully applies to the sultan and his subjects at the period of which we now write. The marauding expeditions of the Russians across the Danube had been chastised, although they still pressed the Pruth into the territory garrisoned

by Austria, and inflicted every species of evil with impunity. New dispositions of the Austrian troops, however, prevented these razzias, to some extent—as it was not the policy of Russia to bring her troops into collision with those of Austria, especially while

the conferences at Vienna were approaching or proceeding. Except upon the Armenian borders, the Cossacks did not venture to set foot upon Turkish ground; while a Turkish army invaded the Crimea, and had recently won an important battle there, increasing the moral power of the Turkish government, and inspiring the Osmanli troops with renewed military spirit. Their ancient fire was rekindled, the independence of their country was for the present secured, and confidence was felt that Russia, beaten and baffled, would be compelled to surrender all pretensions to interfere with the Porte.

The tidings of the czar's death had been received throughout the Turkish empire with a composure and gravity most becoming, although, for some days after the tidings reached camps and capital, the excitement produced was very great. The people generally expressed no unseemly joy, but quietly repeated that "Allah was great—greater than the czar who was gone to render his account." The sultan received the tidings in a manner as praiseworthy as his people, but it created in his mind false hopes. He believed that peace was at hand—that the successor of Nicholas would desire no unjust concessions, and would not refuse to make such as reason and justice demanded. These impressions caused the Porte to enter upon the Vienna negotiations more willingly, for, previous to the announcement of the czar's death, there was a strong repugnance to negotiate; it was judged that the sword alone could decide the conflict; and that while Turkey had her allies in the field she ought to strike. The incompetency of the representatives of France and England in the previous diplomacy at Vienna, and the subtle treachery of Austria, made the sultan and the government unwilling to send thither any envoy; besides, the cry of the provinces, oppressed by the Austrian occupation, was literally ringing in his ears.

If Russia had a successful competitor in perfidy, Austria was that rival. Both these powers will find their places, on the roll of history, among the most bloody, relentless, rapacious, and treacherous that ever cursed mankind. Austria had throughout the war played a selfish and dishonourable game. Her object was as much to outwit Russia as the allies; her only motive was to gain a disreputable advantage for herself. Even her sympathy with Russia was not one arising from love, or sanctified by principle. She desired the success of Russia to a certain extent, because the Russian form of government was absolute; and in its existence she had always a pledge for her own, by community of interests. She knew that Hungary, Italy, and Poland must

remain chained at her feet, so long as Russia was mighty. Still that power was dangerous for Austria knew that no principle or sympathy would form an obstruction in the way of Russian plunder and bloodshed; but then Russia has still so many to rob, who were all more easily deprived of their own than Austria was that the czar could not be so much an object of fear as the liberal and enlightened power of the West. The people of Austria, to a considerable extent, were friendly to liberal measures; but partly from religious prejudices and partly from the prejudice of race, the Austro-Germans had no love for the Western powers. The aristocracy of Austria hated "the Greek schism," when they had religion enough of its kind even to hate any system or principle of a religious nature; but their love of despotism, and their mortal rancour against popular freedom, prevailed more with them than all other considerations—except that of their pecuniary prosperity. They were as greedy of lands and plunder as the Russian soldier or official. Whatever enlightened ideas the Emperor Francis Joseph may have fostered, and however a portion of the middle-class citizens of Vienna may have shared such ideas with him, Vienna, and Austria generally, were with whatever of heart they had, thorough despot, bigoted, selfish, and aggrandising. The policy of Austria in forming a treaty with Turkey for the occupation of the province was with the hope of keeping them, and in order to prevent the pursuit of the Russian army by Omar Pasha. The retreat from Silistria, it became well known, was more perilous to the Russians than at the time Western Europe had supposed. The plans of Omar Pasha in pursuit were worthy a great general; and had he been allowed to execute them, he would have destroyed the Russian army. Austria obstructed their execution; Baron Hess and Count Corinini stepped in between the pursuer and the pursued, and robbed the former of his prey. Lord Clarendon admitted, in his place in the House of Peers, that such was the case, and he softened down the occurrence by alleging that the Austrian government had "explained" (a convenient diplomatic phrase), and that Count Corinini had made a mistake, and the Austrian government had "disavowed" his conduct. Of what use is the disavowal of a policy which accomplishes first all that which it was meant to answer? Did the Austrian government punish, or even censure any official for exceeding or disobeying orders? Not one! Was it not well known that it was a feature of the Austrian system to have an officer, civil or military, at hand, to disobey orders which the Austrian government deemed it convenient to have disobeyed? If our statesmen knew all this, their policy should have

n regulated accordingly—their language could have been open, honourable, and explicit, instead of a mere cant of official courtesy and political hypocrisy. If they did not know that this had been the policy of Austria, how wretchedly was our country served by their class! Every man of political and literary reputation in the middle walks of English life, knew well that this was one of the most commonly practised dodges of Austrian political artifice; and it was time that the legislators knew it, or, knowing it, acted honestly out what they believed. They could not have outdone Austria in lying and hypocrisy, had our diplomatists used their skill in these qualifications with ever so much address. The straightforward, honest policy—of Milton and Cromwell—alone becomes England and Englishmen—alone stands to our interests and objects, and will alone receive the blessing of God. The whole conduct of Austria, in Wallachia and Moldavia, had been in harmony with her act in intercepting the pursuit of the Russians by Omar Pasha. She had already had her advanced to Bucharest, than a insult to his person and hinderance to his progress were shown by the Austrian officers and officials everywhere. From Bucharest to Jassy, from Jassy to the Russian frontier, a whole of Austrian spies conveyed intelligence of every movement, and almost of every word uttered by the distinguished general of the Russians. He then left the provinces, breaking his way through a net-work of treachery, calumny, and spite, which Austrian hands wove for him. The conduct of Austria in forcing Stirbey, the ambitious hospodar, upon the Turkish government, was itself sufficient to have opened the eyes of the allies, if the Aberdeen-Graham-Stoddard-Herbert cabinet, and the French Minister of Foreign Affairs, had not been so tender and delicate to “the conservative government of Austria.” We will admit that the allies had turned the Austrian occupation to a good account: so far Austria out-generalled herself. Russia, with whom it was engaged in Germany the plan of the Austrian occupation originated, remained very doubtful of Austrian fidelity, and kept large bodies of troops on that frontier; but after all, the benefit, and the sum total of the influences exercised upon the war by that occupation, was not much in favour of the Western powers. Had it not been for the presence of Austria there, we should not have been in the Crimea; but we should not have had Bessarabia, and made Odessa the basis of our operations upon the Black Sea. Our position would have been more commanding towards Austria, and not less commanding as to Russia. Our fleet could have effected the blockade of Sebastopol; we could have driven the Russians from the eastern shores of the Black Sea.

Black Sea, as we afterwards succeeded in doing; and we could have ravaged the Sea of Azoff, on either shore, from Sebastopol to the strait of the Putrid Sea, and from the mouth of the Cuban to the mouth of the Don. After Austria took possession of the provinces, rapine and tyranny reigned there; the religion of the people was insulted, and the attempts at proselytism were scarcely any longer covert—an object certainly not provided for in the convention, and not honourable under the auspices of an army in friendly and allied occupation. Under the Russian rule the people were sorely tried, but there was at least ecclesiastical sympathy, of which Prince Gortschakoff made the most. The Austrians, not only oppressed with as high a hand as the Muscovites, but added insult to oppression, and carried the religious animosity existing between the professors of the Latin and Greek rite into all their oppressions and affronts, that would in the least degree admit of that element.

According to the convention between Turkey and Austria, in 1854, the army of the latter was simply to garrison Wallachia and Moldavia, in order to prevent the return of the Russians, who had been expelled by the victorious arms of Omar Pasha. This compact was never observed. The moment Hesse, Corinini, and their troops were firmly established in their quarters, the whole country was virtually placed under martial law. Quarrels were fomented with the boyards and citizens—with Omar Pasha and the English commissioners in his army—with, in fact, every person and party where a quarrel might tend to give Austria a pretext for military dominancy. There was not a line in the convention, in virtue of which the Austrians were there, at all to afford the slightest title for the assumption of government which Austria entered upon.

Most of the illegal proceedings of the chiefs of the occupying army were done in the names of the hospodars. This tempered matters in Moldavia, where the real authorities were not so compliant; but, in Wallachia, the conduct of the hospodar tended to make the kasir as effectually sovereign of the province, as he is of the duchy of Austria. Prince Stirbey held the hospodariat in spite of his suzeraine, the sultan. That man had lived in Vienna in exile for some time, where, with the help of the Russian minister, he intrigued with the Austrian Foreign-office, promising to rule in the interest of Austria for ever, if, through her means, he should be brought back to the government of the province he had so long and so cruelly plundered and oppressed, and from which the sultan, his legitimate master, at last drove him out. He had been a traitor to the sultan, and a tyrant to the people, and was detested by both. The Porte and the

people were desirous to co-operate in the appointment of a hospodar, and both desired a member of one of the old families of the country, in whom confidence for justice, ability, and loyalty might be placed. All these wishes were well known to Austria, and all were set at defiance. Stirbey—a man of low origin, but affecting the pride and pomp of the most ancient houses and powerful potentates—having no claim to the position which, by corruption he attained—was eventually brought back to Bucharest by Austrian bayonets, and Turkey and the allies must either submit to the indignity, or quarrel with Austria. The English government saw and regretted all this; remonstrances were made by the English ambassador at Vienna, and representations were made to the French Foreign-office by the English ambassador at Paris; but all in vain. The Austrians persisted steadily and determinedly in their course, as if conscious that they had some support in these transactions, unknown to the English cabinet. There was, no doubt, much Austrian gold spent among the corrupt and venal pashas at Constantinople, and no small portion of it in the neighbourhood of the Turkish office for foreign affairs. The French consul at Bucharest connived at the doings of Count Corinini, with whom he was on excellent terms; while between the count and the British consul there was the most unreserved personal hostility, as well as the most serious political and practical differences. Both the French and British consuls were supported by their governments in thus taking courses the most opposite! The *entente cordiale* was as little exemplified amidst the intrigues and treacheries at Bucharest, as under another French sovereign, who boasted much of maintaining it—it was exemplified in the Spanish marriages. Lord Palmerston disapproved of the conduct of the Austrians, from first to last. The French emperor expressed neither approbation nor disapprobation, no matter what the Austrians did, either in Italy or on the Danube. The conduct of his imperial majesty at that juncture naturally suggested some especial compact between himself and the emperor, Francis Joseph. It was impossible to conceive of the Austrians daring to treat England as they did, if they were not sure of some countenance, or, at all events, great forbearance, from the chief of the French government. It was alleged on the Continent—especially in Paris and Brussels—that German influence in the English court was the key to the riddle. The French emperor was described as exceedingly vain of his recognition by the Queen of England; and anxious to do anything which he knew would be pleasing to her or to the prince, however it might be regarded by the English people or the Eng-

lish cabinet, much as the emperor undoubtedly respected both. Believing that a conciliatory spirit to Austria would be well received by the English court, it was affirmed that he withheld support from the policy of the English Foreign-office, where Austria was concerned, unless where co-operation, real and ostensible, was a *sine quâ non* to the English alliance. Lord Palmerston was reputed to be averse to all tampering with the German coalition, but was restrained, it was said, by the personal influence of the French emperor from adopting any course which might bring him or his cabinet into collision with the court—the emperor persuading him that, in the long run, they would be able to outwit Austria by a more astute policy.

Whatever was the amount of truth in these rumours—which certainly circulated in the very best circles for political intelligence in London and on the Continent—the Wallachs and Moldavs turned once more with hope to Russia, as their only succour against the intolerance and tyranny of the despotic and cowardly power that ruled them. During the spring of 1855 this feeling grew in the provinces, causing uneasiness everywhere but in Russia. The Austrians made the manifestation of this feeling a pretext for additional severity; and the French seemed to take the same view of it, for the French consul and other French political *employés* acted more as the agents of Austria, or of a power in active exclusive alliance with Austria, than as servants of a power in close alliance with Great Britain, and sharing with her the danger of war, upon the field and on the wave. Roumans found sympathy at the English consulate; but Mr. Colquhoun, the able consul for her Britannic majesty, was powerless; the intrigues of the French in favour of Austrian tyranny thwarted him in every step he took. The Roumans at last openly cursed in the streets the hour when the Russian army retreated before the victorious lieutenant Omar Pasha.

Frequent and anxious conferences between the English ambassadors and the Porte arose out of these transactions: whatever the hopes of the sultan and the Turks in the spring of 1855, the state of the provinces—the doings and aggressions of the Austrians there—the dealing of the French agents, and the content between these latter and the official agents of England and Turkey—caused much disquietude at Constantinople, and for an important and dark element in the changing influences and circumstances which affected the feelings of the belligerents, and the events which ensued.

The only powers which Austria at that juncture seemed to treat with any respect

dance and Russia: to every other power she was arrogant and insolent; to Turkey overbearing in the last degree. She took no warning; from the coalition against Russia to bear herself humbly. The czar felt in the Kremlin the blows struck by British and French hands in the Crimea; Peterhoff felt the vibrations sent afar through the empire by the cannons before Sebastopol; from Cronstadt to the Caspian, Russia had learned that it was dangerous to "let slip the dogs of war," for they might turn and rend the hands that held the leash; Russia was not yet beaten, but keenly felt the chastisement, and would willingly resort to the *status quo ante bellum*, permitted to do so, promising to be a good neighbour to Turkey for all time to come:—but Austria had learned nothing. Seldom do great calamities to one nation teach another. "They will not see," was the lamentation of Judah, when national judgments were abroad, and the blazing ruins of one mighty city sent their lurid rays upon the palaces and towers of another. Austria took no warning from the sufferings of Russia; she continued to be the pest and firebrand of Europe; from her, political miasmas swept forth over all Germany, Italy, and Eastern Europe; her torch of discord and terror was flung forth over every realm where her hand was strong enough to cast it. On the scripture principle of representing a despotic empire by the emblem of a beast, a creature more ferocious than formidable would best depict that of Austria. She exhibited at this juncture not only a desire to play the tyrant in the face of all consequences, but a taste even for submission to dictation herself, where it might tend to strengthen her own hand for dictation elsewhere. The legations were garrisoned by the troops of the empire, while Vienna was dominated by the legate; the axe and the rope were the instruments of her government at Ferrara, while the nuncio forbid the burial of Austrian subjects in their own sepulchres, and the use of their fathers. Throughout the whole Austrian empire, and wherever her troops had intruded beyond its confines—as in the Rouman provinces and the Roman states—oppression was rampant. There was either disorder without law, or law which itself was the origin of disorders, because of its obvious injustices. Thin and without what was once called the glory of the Roman Empire, men felt that it had become the curse of Christendom—the anomaly of European civilisation—the political anachronism of the nineteenth century. A furious persecution against Jews, Greeks, Protestants, German Catholics, &c., raged throughout the dominions of the kasir, and a relentless political bondage fettered his circumjacent provinces. Poor bleeding Hungary repined in the

weakness of exhaustion and despair; pillaged Poland had nothing left worth fighting for; Italy panted, with eager desire, to be free—as the eagle seeking scope to fill its wings ere it rises in its power and pride. In Padua, Parma, Tuscany, and the Roman states, the people were maddened by foreign interference and oppression, and the oppressor was Austria. It was a monstrous inconsistency on the part of the Western powers, that while a war was waged to rescue provinces from the clutch of Russia, nations and independent states were trampled with impunity by the hoofs of the Austrian Croats. The kasir was allowed to occupy his throne of many ill-cemented pieces without an effort to compel him to respect the independence of surrounding states, while a dangerous war was directed against Russia for perpetrating the same offence. The kasir was the most malignant enemy of England, and the plunderer of the most fertile realms of Europe. It was not likely that Turkey would take any vigorous steps against a power which robbed her subjects, under pretence of protecting her territory, when the Western governments allowed her to do the same thing in Italy, under the same pretence. In fact, Turkey was afraid even to remonstrate, except with bated breath; and her remonstrances, such as they were, were met with haughty disdain and derision. Besides, the French ambassador at Constantinople was the friend of Austria, as well as the French consul at Bucharest; and the French minister of Foreign Affairs at Paris was equally partial to Austrian interests. This view of the relations, as well as of the character of the Austrian government, will explain the apparently tame submission of Turkey and England to the injuries inflicted on the provinces, and the insults offered to the dignity and sovereignty of the sultan. The political effect at Constantinople was to enrage the Turks, and inflame their animosity against Giaours in general, and their eager wish that the war should be brought, by arms, to a speedy termination, and the troops of the allies be removed from every portion of the Ottoman empire.

The monetary condition of the Turkish empire was deplorable; the prices of all imported commodities, as well as of those the production of the countries constituting the sultan's dominions, rose to an extraordinary rate, and the distress experienced was general and severe. Another earthquake at Broussa awakened the superstitious feelings of the populations everywhere throughout Turkey, and entailed heavy calamity upon all that neighbourhood. Broussa and its vicinity were exceedingly picturesque, and historically interesting. A traveller, who visited it after the second earthquake, describes it in these lines:—"At last Broussa was

plainly visible, its showy mosques and dark-red houses standing out against the green sides of Olympus, which towered up above with its crown of snow. Perhaps no more romantic spot can be found in the world than this, which has been the site of an imperial city for more than 2000 years." On the 28th of February an earthquake occurred at this ancient city, which was noticed in the last chapter on Turkey. On the 11th of March a still more serious visitation of this kind occurred, although only few lives were lost as compared with those lost by the former catastrophe, precautions having been taken against a recurrence of the danger. On the last occasion a succession of shocks occurred, by which the whole city and all the surrounding villages were destroyed. The accounts of the number of shocks vary so much, as to render it impossible to obtain any tolerably exact idea of their direction, duration, or number; some stating them at forty, and others—probably computing those on the 28th of February, and those which intervened between that date and the destructive scenes on the 11th of March—at 150. On the morning of the 12th of March hardly any public building remained standing in Broussa. The bridges—massive stone structures—were all broken: two of them dated from the time of the Romans. The great mosque—once the Convent of the Virgin, which was erected in the time of Justinian, and was only exceeded in the empire by the Mosque of St. Sophia—was made a ruin. The tomb of Sultan Urchan, son of Othman, one of the wonders of the place, was utterly crushed. Masses of solid rock went rolling down the mountain, crushing everything against which they came in contact. A visitor to this theatre of demolition shortly after the event, represented the Jews as the principal sufferers, and described their wretchedness as mournfully picturesque—"The Jews, with their lofty head-dresses, were to be seen sitting round their fallen walls, destitute and desolate." The wretchedness of the poorer fugitives—Jews, Christians, and Mussulmen—was extreme, as they journeyed, footsore, hungry, deprived of all things, and, perhaps, sick or wounded, or bearing with them their sick and wounded relatives. The foreign consuls and residents were borne away in steamers, sent by their respective embassies. Shortly after the earthquake a fire broke out among the wooden huts, which escaped the concussion better than the public buildings; the conflagration raged until mouldering ashes alone remained of the humble tenements of the poor. Rear-admiral the Hon. F. W. Grey sent home to the British Admiralty such details as bear out the narrative here given of a calamity which ruined so fair and antique a

city, and desolated the houses of 70,000 persons.

Among the events which produced much excitement at Constantinople, were the rumours of an approaching visit from the French emperor, on his way to the seat of war in the Crimea. The sultan and his government made every suitable preparation to receive so distinguished a guest; but the common people regarded the purpose of his coming with suspicion, and saw in it the fulfilment of some ill-defined prophecy, which predicted the subjugation of the empire; and when Colonel Belville, aide-de-camp to the emperor of the French, inspected the palaces of Begler Bashi and Balta Liman, on the Bosphorus, the consternation of the old Turkish party was as great as when Prince Menschikoff made his demands, which provoked the war.

The interference of the allies in favour of the religious contentions of the sultan's subjects increased the commotion of feeling which this party struggled to suppress. The *tanzimat* was cursed and secretly resisted, and several villages Christians were massacred. The fury of the high Mussulmen, unable to restrain their bigotry, was enkindled by the liberal measures dictated to the sultan by his allies. France was distrusted much more than England; but distrust and dislike were felt extremely to both powers, by Mussulmen and Christians. Indeed, the only persons in the sultan's dominions that sympathised with the allies, were the Jews. The Greek Roman Catholics were well disposed to the French, but stood aloof from the English; while the Armenians cherished partiality for the latter, so great as frequently to offend the subjects of the other Western powers.

The sanitary commission sent out from England did much good in connection with the hospitals, and the convalescents rapidly improved as the spring advanced. Perhaps no country is spring so exhilarating to invalids as in Turkey. The mud and filth, so overwhelming in winter, in field and city, dry rapidly under the sun of March. Wildflowers of every hue luxuriantly burst forth by the public ways, and spread out in the richest profusion; shrubs of wonderful variety put on their rich and diversified bloom; fruit-trees of almost every species rapidly assumed their gay apparel of many-tinted blossoms; the vine puts forth its vitality, and the fig-tree becomes rapidly rich in blossoms and fruit: the whole earth seems redolent of beauty. The British and French invalids at the Bosphorus felt the genial opening of this beautiful Turkish spring; and hope succeeded to the dreary fears and despondency, which even Miss Nightingale and her companions

did not cheer away. The miserable routine officialism which had ruined everything in connection with the hospitals, were still the great impediment; and the accounts given of obstructions presented by gentlemen in place to anything rational which was attempted on behalf of the invalids, would pass belief, if they were not accredited so as to make all doubt unreasonable. The following seems too good to be true—yet it is too true for the honour of the country and the service:—"The mortality still diminishes, and now does not average more than twenty a-day. On the 6th it was as low as fourteen. The weather exercises a wonderful influence over the men. The convalescents, on a fine day, are different beings to the same men when fog and rain beat on their eyes on every side. All seem, however, to want amusement, and would, doubtless, be much benefited by any light occupation or pastime suited to their strength. While the nation may be congratulated on the improved state of its brave defenders, it is impossible to convey to it any hopes that the spirit of routine and official folly is about to be eradicated. One anecdote, which may be added upon, will serve to give a conception of the Scutariote medical mind. Five officers are in a bad state of health, and must be sent home. Recourse is had to Dr. Menzies for a remedy, to which that gentleman sees no objection; but an unexpected difficulty occurs—a duplicate application must be made on scrap paper in every case, and Dr. Menzies's stock of foolscap is exhausted. Dr. Cumming, however, on being applied to, declares that there is none in his possession. In short, it is discovered that the department is destitute of an indispensable implement in its action, and must remain in a state of collapse until some supply arrives from home. The unhappy invalids hasten over to Pera, and ransack the shops of the Jewish stationers—but in vain. Foolscap is a British production, while the Turkish capital is mostly supplied with writing-materials from Paris or Vienna. At last it is discovered that 'Stampa' has foolscap, and the medical department receives notice of the fact. But, if Dr. Menzies purchases a quire, it will possibly be at his own expense, and at least another quire will be taken up in correspondence relative to reimbursement; therefore hesitates to take the step. One day the officers then says that he will buy some, but is at once met by the objection that the medical department cannot receive stores of any kind, except from the properly constituted authorities. The invalids have missed a summer, and are now at the twelfth day of their detention! What solution of the difficulty ingenuity may achieve is in the darkness of the future; but I have just seen one of the

sufferers, who is very desponding as to his chances of speedy departure."

In a previous chapter we gave a very favourable account of the Smyrna Hospital; but even there confusion ensued upon the arrival of the nurses who departed from England in the beginning of spring. "On Saturday, the 3rd March, a party of forty nurses, selected by Mrs. Sidney Herbert for duty at the Smyrna Hospital, one half ladies, the other paid attendants, left the London Bridge Station of the South-eastern Railway, under the superintendence of Mrs. Holmes Coote, attended by one of the medical officers and a courier, to proceed, *via* Folkestone, Boulogne, and Marseilles, to their place of destination. They received throughout their journey the most marked courtesy and attention. The proprietor of the Hôtel des Bains, at Boulogne, provided for them a handsome repast, for which he declined to receive payment—his servants also refusing any gratuity. They reached Marseilles on Tuesday, and proceeded on the Thursday following in the French steamer *Sinai*—the wind during the whole passage being favourable, though generally boisterous. When, on the morning of Thursday, the 15th of March, at 7 A.M., the handsome sea frontage of the Smyrna Hospital became first visible—even under all the disadvantages of an eastern rain—a feeling of surprise and pleasure pervaded the entire party. It is a spacious building, three storeys high, built of stone, coloured red, except round the windows, and constructed in the form of three sides of a square, the side towards the sea being open for the advantage of the breeze. Behind lies the Turkish quarter of the town, and still further back a series of hills, upon one of which stood the remains of an old castle. It will, doubtless, appear incredible that no adequate provision should have been made for the nurses on their arrival; yet such is the fact. The directions from the government were misunderstood, and for some considerable time the ladies were indebted for a home to the hospitality of a Smyrna merchant, M. Guidicy, who came on board the vessel, and made them an offer of his house. To Mr. Whittall and others especial thanks are also due, for the most prompt and kind attention under this embarrassment. The military commandant, Colonel Storks, when acquainted with the nature of the emergency, proceeded immediately to encounter it with an energy and independence of action, which proved him equal to his laborious post. A Turkish official's house was speedily put in order; a suitable table was provided; the paid attendants had their rooms allotted to them within the hospital, and the medical officers, of whom about twenty had arrived by different routes, were authorised to arrange themselves in such an order as ap-

peared most calculated to enable them efficiently to discharge their respective duties. In twenty-four hours this numerous party was in great measure organised upon a preconcerted plan, as sketched out by Dr.

Meyer, the superintendent, whose departure from England was necessarily delayed, the duties of his office, for a few days as he had taken leave of the last of the hospital staff."

## CHAPTER LXXIX.

### VOICES FROM THE BATTLE-FIELDS DURING MARCH.—THE SECOND BOMBARDMENT OF SEBASTOPOL.

"Strange to say, the prolonged resistance of Sebastopol to the fleets and armies of England and France, by opening our eyes to its exhaustless resources, supplies the best reasons why it should be levelled. The magnitude and secrecy of its warlike preparations in time of peace, betraying designs, if not now, yet in future, inimical to the East, or against that Turkey, the integrity of which Russia has guaranteed."—M. C. SEYMOUR.

BEFORE opening our narrative of the second bombardment of Sebastopol, a representation of the feelings, condition, and hopes of the soldiery at that juncture—as seen by a few extracts from letters written by themselves—will be appropriate.

Corporal Macdonald, Scots Fusileer Guards, thus wrote:—"Our health and appearance is much improved since we have been here. We begin to look like guardsmen again. Indeed, our brigadier-general gave us praise yesterday for our appearance on parade. We have the wooden houses to live in now, but we ought to have had them four months ago, and then many of our poor fellows might have been saved. The condition of the army is improving a little. The weather is very fine, and has been for the last ten days. It is not so bad in the trenches now as it was two months ago. We have got our last year's clothing, and we look quite smart again. We are expecting an attack upon this place from General Liprandi's army, but I think he had better leave it alone."

From James Cooper, 1st Royal Dragoons:—"I never enjoyed better health at home than I do in this country, which is one of the greatest blessings we have here. I must acknowledge we have had fighting here most fearful to relate. I can clearly say we have been for a fortnight together, and never had a dry thread to our backs, with scarcely a bit of shoe to our feet, and the mud half way up to our knees; but, thank God, the worst of the trouble is over now. We have good boots and good clothes, which will keep out a good storm. We were all turned out this morning (14th of March), expecting an attack to be made on us by the Russians. They showed a very good front, supposed to be about 30,000 of them, to attack Balaklava, but they were not game to try their luck; if they had, they would have met with a very warm reception from our batteries, which we have erected. We have got wooden houses to live in now during the fine weather. We ought to have had these good things a long time ago, and that would

have been the means of saving the lives of many thousands of our poor comrades: they have lessened our army greatly. But with our losses, we can still 'wallop' the Russians for all their superior numbers."

Sergeant Robert Bentley, Royal Artillery gave the following account of the price of provisions:—"I don't care what I suit and go through while I am here, so that I am able to bear it all, also that we beat the Russians, and I live to come to old England again all safe and sound; and I live in hopes of doing so—in fact, I feel sure of doing so; but we have a great deal to do yet to beat the Russians. If I had to live on my bare ration only every day, I should not have been so well as I am at present. Our rations are daily 1 lb. of salt beef or pork, 1 lb. of biscuit, coffee, and morning, and now we have got some potatoes, perhaps three times a week, and we find them do us a great deal of good; but we have lived on salt meat and biscuit for so long that I cannot take it now, so I buy bread, butter, &c. &c., with my pay, and I think it is that that has brought me round so well; but we have to pay very dear for everything we have to buy. The French bake their own bread, and we buy a loaf of them when we can, but we have to give 3s. 6d. for a loaf of more than 3 lbs. weight, and if we send for Balaklava, and that is about seven miles from our camp, we give 2s. for a loaf not more than 1½ lbs. weight, and glad to get them at that price; butter (salt, of course) is 3s. lb.; English cheese, 3s. lb.; sugar, 1s. lb.; flour 1s. 6d. a porter, 2s. 6d. a bottle, about a pint and a half in the bottle; ale, 1s. 6d.—if they call it beer I call it small beer. I heard the other day that there was some red herrings to be got, and I thought I should like one, so I sent for one and they only charged 4d. for it, and it was a very small one! Oranges are also 4d. each, so what money we do get it does not go far for a few comforts, but I find they do me good, and as long as I have money, and there is nothing to be got, I will get them."

ergeant Selby, of the 50th, writing to his mother, said:—"We now want for nothing old England can send out, and we are as off as any one can wish to be. We all thank the ladies of England for their comforts, if we had not had them all the soldiers in country would have died before this. We have everything ready for a good fight, which are to take place one of these days; but I think we shall be victorious, for they (the Russians) are afraid to come out and fight us fully, for they know that we can beat them. Dear mother, be not faint-hearted about me, for I will do all I can for my country, and the ladies that are in it, for their kind-ness towards us. But my time is short; it is twelve o'clock at night, and the post closes in the morning at five o'clock, so I must conclude."

An old soldier wrote from before Sebastopol the 17th of March:—"Sickness and the want of food have not carried sufficient mortality in our ranks; but now that we are close to the town we must pipe-clay our belts, to make us a perfect target for the enemy, who are within one hundred yards of us. All are of the same opinion. Are we not as good soldiers as though we were pipe-clayed for general inspection at home? Cannot we fight as well as though we were polished up for a medal of honour? For proof, look at Alma and Inkerman; we were then both dirty and yet because we have got a few fine days we are harassed with pipe-clay and blacking. I am not a grumbler or discontented soldier, but I should like to see the people of England with this in hand, for it would greatly ameliorate our condition. Another thing which is much disliked is, that Sir George Brown has ordered us to wear stocks on parade, an article which we now hate to see, and especially in the summer is coming on."

A letter from the French camp contained the following romantic story:—"For some days nothing has been talked of but the arrest of a young Russian woman; she had been released several times before, as her favourite had appeared to be in the trenches. The rumour was related for some time, and the general was at last informed of the fact. He ordered a watch to be kept, as he thought it would be only a spy disguised in woman's dress. At six o'clock on the morning of the 1st, the same woman presented herself in front of our men while they were at work. She was of tall and majestic stature, and held an unextinguished lantern in her hand, and begged to examine the works with much attention. Some perceived that she held a roll of paper, half open, in which, probably, she noted the observations she could collect. At the sight of our soldiers and officers she quickened

her pace, and entered a sort of ravine which is at the extremity of the French trenches. As soon as she reached that spot she began to run, but the commandant sent two Zouaves in pursuit, and they soon overtook her. Two hours after she was conducted to General Canrobert. Her examination was not long; she constantly replied that it was for the good of her country, and to avenge the death of her husband, Boninoff, killed at the Alma, that she acted thus, and, moreover, that she felt no regret. She was then searched. The searchers found in one of her pockets a paper book, containing several details on the state of our batteries, the number of men employed, the number of guns in the batteries, &c.; and in another pocket a double-barrelled pistol, and a letter addressed to Prince Menschikoff. After the visit she was shut up in an apartment of the general's head-quarters, under the guard of two soldiers, until such time as she can be sent to Malta."

In the last chapter on the siege the death of Admiral Istomine was recorded. The following interesting communication concerning him appeared in the *Invalide Russe*:—"On the 7th of March (19th) the garrison of Sebastopol had the misfortune to lose Rear-admiral Istomine, chief of the 4th section of the line of defence. At ten in the morning, after the inspection of the works in the Kamtschatka Redoubt, Rear-admiral Istomine was returning to the Korniloff Bastion, when he was struck on the head by a ball directed against the said redoubt. The loss of this young general officer, endowed with such brilliant courage and zeal, and who promised so well, is severely felt by the Russian fleet and the garrison of Sebastopol. Vice-admiral Nachimoff had selected a place in the Cathedral of St. Vladimir, near the tomb of Vice-admiral Korniloff, but Istomine having gone before him to eternal life, he gave him up his place, soliciting permission to bury there the young rear-admiral who had so gloriously fallen for his faith, his sovereign, his country, and a just cause."\*

Previous to the opening of the bombardment, copies of a Russian order of the day were brought into the British camp by deserters. It was issued by Prince Gortschakoff on assuming the command, and discloses alike the spirit of the Russian government, army, and people:—

**SOLDIERS!**—His majesty has deigned to appoint me to the command of the sea and land forces in the Crimea. Brave warriors, all Russia is proud of your heroic courage, and our great emperor, Nicholas I., on his death-bed turned his last looks towards you with gratitude. His worthy successor, his majesty the reigning emperor, Alexander II., has deigned to express himself as follows, in letters addressed to me on the 3rd and 7th of March:—

\* According to some Russian accounts, Nachimoff was first killed (see page 185); according to others he survived Istomine: we have no means of reconciling this discrepancy.

"Tell the brave defenders of Sebastopol, in the name of our immortal benefactor, that the Emperor Nicholas was proud of them, and that he thought of them on his death-bed, in sending them, through me, the expression of his last and cordial gratitude. Tell our brave soldiers that I thank them in his name by these letters, and that I am perfectly convinced that they were always worthy of his paternal solicitude."

Soldiers! the most difficult time is over. The roads are better, transports of every description arrive easily, and considerable reinforcements sent to your support are on the way. In taking the command of this army I am sincerely convinced that, with God's blessing, success will finally crown our efforts, and that we will certainly justify the hopes of our august sovereign. Adjutant-general Osten-Sacken, who directed the defence of Sebastopol with so much honour, and his companion the brave Admiral Nachimoff, resume to-day their former functions.

At last the preparations for the second bombardment were brought to a close, and orders were given on Easter Sunday, the 8th of April, to open fire the next day. Unhappily the allies were not in a condition to overcome the defence, and it is difficult to conceive how they could have been in ignorance of this fact. The English general was unwilling to enter upon the task until the attacks were far more formidable; but the French commander literally goaded him to begin the bombardment, even while the English were arming the French batteries with their most useful pieces of ordnance, and were incessantly engaged in bringing up shot and shell to the French lines. The English had only 150 cannon mounted in all their attacks; their advanced attacks were badly armed, and General Jones, the chief engineer, was chagrined beyond measure by the unfit state of many of the batteries, which was such that a number of powerful pieces could not be brought into play. The cause of this was chiefly the overworked state of the men; their fatigue was almost beyond human endurance; their numbers bore no proportion to their work. The French had 200 guns, many of which were lent by the English; but the force of the British batteries, with fewer guns, was superior to that of the French, because of their greater solidity, and the heavier weight of metal which they carried. The number of Russian guns was much greater than that of the British and French together. At least 500 pieces were mounted upon the defences, and those defences, from the extraordinary labour which had been bestowed upon them, were more solid than the allied attacks. The Russian engineers—and especially Todtleben, the engineer-in-chief—displayed amazing skill, dauntless courage, and untiring industry, and their efforts were seconded by the whole Russian army with the utmost alacrity and zeal. Nationality, military pride, and fanaticism, all lent their inspirations to the Muscovite host.

The works of the allies were very much extended, but the batteries formed by them were constructed with science, manned by a

brave soldiery, and directed by very skilful as well as most gallant officers. The attacks were connected by parallels, and the advanced batteries were connected by zigzag approaches, affording shelter to the reinforcements which might be required. The town itself was protected by earthworks, sustaining ponderous batteries, and giving proof, by their elaborate construction, that the enemy was prodigal of his labour. General descriptions of the lines of the defence have been already given, and every fresh effort to strengthen that defence was noticed as it proceeded in detailing the events of the siege.

During the morning of the 9th, soon after midnight of the 8th, some sharp skirmishes occurred between the French and Russian pickets, and the reports of musketry fire came so considerable at one time, as to lead many in the English camp to suppose that a sortie was being attempted. The night of the 8th was one of rain and storm, which continued through the morning of the 9th, began to dawn, with great fierceness; so that when daylight arrived, heavy mists obscured its struggling rays, and hid the works of the contending hosts from one another. At a given moment three shots were fired by the batteries, and immediately the cannonade opened along the whole line of batteries.

Woods represents the moment of opening the bombardment at half-past five, and describes the enemy as so taken by surprise, that half an hour after he did not return the shot. Colonel Hamley, who, as a major of artillery, was engaged on the occasion, and was likely to time the events, represents the besieging batteries as not opening their fire until twenty minutes past six; and the Russians as not recovering from their surprise for twenty minutes after. The Baron Bunsen describes the Russians as replying to their assailants in a few minutes, and stating that the French first opened fire without signal, then the English. Colonel Hamley says that the English first fired, and soon after the French joined the cannonade; while Mr. Russell describes the allies as simultaneously opening their fire at daybreak. We prefer Colonel Hamley's account; it is more consistent with the orders given, and with the course of events. The orders were not to discharge a gun until the objects to be aimed at could be distinctly seen; and so dense was the mist, and so protracted the struggle of the rising sun, that it must have been quite as late as the colonel states before the British signals could be given, and even then objects could scarcely be discerned through the drizzling mists which hung over the hostile batteries. Very soon after almost instantaneously—the English lines opened one blaze of fire: this speedily extended to the French works, and through the thick fog

shes seemed to run along the whole course of the batteries, in a continuous current of flame. When the enemy somewhat recovered from their surprise, their reply was comparatively feeble; and it was not until noon that they seemed to regain their confidence, and effectually answer the guns of their assailants. Until two o'clock the artillerymen of the allies were directed to fire at discretion—and their “discretion” was to pour, with astounding rapidity and precision, shot and shell upon the ramparts of the besieged. After two o'clock the number of discharges for each gun was limited, and probably the damage done to the enemy was as extensive by this mode. To the Russians the cannonade must have appeared more awful than to the allies, for a strong south wind bore the detonations over the city, while it checked the reverberations of the cannon of the besieged which fell with rattled and heavy sound over the camps of the besiegers. In consequence of the stormy state of the weather, the smoke of the batteries and the drizzling rain were driven into the faces of the Russian gunners, rendering it difficult for them to take aim, and throughout the day their fire accomplished very little. According to Colonel Hamley, there were 360 French guns engaged against the town defences and the outworks; while Mr. Woods, and other English correspondents, computed them at little more than 200. The effect of such a cannonade, as its report was suddenly swept over the city by the storm, must have been such as to appal the unfortunate inhabitants of Sebastopol, and awaken anxiety in the hearts of its stoutest defenders.

The loss sustained by the English was chiefly among the artillery and the sailors—especially the latter, who fought with the most forward courage. That the killed among either should be so few arose not only from the obscurity of the morning, which was chiefly disadvantageous to the enemy, but also from the precautions taken by the engineers. The mines in the ravine close to Chapman's Battery were used as magazines; these could not be reached by the explosives which so often destroyed trench-magazines. The parapets, and other protective works, had been enlarged and made stronger. During the first bombardment, many of the wounded were killed in the efforts to remove them—and those who attended to them also fell victims; but, on this occasion, bomb-proof cells had been formed in the rear of the trenches, to which the wounded were instantly removed, and securely deposited. Notwithstanding all these precautions, there were guns dismounted, and men slain in various batteries—especially when at intervals the fog drifted past the city, and gleams of sunshine fell upon the allied works, enabling

the enemy to take more precise aim. Not a man of the British trench-guards fell: they were removed as the artillery took up their positions, and so placed as to insure their safety.

The loss of the enemy was very serious: numbers of wounded men were seen borne across to the northern side during the bright intervals which occurred, and when, in the afternoon, the day became generally clearer. The day's work was summed up by one who saw the conflict from the British position, in the following terse manner:—“The allies commenced the bombardment this morning during a storm of wind and rain very unfavourable to the Russians. The Russians, surprised, responded slowly—the Flagstaff and Garden Batteries excepted. These doubled their fire up to noon, when the superiority was on our side. At three o'clock the fire of the Mamelon was silenced, and only four guns were fired from the Round Tower. The Redan continued to fire six guns. The French have silenced the Flagstaff Battery. The loss of the allies is insignificant. The rain has ceased, and the night is fine.”

In the French lines more inconvenience from the weather was experienced than in the British: the trenches became almost impracticable, being nearly choked with mud or filled with water. In the lower positions of the French batteries, the hindrance from these causes was very serious. The Russians directed several tremendous salvoes of artillery against the French, who replied in a similar manner, and with more effect. The journal of the siege-corps has this entry:—“At two o'clock our fire had acquired a positive superiority; already a breach is made in the long-crenellated wall: everywhere the hostile batteries bear the traces of our fire.”

The correspondent of the *Impartial* of Smyrna communicated to that paper a very exact and well-described account of the first day's bombardment, as follows:—

*Before Sebastopol, April 9.*

“This morning, at 5 A.M., the fire along the whole line of the allies opened against Sebastopol. Despite the most fearful weather—an ice-cold beating rain and a violent wind—I proceeded to the English camp situate in the centre of the general attack.

“At 8 o'clock I was standing with a small group of officers, sheltered by a fragment of a wall, on the summit of Green Hill, the highest point in the rear of the English batteries. From here I was able to take in the whole *ensemble* of the attack and defence. The sky was of a dark slate colour, and, in the midst of small white puffs of smoke, flashes of fire were darting out of the Russian embrasures and

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from the batteries of the allies. But the wind—or rather the hurricane—was so violent that it almost drowned the noise of the artillery.

“On the left attack, from the Quarantine to the Flagstaff Battery, 300 French cannon and mortars were hammering at the place, and, considering the proximity of the works, must have caused great destruction. It is clear that in that point of the attack great efforts have been made on both sides, especially at the Flagstaff Battery and at the Central Bastion. A shell, which fell in the latter, blew up a powder-magazine at 6 A.M., only an hour after the opening of the bombardment. Can it be that the Flagstaff Bastion is now regarded as the key of Sebastopol, instead of the famous Malakoff Tower? Everything seems to say so, for, compared to the attack on the left, the works on the right are insignificant. It is true fire has been opened against the ‘White Works,’ against the Mamelon, and against the Malakoff Tower; but the fifty siege-pieces in the Careening Battery will not do much against the formidable artillery of the enemy on that point; nor has the firing assumed that intensity as on the left attack, where admirably constructed and powerfully armed batteries are accumulated before the Central and Flagstaff Bastions, which they are battering with magnificent ardour.

“From the so-called English ravine to that of the Karabelnaia, the English, with 100 guns of heavy calibre, most scientifically placed, are keeping up a terrific fire. Notwithstanding the very considerable distance which separates their batteries from the batteries of the town, they are causing great damage. The attack on the centre has hitherto gone on admirably. The Russians reply slowly, and their range, either too small or too great, does little harm. A man who has this moment come up from the trenches says that he has only seen one killed and two wounded, and that everything is going on admirably.

“Ten o’clock.—I have approached the left attack, evidently at the present moment the most important. From a point a little in advance of the Observatory, I am able to judge of the progress of the fire. It appears to me slacker, especially on the side of the Russians. Perhaps this is owing to the beating rain, which soaks the ground, and renders the handling of the siege-pieces difficult, notwithstanding the wooden platforms on which they move.

“Eleven o’clock.—Men just come up from the trenches inform us that most of the French batteries have scarcely suffered; nearly all the shots of the Russians went over them. Batteries 26 and 28 are alone somewhat damaged, without, however, having been silenced. Various Russian batteries are nearly

silenced, and the embrasures of others considerably damaged. Our loss in killed and wounded is insignificant.

“Noon.—The fire still continues to the advantage of the allies.

“Four P.M.—The ‘sailants’ of the Central and Flagstaff Bastions appear to be ruined, their embrasures; many of the guns are dismounted; the enemy’s fire is slack.

“Five P.M.—The English have committed great ravages in the barrack batteries, which reply very slowly. The Malakoff Tower and the White Works on the right attack do not appear to have suffered much.

“Six P.M.—On the left attack, French Battery No. 28 has been seriously damaged: two or three times the Russian shot have swept through it. Lieutenant Brillant was cut in two by a cannon-ball. In the French batteries the number of killed and wounded, although considerable, is not so in proportion to the mass of projectiles fired by the enemy.

“Nine P.M.—The cannonade continues, and is to be continued night and day until the fire of the enemy is silenced. The weather still atrocious. It blows a hurricane, and the cold rain pours down in torrents. This morning an attempt at a diversion was made, to alarm the Russians, by feigning a descent on the Katcha, on the other side of the port. For this purpose a Turkish division was embarked on board English and French steamers; but did not succeed: the failure is attributed to the weather. As yet, the allied fleet has not taken any part in the attack; it is still at anchor, either in the roadstead at Kamiesch or at Kazatch.”

On the 10th of April Lord Raglan sent home to his government his account of the proceedings:—

*Before Sebastopol, April 10.*

MY LORD,—In accordance with the arrangement made between General Canrobert and myself, the batteries of the French and English armies opened upon Sebastopol soon after daylight yesterday morning. The weather was extremely unpropitious. Much rain had fallen in the course of the night, and it continued during the day, accompanied by a tempestuous wind and a heavy rain, which obscured everything, and rendered it impossible to ascertain with any degree of accuracy the effect of the fire, which has been continued with little or no interruption from the commencement, and has been superior to that of the enemy, who were evidently taken by surprise, and, except upon the extreme left, did not respond to the attack for nearly half an hour. This morning has been hazy, and for some time there was a drizzling rain, but it is clearing this afternoon, and there is again prospect of fine weather. The country yesterday was covered with water, and the ground was again very muddy. The trenches were likewise extremely muddy, and this condition added greatly to the labours of the men employed in the batteries, who consisted chiefly of sappers, artillerymen, and sappers. They conducted their duty admirably; and I am sorry to say that the two foreign regiments, particularly the navy, sustained considerable losses. We have not yet received the returns of the casualties between the 9th instant, which are herewith inclosed; but the death of Lieutenant Twyford, of the royal navy, a

omising officer, and greatly respected by all, has been killed to me; and Captain Lord John Hay, who has taken a most active part in the gallant and distinguished services of the Naval Brigade, was wounded almost at the very moment, I believe by the same shot. I hope the injury he has received is not very serious; but the loss of his assistance, even for a time, is much to be regretted. The Russians have not shown themselves in any force in front of Balaklava.

I have, &c.,

The Lord Panmure, &c.

RAGLAN.

As darkness descended, the allied fire slackened, and all who observed it were satisfied that the result of the day was greatly in their favour. Night did not, however, terminate the conflict, nor give rest to the combatants: they did not wait for day to dawn, and gave them light to conduct a more precise cannonade; the mortars still kept up an intermittent attack. The rain ceased about eight o'clock, but the night continued gloomy; and the fiery light of shell and rocket, as seen against the dark background, had a magnificent effect. Throughout the night the English threw shells to the Malakoff and Mamelon, the explosions which could be distinctly heard in the British lines—so still was the night, and so silent everything in the contending hosts, except these hissing and exploding shells. The Flagstaff and Garden Batteries received a continual shower of bombs from the French. The Russian guns occasionally replied. The loss of the besieged in men, and the toil necessary to repair the damaged *matériel* through the night, must have been most trying to their fortitude and perseverance. Towards midnight skirmishes occurred at the advanced posts; but the musketry gradually slackened on both sides. The English experienced much disappointment throughout the day and night, and in a lesser degree during the remainder of the bombardment, by the bad condition of the fuses of the shells. Such of these projectiles as fell before exploding were proved to have been well aimed, and showed the skill of our gunners; but a large proportion burst in the air, in consequence of the wretched manufacture of the fuses. Thus, at every point, our brave soldiers were impeded by the neglect or incompetence of the departments at home.

On the 10th, at dawn, the "duel of artillery," as so many have called it, was renewed: progress for the first few hours was thus described by the correspondent of the *Impartial* of Smyrna:—"Two Russian batteries in advance of the central bastion have been destroyed by French shells and balls; and abandoned by the Russians. The results obtained in the left attack are highly satisfactory. All the embrasures of the Central and Flagstaff positions are demolished; most of the guns are picked over, and the carriages broken. The enemy's fire is slack and feeble. I am ignorant

of the results of the attack upon the centre and right. I am compelled to close my letter, as the steamer leaves in an hour, and I must hasten to the camp. The weather has somewhat cleared; the sky threatens rain, but the wind has fallen."

The day became fine. The Russians, as if by magic, had repaired their broken works and embrasures: even under fire, throughout the 10th, they worked at the parapets. Their shots were, however, irregular, and their guns were worked in a manner calculated to leave the impression with observers that they were short of men or ammunition. After eight o'clock in the morning, the Mamelon was silent all day. Salvoes from the Malakoff or Redan would burst forth occasionally: the artillerymen were seen moving among the batteries, passing from one to another—the same bodies of men working the guns in different batteries, according to the extent and character of the fire directed upon them. In the evening they withdrew their guns from the embrasures, leaving the allies comparatively unopposed, to exhaust their labour and ammunition against the earthworks. Subsequently, the cause of these remarkable proceedings was discovered: the garrison was short of men; it is alleged that only 18,000 were left in Sebastopol. The withdrawal of troops from the city was occasioned by the arrival of Omar Pasha and his Turks from Eupatoria. The Russian chief thought that a good opportunity was afforded for striking a final blow at Eupatoria. All the forces available were collected for that object, and actually were on their march, when the bombardment suddenly opened, to the surprise of the garrison. Todtleben, who had the direction of the defence, immediately dispatched couriers after the absent army, to bring them back by a forced march, lest the allies should attempt an assault. Meanwhile, the Russian engineer had not half men enough to man his batteries adequately to reply to so terrible a bombardment. The army in the field returned, and the garrison, reinforced, was prepared for a more vigorous contest; but the resistance offered was only made as effectual as it was by the skill of Todtleben, and the energy of the defenders.

On the night of the 10th an effort was to move down six 32-pounders to a battery prepared for them in an advanced position on the left; but the mud was of such tenacity that the guns all stuck fast, 300 men scarcely being sufficient to move a single gun. The ropes broke—the Russians opened fire, and the first gun moved was struck by a Russian ball and disabled: several men were killed and wounded. The commander-in-chief of the French army wrote:—"Since the arrival of Omar Pasha and his picked divisions, we

think that the most advantageous thing that could happen for our allied armies, would be to be attacked by the Russian army in the excellent positions which we occupy. We have for a long time supposed that his intention was to march against our lines at the opening of the fire against the place, consequently, in order to excite the enemy in the town, and to provoke him to exterior aggression, we have judged it useful to have the fire opened yesterday, with the whole of the French and English batteries. The commanders-in-chief agreed to continue that fire, without precipitation, but also without hesitation, and to profit by the favourable chances which it might offer, either against the place or against the relieving army."

On the 11th the allies opened their cannonade with great vigour—the air was continually cleft by shot and shell, and the earthworks of the defence gave tokens of yielding under the iron deluge; the Mamelon especially suffered. The French plied their shot from the Inkerman batteries, and the English mortars sent their messengers of death continually. The riflemen in front were engaged with more than their usual alacrity, and the sharp ring of their pieces could be heard all over the lines in the intervals of the uproar of the cannonade. The expedition to Eupatoria having been recalled, the troops re-entered Sebastopol, and fully manned its batteries. In the early part of the day, however, the Round Tower only fired occasionally, but the guns of the Redan and the Garden Batteries fired with the utmost rapidity. The aim was not precise, and the allies suffered comparatively little: destruction was poured by the latter among the men by whom these batteries were so vigorously worked. For a time rain and fog impaired the facility with which the English more especially dropped their shells into the enemy's lines; but the rain ceased late in the evening, and the fight was renewed with the same fury as before. The Round Tower had by this time exhibited considerable dilapidation, and the embrasures in the Redan were in various places cut up. It was, however, evident, at the close of the day, that the batteries of the allies were not yet near enough to make such an impression upon the huge earthworks as would open the way for an assault. Several incidents of interest occurred in the English lines. One of the splendid 13-inch mortars burst, the fragments sweeping the traverses, and yet not a man was even wounded. General Bizot, accompanying General Niel to the English works, was struck by a rifle-ball, which inflicted a mortal wound. This officer had distinguished himself very much in the Algerine wars of France. He had much of the respon-

sibility of the engineering mistakes in the earlier part of the siege, when his opinion was permitted, most unfortunately, to overrule that of our own chief officer of engineers, Sir John Burgoyne. The remaining Lancaster gun was burst by a shot, putting six men *hors de combat*. The officers considered the gun no loss, from its irregular action; but this partly arose from prejudice, for no other description of gun was the works of the allies effected so much destruction upon the works of the enemy. The Naval Brigade were the chief sufferers during the day, the enemy having directed upon them a hot and sustained fire. During the bombardment, up to the evening of the 11th, the brigade lost forty killed and wounded. After nightfall the French threw shot and rockets into the western portion of the town, the British continued incessantly to shell the opposing batteries. During the three days the bombardment lasted, Lord Raglan, Sir John M'Neil, Colonel Tulloch, and Generals Brown and Pennefather, visited the front, inspecting the works, and watching the progress of the cannonade.

The *Invalide Russe*, of the 22nd of April gave the Russian account of these first three days of the bombardment, and of the evening immediately preceding, in terms as follows:—

"From the 25th to the 26th of March (6th to 9th of April), the operations of the enemy continued the same, that is to say, by their approaches they have advanced slowly towards the Kamtschatka lunette, and on other points they constructed batteries in the approaches already existing; as regards their fire, it was very weak, and directed almost exclusively against our works of counter-approach of Vakhnia, Selinghinsk, and Kamtschatka.

"On the 26th of March (7th of April) they attempted, by mining galleries, to approach nearer Bastion No. 4, but their subterranean works were not of great importance. To oppose them we opened new mines on our side.

"On the 27th March (8th of April), during the night, we confined our labours to repairing the damage done to our works, to deepening our trenches, and to increasing the thickness of the epaulments and the height of the traverses. The enemy worked in the trenches beyond the cemetery, and opened embrasures in the new grand epaulment. When the mist cleared it was observed that the enemy had prolonged their trenches against the salient angle of Bastion No. 3. During the day the firing of musketry was not continued along the whole line of the fortifications.

"On the 28th of March (9th of April) at half-past five in the morning, the enemy opened a tremendous cannonade from all their batteries (250 guns in all), which continued

evening. On this occasion 20,000 projectiles were thrown into the town. During the night the enemy carried on a brisk bombardment. On the same day the enemy's fleet got its steam, but did not weigh anchor, owing to the heavy sea running.

"On the 29th of March (10th of April), in the morning, the enemy renewed the cannonade: their object was evidently to dismount the guns of our fortifications. On our side we replied with success; we did great damage to many of their batteries, and in less than four hours we silenced fifty of their guns. To judge from this circumstance their loss must have been considerable. On the same morning the enemy's vessels again got up their steam at an early hour, stood out to sea, and then drew up in front of the bay beyond range, but did not open fire. In the evening the frigates formed in two lines; the frigates and steamers formed a third line, and the whole fleet cast anchor. In these two days we had 4 officers and 141 men killed, and 15 officers and 673 men wounded. Among the killed are the brave and worthy commandant of the battery, the captain of corvette *Schemiakine*, and the midshipman Povalo-Schveikosky, who gave great promise. Among the seriously wounded are three distinguished naval officers, Lieutenant Lyoff (since dead), Lieutenant Valischine, and Lieutenant Krassovsky; also Lieutenant-colonel of artillery Rosenthal, and Major Volotskoi, of the infantry regiment Ziesse-Litevski—both of them very brave and intelligent officers.

"In the days of the 28th and 29th of March (9th and 10th of April), the enemy dismounted one of our guns and gun-carriages, but they were immediately replaced by others; all the damage (moreover, small) done to our epaulets and batteries was also successfully repaired.

"In the night between the 29th and 30th of March (10th and 11th of April) the enemy again bombarded the town with great vivacity, but without doing us much harm. On the 11th of March (11th of April), six chosen companies of French made a bold attack on our positions (*logements*) in advance of Bastion No. 5. They got temporary possession of them, and immediately set to work to convert them into trenches, but we drove them out with grape. Two hand-to-hand combats followed with sword and bayonet, after which our sharpshooters re-occupied the positions. In the morning of the same day the enemy opened a most violent cannonade from all their batteries, which slackened after a short time, but was renewed, with great vivacity, towards evening. Our garrison behaves in the most heroic manner. Our loss on the 30th of March (10th of April) has not yet been exactly ascertained."

In the above quotation reference is made to a combat between the French and Russians on the 11th. It was necessary, at the commencement of the bombardment, to carry several of the enemy's ambuscades, so as to allow the French engineers to enclose a portion of the cemetery in the circuit of their works, and by this means to command the bank of the ravine which was in front of the town. It was found, however, impossible to attempt the execution of this on the night of the 9th, in consequence of the dreadful state of the weather. The next night the French workmen actually accomplished this task, but appear to have fled, under the influence of unaccountable panic, when the advance companies became engaged with the enemy, who mustered strongly to interrupt the progress of operations so important. The Russians, almost unopposed, found opportunity by this shameful conduct to destroy 200 metres of gabionade immediately after it had been laid down, and remained masters of the situation. On the night of the 11th it was resolved to recommence these works, and the workmen were reminded that they were strongly supported, and must not give way in the presence of the enemy. At nine o'clock the French troops advanced, and the Russians, perceiving them to be in considerable force, retired, after a single discharge. This was frequently the case, when an obstinate contest had been determined upon. While the French sappers were filling up such works as were not comprehended in the tracing of their own engineers, the Russians returned, and, dispersing among the craggy and uneven ground, opened a galling rifle-fire upon the French supporting companies. The 48th French regiment was that in support: in a few minutes it lost seventy-three men. The Russian reserves, meanwhile, collected in the ravine, which, the French perceiving, threw from their batteries a storm of balls, which fell among the troops there thickly massed. The cries of the Russians could be heard above the din of the cannon and the rattle of the fusilade. Commandant Mangin bravely attempted to carry on the works, but the fire of the enemy was too close and fatal for his success. Throughout the whole night the combat flowed and ebbed and eddied, with this result, that the French could not accomplish the work undertaken, and many brave men perished on both sides. Mangin was carried wounded to the rear. The dawn of day saw our ally retire, baffled and beaten, leaving 250 men upon the field: many men were wounded and borne to the rear, or staggered back with the retiring troops. The freshly turned up earth of the works which the French thus pertinaciously attempted to execute was literally red with the

blood of the sappers and supporting soldiery. This repulse was felt to be so important, that a grand consultation was held the next day by the generals in chief and chief officers of engineers, in the house of the clock-tower. It was resolved by two distinct attacks to accomplish the operations which were considered to be essential to the conduct of the siege. The works towards the cemetery were comprised in one, and the works in front of the T approaches were comprised in the other. General Breton was to superintend the former; General Rivet, chief of the staff of the first corps, the latter. On the night of the 12th these undertakings were attempted. Towards the cemetery the Russians occupied six different posts, all of which were to be carried. The 98th regiment of the line was expected to accomplish this task. This corps was divided into two detachments, one led by Major Grémion, and Captain Manuist led the other. Both parties adopted the plan by which the British uniformly succeeded in this description of warfare, in which our allies were so frequently unsuccessful. Without firing a shot, they rushed forward at their utmost speed, confusing the calculations of the defenders by their rapidity of movement, and before the Russians could recover their self-possession, they were put to the bayonet. Captain Manuist fell dead across the intrenchment; Captain Bouresch had scarcely leaped within the enclosure when he also was slain. The Russians took to precipitate flight; but when they reached their reserves they rallied, and their whole force opened fire upon the victorious French, who, reinforced by two companies of chasseurs, returned the Russian fire with effect.

The Russians, according to their custom with the French, filled the air with their shouts, braying of trumpets and beating of drums; but this time the workmen were not frightened, but plied the spade and the axe, erecting works, or destroying those of the enemy. In the other direction, General Rivet sent four companies of the 46th, under Major Julien, supported by a regiment of chasseurs, against the ambuscades in his direction, the defences of which, although so lately destroyed, had been reconstructed. The French were astonished at the ingenuity and activity the enemy had thus shown. At that point the French rushed forward, as at the cemetery, but not with such spirit and promptitude, and were quickly driven back upon their own trenches. Reinforced they again rushed forward, the enemy disputing the posts with heroic obstinacy; but reinforcement followed reinforcement rapidly on the side of the French, and the Russians, overwhelmed by numbers, retired, still obstinately fighting. Reinforced in turn, they charged the French: but the

Foreign Legion, and the 42nd regiment, which had so often distinguished itself in these combats, placed themselves between the tired French and their advancing foes, receiving and returning their fire. Again and again the Russians assaulted the conquered positions; but unable to make the least impression, staggered back, as if drunk with defeat, upon their own lines. The fire then directed upon the French in occupation of the captured ambuscades was incessant; and but for the shelter afforded by the works, and of which they skilfully availed themselves, it is hardly to be conceived that they could have endured such a constant and close discharge of musketry. It was, however, impossible to take aim, and our allies suffered less than could have been deemed possible under such circumstances. The ambuscade had become, as a French officer observed, *re ramparts*.

French writers represent this as a victory over greatly superior numbers; but it appears that by superior numbers only were our allies enabled to conquer works so well and so resolutely defended. The Russian dead were numerous, but the loss was still heavier on the part of the victors, who had five officers killed and twelve wounded. The official report recorded 200 men "disabled." The number slain was not reported, which, in a probability, comprised twice that number; the usual proportion of killed and wounded was in this case reversed, from the proximity of the combatants, and the obstinacy of the engagement. A great number of barrels, sandbags, and tools, were found on the spot, showing that the occupants of these posts had intended to form there a line of bastions. From the concealments the enemy had kept the French perpetually annoyed; and, although only fifty or sixty riflemen occupied them at a time they picked off great numbers of the French—as many as 100 men had fallen in a day from the fire of these rifle-pits. It did not redound to the glory of our gallant allies that this murderous fire was suffered so long. Neither skilful nor daring adequate to the necessity of the case had been shown up to the time of the conquest above recorded. When day broke on the 13th, the Russians directed an artillery fire upon the place; but the French secured themselves—the victory was complete. The French loss in engineer officers, within a few days, was very heavy. Not only Bizot, but commandants Masson, and Lieutenant Laurens, and Captain Mouhat, also fell. These losses distinguished and scientific officers gave great concern to the French army. General Canrobert penned the following bombastic and absolute eulogy upon Bizot:—"It is because Bizot was of noble character, offering to all every day a model of courage, of duty indefatigably accomplished,

of self-denial;—it is because Bizot had every virtue and every manly quality;—that God has granted him the supreme honour of dying as a soldier on the breach in face of the enemy.”

During the day of the 12th the cannonade went on along the whole line, as if the batteries were conscious of their power and eager for destruction;—volcanoes of fire and sound leaped from every embrasure, and missiles of immense force were flung against the opposing obstructions. It was obvious on the morning of the 12th that the Russians had laboured hard all the previous night to repair their broken ramparts, and replace their disabled guns. After the dawn broke, haze and rain obscured the objects of the gunners, and checked the work of destruction; but at noon the sun burst forth in the glory of an April day, and the work of havoc went forward with more certainty. Turkish, English, and French infantry officers crowded the heights, and all regarded with deep anxiety and suspense the issue of that dreadful day. Among the spectators, an English lady on horseback suddenly made her appearance, and was soon “the beheld of all beholders,” fairly competing with the battle for the attention of the spectators.

The batteries were ordered late in the afternoon to limit their firing to 120 rounds per day each gun. The British Sailors' Battery was the best worked in all the line; and those who manned it suffered severely, for the enemy made ceaseless and prodigious efforts to silence it, but in vain: it was, however, much damaged. The enemy's batteries were severely struck; the Round Tower and Mamelon were silenced. The French were as successful in their part of the common task. The town opposite their batteries was in the evening a heap of ruins. They bombarded the batteries on the north side of Sebastopol, those of the Inkerman caves, and of the Lighthouse. No. 2 of the latter they demolished. The Garden Battery and the *Batterie du Mât* again yielded to the ponderous metal of our allies. Late in the evening the battery at Careening Bay was destroyed by the British fire; and the rifle-pits and their magazine were literally swept by the continual fire from the English lines. When night rendered the aim of the gunners imperfect, shot were no longer discharged, but bombs were used with increased energy, and their fire was kept up through the night. The British loss up to this date was only 100 men, while that of our ally, since the morning of the 9th, could not have been less than 1200, and that of the Russians probably three times these amounts united.

During the night of the 12th the British, working hard, got the six 32-pounders into position in the advanced battery; but in the

morning, when great things were expected from these fine pieces, the Russians concentrated the fire of twenty cannon upon them, breaking and dismounting them, and damaging the battery itself; as an Irish artilleryman observed, “it was silenced before it opened its mouth.” The riflemen complained very much during the last few days of the construction of the Enfield rifles; the men were often unable to return the fire of the enemy from the bad construction of those weapons. During the 13th the Sailors' Battery bore, as the day before, —and, indeed, every day since the cannonade opened,—the brunt of the battle. Their losses were heavier than those of the whole of the siege-train. Two officers had been killed, two wounded, three contused, and seventy-five men put *hors de combat*. The sailors worked thirty-five heavy guns, inflicting extensive mischief upon the enemy, who directed his hottest fire against the tars. Their heavy losses were partly to be attributed to the reckless courage with which they exposed themselves. The two British 9-pounders which swept the rifle-pits, were both struck with the enemy's shot, and one severely injured.

A daring feat was performed by one of the gunners in the Round Tower. He crept through the embrasure, descended, and examined the profile of the work, clambered up again, and re-entered the embrasure: this he did slowly, and with the greatest composure. As he descended a ball struck within a yard of him, and a shell burst close to the embrasure by which he re-entered.

An officer corresponding with the *London Morning Post* under this date thus wrote:—“A convoy of at least from 1000 to 1200 horses arrived from the north, on the opposite side of the harbour. They appeared to be laden with ammunition; if so, an important arrival for the enemy at this juncture. The orders issued last night to those in command of the trenches, by General Jones, was that ‘the fire from every mortar and gun which can bear upon the Redan, Malakoff, and Mamelon Batteries, should be kept up steadily—the former *only* by night. Rapid fire not required.’ At daylight this morning commenced one of the most furious cannonades ever yet heard since we have been here. The heavy firing of the allies continued up to 10 A.M., when it slackened. Since then it has gone on moderately, but with good effect. The Crimean Army Fund gave 1000 gallons of porter and ale to the men at work in the trenches—a very handsome present indeed. I took a walk this morning to the French picket-house, on the left of our left attack, from which place I could get a general view of the siege from Inkerman to the sea on the left. It strikes me with wonder the vastness of the undertaking. Clouds

of white smoke along the line of works of the allies spoke their position. It really was a beautiful sight to witness the firing from so many deadly weapons almost as far as the eye could reach. I am thinking that it is the intention of the commanders to carry the place by storm, and that very shortly—at least to try. Sealing-ladders were taken down last night, and more go to-night into the trenches in readiness. I also am told that the general to lead the party will be Sir Richard England."

On the night of the 13th, and early morning of the 14th, a sortie was made from the Flagstaff Battery upon the left of the French. The outposts were driven in, and the French advanced works actually entered; but our ally, who had his supports so placed as to be immediately available, advancing, the Russians were driven upon their works, and bayoneted in their own trenches in considerable numbers. Supported in turn, the French were driven back once more; but, reinforced, they pushed back the enemy, fighting desperately as he slowly retired upon his works. Fresh troops still arriving from the French, the Russian works were again entered, and their guns might easily have been spiked had the French, in anticipation of their success, been provided with the means of doing so. They attempted to hold possession of their conquest; but the Russians directed upon them so furious a fire of grape and canister, that they had to retire. The whole of the Russian lines opposed to the French then blazed with fire, which was responded to with even superior energy, the French firing "bouquets" from their mortars—a name given to discharges of four or five shells at a time from the same mortar. The French loss was very heavy—six officers killed, nine wounded, and 300 men killed or disabled. This report was probably beneath the reality. The Russian loss was considerably more.

The *Invalide Russe*, reporting telegraphic despatches up to the 15th, thus describes the course of events:—"From the 30th of March (11th of April) to the 3rd (15th) of April, a report from Aide-de-camp General Prince Gortschakoff of this latter date announces that the enemy continue to cannonade the fortress with the greatest energy during the day, and to bombard it during the night. Notwithstanding the rapid firing and the concentration of the fire of their batteries, which mount 350 guns, of which eighty are mortars, the loss of our garrison cannot comparatively be considered very great. We have not had many guns dismantled, owing to our fortifications having a sufficient number of traverses, and to our batteries being sheltered by blindages. During the day the fire of our artillery is also incessant;

thanks to the coolness and skill with which it is served, many of the enemy's guns have been dismantled, and the embrasures of some of the batteries knocked in. All our damage is actively repaired during the night. The dismantled guns are replaced by new ones, and the loss of the garrison made good by reinforcements which arrive; so that on the 3rd (15th) of April Sebastopol was as strong as before the bombardment."

The fleet rendered good service during the dark nights. The bearings of the entrance of the harbour being well known, ships got under steam, ran in, poured broadsides into the southern portion of the place, and got out again before much mischief could be received. The *Valorous* went in too close, and received a shot through her paddle-boxes; she had some difficulty in hauling off.

On the 14th Lord Raglan wrote home to Lord Panmure; but his despatch throws no additional light on any of these transactions.

On the 15th our allies had planned the explosion of sixteen chambers in their mines containing 25,000 kilogrammes (50,000 lbs.) of gunpowder, and nightfall was appointed for this important event. At eight o'clock the train was exploded; the report was not heard but the effect was that of an earthquake which was felt by the troops at a great distance. The earth was torn above the place of the concussion, displaying deep fissures, and pieces of rock were hurled high into the air. As seen from the British lines, vast columns of fire shot up into the air, as if a volcano had suddenly burst forth. One of the mines was too near a Russian mine for the explosion of it with safety to the French sappers. Only a portion, therefore, of the contemplated work was accomplished. The Flagstaff Battery was rent and shattered, and the French promptly made a lodgment among the outer ruins. Two picked companies of the 39th regiment, attended by engineers, sappers, miners, and a large body of men bearing military tools of every construction, occupied the most formidable positions which they could secure. The Russians were of course taken by surprise; all southern Sebastopol felt the shock, and the whole garrison simultaneously flew to arms. A tremendous cannonade roared along the whole line of the defence, such as had not been heard during any previous artillery-combat around the place. The ground along the attack and defence was cut by the bounding ball and bursting shell. The appearance was described by a French officer, spectator, as that of a great city in conflagration. The French gunners having previously retired for a time, escaped this tremendous hurricane of artillery; but at the proper moment returning to their own guns, the terrible can-

ade of the enemy was answered as terribly. While this general fire raged around the town, the Russians directed an especial attack on what the French called the *entonnoirs*—the rows formed by the miners. But the troops were bravely maintained themselves, and worked indefatigably while death rained upon them. Many fell; but those who remained fought on until they formed two ditches, one to five yards in depth, and of length proportionate for military purposes. They then asked to unite the ditches nearest to the third parallel with that parallel. While this herculean labour was proceeding, the day appeared on the horizon, and the unfinished works had to be abandoned, for, being only twenty yards from the Russian batteries, their position was untenable in the imperfect condition of their labour upon which the day depended. One company did not, from some error, receive the order to retire, and was obliged to remain in the shelter of one of the mines which had fortunately been completed. To relieve them during daylight was impossible; and meantime a terrible fire of cannon shot the precincts of their shelter. When it returned the work was resumed; and from night to night, this war of work and combat went on until the parallel and the mines were connected, and our ally succeeded in pushing forward his approach. In the journal of the French siege-corps there is a record of the proceedings in connection with the prosecution of this particular enterprise from the 15th to the 22nd, of which the following is an extract:—

*April 15th to the 16th.*—At eight o'clock in the evening they blow up the chambers of the mines prepared before the Flagstaff Battery, about seventy yards from the third parallel. Some of those mines have not taken effect. Others have opened, by the union of the *entonnoirs*, two ditches, from four to five yards in depth, of which one is on the left and the other on the right separated by a distance of from thirty to forty metres. Not being able to finish the tunnels of communication between the third parallel and the *entonnoirs*, on account of the difficulties of the ground, nor having been able, on the other hand, to connect the *entonnoirs* with one another, it was necessary at daybreak to leave one company in the ditch, and abandon the work of communication.

*16th to the 17th.*—The works continue. At daybreak we abandon the left and centre *entonnoirs*. The one on the right has remained in the occupation of one hundred men.

*17th to the 18th.*—During the night we

have connected the *entonnoirs* forming the two posts of the fourth parallel, by a sap of thirty-seven gabions, &c. At daybreak the communication between the third parallel and the *entonnoirs*, damaged by the enemy's artillery, has remained in very great danger; a guard has been left there.

*"18th to the 19th.*—We have endeavoured to improve the communications leading to the *entonnoirs*. The fire of the enemy's artillery was regular until two o'clock in the morning, at which hour the Russians attempted a sortie upon the two companies placed in the *entonnoirs*. The enemy, received with vigour, retired into the place, leaving some dead upon the spot. Towards three o'clock the enemy attempted a new sortie, which was repulsed with the same energy as the first.

*"20th to the 21st.*—There remains only a space of from seven to eight metres to reach the *entonnoirs*.

*"21st to the 22nd.*—We explode two mines upon the ground forming the space between the *entonnoirs*. The Flagstaff Battery and the batteries at the back have thrown quantities of grape-shot, grenades, and stones."

On the 16th the firing was diminished to eighty rounds per day. In the evening the French rocket-battery set fire to a ship, and did some damage to the Dockyard buildings; but the Russians, as usual, by vigorous hard work, averted any serious consequences. A squadron of the 10th Hussars landed, and were a welcome accession to the British cavalry. During the night the town was set on fire in several places by shells from the British steamers. On the 17th the cannonade relaxed on both sides, and the allies pushed their approaches still nearer to the enemy.

Murmurs among the soldiery began now to be painfully manifest; the army despaired of victory by the artillery, and were eager, almost clamorous, for the assault. The period became one of great suspense and anxiety to the commanders-in-chief. Conferences between the generals and admirals had been frequent, and despatches of importance were transmitted by the chiefs to their respective governments:—

*Before Sebastopol, April 17, 1855.*

MY LORD,—The fire of both the French and English armies has been continued upon Sebastopol since I addressed your lordship on the 14th inst., and though superior to that of the enemy, it has not produced that permanent effect which might have been anticipated from its constancy, power, and accuracy. The guns of the Russians have been turned upon some of our advanced works in vast numbers, and in one particular instance the injury sustained by a battery was so great, that the unremitting exertions of Captains Henry and Walcot, and the gallantry and determination of the artillerymen under their orders, alone enabled them to keep up the fire and to maintain themselves in it. In another battery yesterday a shell burst close to the magazine, which,

in consequence, exploded, killing, I am much concerned to say, one man, wounding two most severely, and seven in a less degree. Both the batteries I have mentioned have been repaired, and restored to their original condition.

I enclose the list of casualties that have arisen between the 13th and 15th instant. I have to lament the loss of two young and promising officers, who had only lately joined the army, Lieutenant Preston, of the 88th regiment, and Lieutenant Mitchell, of the artillery; and I regret to add that two others have been severely wounded, Captain Green, of the East India Company's service, who had been employed throughout the siege as an assistant engineer, with great credit to himself and every advantage to the service, and Captain Donovan, of the 33rd, who has most zealously served from the commencement of the campaign.

The French blew up several small mines in front of the Bastion du Mât after sunset on Sunday evening, with a view to establish a parallel upon the spot. This operation greatly alarmed the enemy, who at once commenced a heavy fire of cannon and musketry in every direction from that part of the town, which they kept up for a considerable time. It occasioned no harm upon our left attack, upon which a part of it was directed, and I hope did little injury to our allies.

Several hundreds of the Russian cavalry and a small body of Cossacks appeared on the low range of heights in front of Balaklava this morning, and remained about an hour, when they retired, the greater portion by the bridge of Traktar. The object of this movement was probably a reconnaissance.

I have, &c.,

*The Lord Panmure, &c.*

RAGLAN.

General Canrobert, in his despatch, thus addressed the French Minister of War:—

MONSIEUR LE MARÉCHAL,—I have the honour to render you an account of our successive operations before this place. After having maintained a fire during the day with a marked superiority over that of the enemy, we advanced our approaches during the nights between the 9th and 12th in the direction of the Flagstaff Bastion, struggling all the time with success against the posts, supported by strong reserves, which the enemy keeps in his ambulades. In the night between the 13th and 14th, General Pelissier took efficacious measures to assure to us the possession of the ground upon which the engineers were to advance towards the Central Bastion. The operation was divided into two parties—that of the right directed by General Rivet; that of the left, towards the cemetery, directed by General Breton. First of all, the enemy's ambulades were carried with great vigour by four companies of the 46th, commanded by Chef de Bataillon Julien, and a company of the 5th Chasseurs (Lieutenant Copri). The resistance of the enemy was most energetic, and the reserves made two or three vigorous attacks, but which could not overcome the resolution of our companies engaged. Supported by a detachment of the Foreign Legion (Captain Robert), two companies of the 42nd (Captain Beauregard), and a company of the 14th (Lieutenant Saure), they valiantly maintained their ground. The ambulades, notwithstanding the solidity of their construction, were razed. On the left and in the rear the work of the engineers was protected by three companies of the 26th, under the orders of Captain Michael, whose arrangements were most excellent, and who was wounded at the head of his troop. While these events were taking place, General Breton caused to be carried on the left, with the same energy and success, all the Russian ambulades of the cemetery, by six companies of the 98th, commanded by Chef de Bataillon Grémion. Those companies, reinforced during the action by two others of the 9th battalion of Chasseurs, gave proofs of the most remarkable intrepidity and solidity. The 98th (23rd *Léger*) made here a brilliant *début*. The enemy gave way after a very sharp fire, which did not cause our men to retreat even for a moment. These ambulades were occupied and destroyed like those on the right. Protected by this vigorously conducted double

operation, the engineers were enabled to complete levels, and push on their works with activity. A parallel was formed; we propose to turn it to great advantage. In this nocturnal affair, which was very bold and which does the greatest honour to our troops, we 40 men killed, of whom 4 were officers, and 117 wounded. As regards our approaches on the Flagstaff Bastion, the effects of the enemy's artillery, acting at a very distance, almost rendered them impossible, or at least they were only practicable at a considerable loss. In these circumstances we endeavoured to form a trench halfway between our third parallel and the salient of the bastion with the assistance of our mines, which had been conveniently placed for that purpose. The train was fired on the evening of the 15th. The operation was fully successful. The engineer officers and sappers immediately enabled to lodge themselves in an immovable fosse, of an average depth of four metres, the possession of which was not disputed by the enemy. Their trench lined the fortification, and kept up a sharp fire of musketry and cannon. Our mortars, on their part, sent a shower of bombs upon the thickly-massed troops; and I am informed by a non-commissioned officer who descended that the garrison there suffered considerable loss. The workmen, though in a difficult position, worked actively all the night on the disputed ground, to complete as far as possible the crowning of the shafts, and to connect a new trench with the third parallel. That night the troops continued their labour with ardour; 1000 men of the 74th now occupy this fourth parallel during the day. In the midst of these combats and labours, the troops have always conducted themselves with the greatest firmness and shown the best spirit. General Pelissier, who commands the left, is satisfied by the measure. To the right, on the side of the Malakoff Tower, the superiority of our artillery has also been maintained, but without succeeding in silencing that of the besieged, except, however, in the two works of counter-approach of Careening Battery, which have not fired a gun for the last two days. In this part of our attack, on the other, we advance slowly, perfecting our external trenches, and leaving nothing to chance. A new battery established opposite the counter-approach, called *Mamelon Vert* (Green Hill Battery), the fire of which was opened yesterday morning, has produced good effect. According to deserters, the garrison has suffered considerable losses, especially the marine artillerymen, who form the most vital link, and show the greatest moral courage. The Central and Flagstaff Batteries are seriously damaged. Their armament has been repeatedly rendered unusable; but the almost inexhaustible resources of the garrison in artillery do not yet fail them, and every night thousands of workmen repair the damage which our operations require.

Prince Gortschakoff also communicated to his government at this juncture, concerning the state of affairs from his point of view:—The 16th, 17th, and 18th, the fire of the enemy was not so sustained as on the preceding days. Our batteries have replied successfully, particularly by their cross-fire in front of the 4th position, directed against the works which the enemy is actively executing against that fortified position. The injuries caused by the day's fire are repaired during the night. In the night between the 18th and 19th, one of our battalions successfully and at a very slight loss, effected a sortie, with the object of destroying the enemy's most advanced works of approach. In general, the loss of the garrison has been much less within the last two or three days than at the commencement of the bombardment."

## CHAPTER LXXX.

BOMBARDMENT CONTINUED.—RECONNAISSANCE ON THE TCHERNAYA BY OMAR PASHA AND THE TURKISH ARMY.—CONQUEST OF RUSSIAN RIFLE-PITS BY THE BRITISH.—FAILURE OF THE BOMBARDMENT.—GENERAL OPERATIONS BEFORE SEBASTOPOL TO THE END OF APRIL.—DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE FRENCH AND ENGLISH GENERALS.

"We talk, and do nothing; 'tis shame for us all:  
so God sa' me, it is shame to stand still; it is shame,  
by my hand: and there is throats to be cut, and works  
to be done; and there is nothing done!"

SHAKSPERE. *Henry V.*

DURING the night of the 17th, and the early morning of the 18th, the bombardment was very heavy, but the cannonade was not renewed on the 18th with the energy of previous days. The French opened a warm cannonade, which they gradually slackened; the English relaxed theirs still more. The Russians seemed to regulate the strength of their fire by that of their opponents, and during the latter portion of the day they molested the English very little, who principally occupied themselves repairing works and guns. Our artillerymen were quite worn out; and it was evident that without reinforcements to that arm of the service, the energy of the bombardment the English lines could not be maintained. The great wants of our army were proper chiefs of men, well-constructed weapons, and good tools to work with. A nation that is disposed on principle to a standing army, may easily and honourably account for its inability to meet the demand for men on the breaking out of a great war; but the arms and implements with which its troops are furnished ought to be honestly manufactured; and there should be at least intelligence enough in the civil and military departments at home to examine carefully all arms and tools sent out to the army in the field. In this particular, perhaps, no nation was ever so disgraced as ours was during the years 1854-5. Neither the army nor navy was equipped as both should have been; and the neglect and incompetence were a curse to the country, and murder to the people by whom that country was so nobly defended. During the remaining period of the bombardment the British were put to great disadvantage by the bursting of shells before they reached their destination, and from a cause which in a lesser degree impeded success in the previous days of the bombardment, namely the imperfection of the fusees; but many of the shells were found to have *no fusees*. In wet weather the Enfield rifles became altogether useless, and the tools of the sappers often broke after a few hours' use. On the 19th the allies determined upon a reconnaissance of the Russian army in the field, and the duty was assigned to Omar Pasha and a large force of Turks, supported by French

and English detachments. The enemy had been seen in considerable numbers around Tchorgoum, and it was deemed desirable to discover his object. Twelve battalions of Turkish infantry, four squadrons of cavalry, and about thirty guns, constituted the force led forth by Omar Pasha, to which the French added a few squadrons of horse, and a battery of horse artillery; and the English sent two squadrons of heavy cavalry, two squadrons of the 10th Hussars, lately landed, and a half troop of horse artillery. General Forey, of the French service, and Colonel Pariby, of the British, were attached to this force, which was under the sole authority of the Turkish general. He was, however, accompanied by General Canrobert and Lord Raglan, and by other officers of eminence. Omar and his troops left the right of the allied positions early in the morning in the direction of Kamara. The Cossack pickets fled in disorder. Everything in the village, except the church, was destroyed by Omar Pasha's advanced guard. From Kamara he proceeded in the direction of the hills by the Woronzoff Road, so as to command a view of the whole valley of the Tchernaya. A few sotnias of Cossacks were dispersed on the hills; their videttes kept a sharp look out, and the whole fell back without coming in range of the English horse artillery, which displayed a laudable disposition to scatter a few shots among them. As the Turkish advance-guard ascended the hills, they found huts in which the Cossacks had taken shelter, and considerable quantities of good forage for their horses: huts and forage were immediately destroyed. Omar Pasha placed six battalions of infantry and the field-batteries on these hills, and descended down the road to Tchorgoum with the cavalry, horse artillery, and a British rocket-battery which had joined him, the remainder of the infantry closely following. Not an inhabitant was to be seen; but a corps of Cossacks dodged the force, always keeping out of gun-range. The rocket brigade, however, contrived to outwit them, and sent a shower of rockets among them, which sent them precipitately in every direction but that of the brigade. The object of the reconnaissance having been accomplished, Omar

Pasha fell back slowly. The movements of the Turkish army, and their warlike appearance attracted the admiration of Lord Raglan, General Canrobert, and the other notables of the French and British who accompanied the advance. No one would suppose, from the appearance of Omar's troops, that the exchequer at Constantinople ever incurred depletion: the men were well clothed and well accoutred; their artillery was excellent, both as to men and material; discipline reigned mildly but firmly throughout the host. The gay uniforms looked well in the searching spring light; the sheen of the lances, bayonets, and musket-barrels could be seen far off from the allied lines; their banners were like cloth of gold, and the star and the crescent brilliantly decorated the standards. Their movements were martial and regular, and no body of men in motion could appear more soldierly. The Turkish slipper, was a very great impediment, which, although it gave lightness to their movements while passing over the Tchernaya valley—then richly clad with wild-flowers, and fragrant with thyme and other sweet odours—yet exposed them to suffering when they ascended the rocky hills, where loose fragments of sharp stones abounded everywhere. Great numbers of the infantry marched back with bleeding feet, and many sustained severe lacerations. As they marched over the old ground contested at the battle of Balaklava, the soldiery displayed more curiosity than is usual with Turks. They saw the body of a Tunisian lying across one of the redoubts, where he was killed in his efforts to escape at the fatal moment of the attack there. The field of battle was strewn with cavalry caps, trampled turbans, broken swords, shreds of the fez and Turkish tunic, shattered firearms, fragments of gun-carriages, and the *débris* of such material as is always strewn upon a field of battle. Many skeletons of horses remained, with the saddles of the riders or the harness of the artillery adhering to their bleached bones, the flesh having long before been devoured by dogs, foxes, and vultures. The bones of the fallen brave were also there: the Russians inhumanly neglected their burial. Alas! little did many a widowed and orphan heart in England think that the carrion bird, and the wild-dog of the Crimea, would feast upon the kind form which had been so often clasped close to them in the tenderest embrace. The conduct of the Russians in this war has won for them no praise on the ground of humanity; they were only humane when it was politic to be so, when the opinion of Europe constrained.

An incident occurred as Omar's rear-guard retired, which illustrated Russian blood-thirstiness. A poor Tartar wandered out with the

Turkish troops; he was unarmed, and had not committed an aggression upon the Russians. The Cossacks caught him as he lingered upon the field: six of them dismounted, tied his hands and shot him as a criminal. This vindictive and bloody atrocity occurred within view of the rear-guard. Several British officers selected a few men, and were about to make dash for his rescue, but their own force rapidly retiring, and their orders to do the same had been peremptory. There was little time to debate the matter; the Cossack officers settled the question of his fate before anything could be done for his deliverance. The Cossacks ventured upon a few long shots when it was quite plain that there was danger of a chase to be apprehended.

The Turks captured a man armed with bow and arrows! who called himself a Tchege. He had, however, an old pistol, and his coat was literally padded with cartridges. The alarm when caught was ludicrous.

The whole army was cheered by this reconnaissance, for it was generally supposed that it would lead to operations in the field—the troops having lost all confidence in the practicability of subduing the earthworks of the enemy by any power of artillery.

On the night following, a gallant exploit was performed by the British against certain redoubts, from which the Russians annoyed the front. The enemy did not make this mode of obstruction so effective against the English as against the French. Our riflemen contrived to find shelter and pick off the enemy in their ambuscades the moment they lifted their heads, and, when necessary, the English dashed into the ambuscades, driving out the bayoneting their occupants. The British gunners had for several days suffered from some well-established pits, within between six and seven hundred yards of their batteries. Rifle-balls constantly entered the embrasures, and too often effected some mischief. The British 9-pounder fieldpieces were well worked and caused considerable loss of life to the men occupying these concealments, but they gradually increased their protection, and the ground favoured them in so doing. An advanced battery was about to be opened which would necessarily be exposed to the fire of the sharpshooters in the pits, and it was solved to dislodge them, and, perhaps, occupy a portion of the ambuscades. The accomplishment of this stern task (as our allies had often found similar undertakings to be) was committed to one of the finest officers in the English army—Lieutenant-colonel Egerton of the 77th regiment. Soon after dark he led a party of his own regiment, supported by a wing of the 33rd (or Duke of Wellington's own), under Lieutenant-colonel Mundy.

ness of the night favoured the assailants; gusts of wind also gave hope that they noiselessly approach the pits and fall on the enemy. The Russians were never surprised; no troops could be more silent. Their sentries heard the foot-sound of the English as they passed along the trenches; the Russian sentries, upon the slightest suspicion, were accustomed to cast themselves on the ground and listen, with the instinct of dogs, for every sound. Scarcely had Colonel Egerton deployed his men when a fire of rifles was directed upon them, which was most galling; the 77th fired one volley, and dashed on with bound upon the pits, where they were repulsed by the bayonets of the garrison with violence; but the impetuous rush of the 77th over all opposition: it was as a flood-gate, overflowing, penetrating everywhere, sweeping all resistance away. The Russians were borne down or fled, and the 77th cleared the two formidable pits from which so much approaching damage to our new battery apprehended. The British engineers and sappers were in an instant at work, demolishing, creating, altering, adjusting, in every way which the pits could be turned to the account of the captors. A gabionade was run up with amazing celerity, such as even the Russians could not equal; the bags and baskets were faced towards the enemy, so as to make the pits defensible against them by their own sapper labours. The trench of the nearest rifle-pits was sufficiently near to the advanced sap of the British to inspire the hope that our sappers, by hard work, could connect them before morning. The Russians determined that the conquest achieved should not be followed with impunity, and accordingly a terrible fire of shot and shell, grape and canister, was showered upon the pits. The English still looked on, sheltering themselves as best they could under so determined an attack of artillery: no peril, however, deterred the brave sappers from exposing themselves wherever the execution of the work required. The British, perceiving that the stroke of the English went on despite their cannon, crowded their parapets with musketeers, while their sharpshooters filled the broken ground behind with abattis; but the night was too dark to aim, and the bullets generally flew over-head, or were flattened against the rocks. The Russian officers urged their soldiery forward, never since the battle of Inkerman could Russian soldiers be induced to advance with the bayonet against the English, with zeal or courage. They would not charge the pits, nor make any hand-to-hand attempt to reduce them, however great the numbers which the officers were willing to launch against the intrepid little band. The officers

advanced again and again, waving their swords, but there were none disposed to follow. The dashing manner in which the pits were carried seemed to damp the courage and hope of the enemy in any attempt at recapture by close combat. The conquerors neglected the lesser pit, and mustered their strength in the larger. It was telegraphed to head-quarters that the fire of artillery under which the men worked was tremendous; the reply of General Jones was—"Keep the pit at all hazards." They did keep it, and worked on with prodigious strength and rapidity, as if every man dug and worked for his life, and that the successful issue of the siege depended upon his pick or mattock. At last it became obvious to the Russian general of the night that he too must do something "at all hazards." A strong column of men were gathered together and harangued upon the glory of "dying like martyrs for their holy religion," and they were led against the pits, encouraged in every way by the noble and dauntless bearing of their officers. The English received them, using all the advantages conferred by the labours they had bestowed upon the position; a close and deadly fire was directed into the mass of approaching men, every shot of which seemed to tell as if fired into a woolpack. The Russians hesitated, but were pressed on by fresh troops behind, to storm the pits; they were received by the bayonets of the 77th, and all that attempted to enter the ambuscade were pierced by these formidable weapons. Still numbers came thickly on; but the engineers and sappers seizing muskets and bayonets, instead of their own implements, charged the assailing enemy with desperate determination. The fight was fierce, and the cries of the Russians, as they received their death thrusts, rose wildly through the blustering night. Beaten back from the pits, they were thrown into confusion in the darkness; and while yet their officers, with laudable zeal, sought to reorganise and rally them, the 77th leaped out from their ambuscades, poured a sure volley into the undecided mass, charged them with the bayonet, and drove them in full flight up to their very batteries. A chance shot struck a very young officer, Mr. Audley Lempière, entering his lungs. This youth was a favourite in the regiment. He called to Colonel Egerton as he fell, who took him up and tenderly carried him to the trench, where he died in his arms. This done, Colonel Egerton, turning to his men, began to speak to them with words of encouragement, when a rifle-ball struck him upon the upper lip, passed through the neck, dividing the vertebrae, and he fell dead. He was a magnificent officer. Mr. Woods tastefully and philosophically wrote of him:—"The death of Colonel Egerton was most

deeply and sincerely lamented, not alone by the light division, but by all who had either the honour of his acquaintance, or who knew the high and well-deserved reputation which he enjoyed in the service. He was a skilful soldier, an accomplished scholar, and with the bravery of an English officer united those warm and gentle feelings which, *except in the highest natures, so rarely survive long practical acquaintance with the world.*" This encomium is true; he was a patriot, a hero, and a gentle, loving man. The words of Burns might be justly applied to him:—

"My patriot falls; but shall he be unsung,  
While empty greatness saves a worthless name?  
No; ev'ry muse shall join her tuneful tongue,  
And future ages hear his growing fame."

Colonel Egerton and Mr. Lemprière were not the only sacrifices to the duty of that night among deserving officers, Lieutenant Baynes, of the engineers, was also mortally wounded.

The pits were bravely held, and the British not only made good their conquest, but succeeded in connecting the trench with the advanced sap, and poured a biting fire of musketry and rifles into the flank of the nearest rifle-pits, which lay beyond the circuit of their works.

The sailors' brigade still suffered; 135 men were killed and wounded from the 9th to the 20th. Up to this date the English artillery had only five men killed, and thrice the number seriously wounded; but many were hit who made no complaint, and almost all suffered from contusions and fatigue. The engineers and sappers and miners lost very few; but, like the artillery, contusions, which were not complained of, almost disabled many, and all were borne down by relentless labour—one man doing the work which properly belonged to three.

The French still pushed on their works, and their loss was severe; every night 100 men were put *hors de combat*. The French engineers openly expressed their anxiety concerning this terrible drain upon the French army. Reports were spread in the French lines of various kinds, some encouraging and others the reverse, which kept the minds of the French troops in agitation. It was generally believed that the Russians were suffering so much from the French artillery, that they were determined upon a grand sortie, which would decide the siege one way or the other. The Baron Bazancourt describes the perturbed feeling of the French army thus—"If among certain parties impatience was great, apprehensions were not less so." The feelings of the commanders-in-chief can hardly be gathered from their despatches. Lord Raglan, writing home on the 21st, referred to the reconnaissance of Omar Pasha and the battle for the rifle-pits, but was silent as to general affairs, and the impatience and dissatisfaction which prevailed among the soldiery:—

*Before Sebastopol, April 21, 1855.*

MY LORD,—Omar Pasha having considered it expedient to make a reconnaissance in front of Balaklava with the view to ascertain what force the enemy had at the Tchernaya, he proceeded at daylight on the instant, by the extreme right of Sir Colin Campbell's position, towards Kamara, with about twelve battalions of Turkish infantry, having in the plain on its left a body of French cavalry and a battery of horse artillery under General Forey, and two squadrons of heavy cavalry and two squadrons of the 10th Hussars, the whole of which regiment have, I am happy to say, arrived, half a troop of horse artillery, under Colonel Parib, and detachments of French and English troops having been placed at his highness's disposal by General Canrobert and myself. The enemy showed only a few Cossacks on this side of the river, who remained on a height overlooking Chagouria till driven from it by a few discharges of rockets by the French artillery, and on the other behind the village, a small force with four guns only visible. Omar Pasha did not think it desirable to cross the river, but withdrew, after he had satisfied himself that the enemy was not in strength, and the troops returned to their camps, the infantry covered by cavalry and artillery. The appearance of the Turkish army was very satisfactory.

The rifle-pits, in front of the approach from the advance of our trenches on the extreme right, were attacked and carried by assault the night before last in the most gallant manner, by a detachment of the 77th regiment, under Colonel Egerton, forming part of the additional force sent to reinforce the guard of the trenches in the evening. The resistance of the enemy, although obstinate, was speedily overcome by the impetuosity of our troops, the pit, which it was desirable to retain, was, with the loss of a moment, connected with our approach, thereby furnished protection to the working party to pursue its labours without interruption for a considerable time. At the interval, however, of about three hours, the enemy brought a heavy fire of artillery and musketry upon the party in advance of the pit, into which they retired, and which they effectually defended and maintained; but this brilliant achievement was not accomplished without considerable sacrifice of life, and it is painful to me to have to announce to your lordship the death of Colonel Egerton, of the 77th, who was unfortunately killed when forming troops for the support of the trenches on the extreme advance, and of that of Captain Lemprière, of the same regiment, who fell in the first attack in which also Colonel Egerton received a contusion which only incapacitated him for duty for a few minutes; five officers were wounded, three of them dangerously so. Colonel Egerton was an officer of superior merit, conducted all his duties, whether in the camp or in the field, in a manner highly to his own honour, and greatly to the advantage of the public; and her majesty's service could not have sustained a more severe loss, and it is felt in this army and in the 77th where he was so beloved, and is deeply lamented. Captain Lemprière was a very young and most promising officer. Captain Osburn, whose leg has since been amputated, and Lieutenant Baynes, are both most valuable officers of engineers, and Captain King, of the same corps, who was wounded the night before. Brigadier-general Lockyer, who was general officer of the trenches in the right attack, Lieutenant-colonel Mundy, of the 33rd (who succeeded to the command of the troops engaged in the operation on the death of Colonel Egerton), and Captain Gwilt, of the 34th, deserve to be most favourably mentioned, and Lieutenant-colonel Tylden, the officer of engineers in command of the right attack, distinguished himself, as he has on many previous occasions, in a remarkable manner. The conduct of the troops was admirable.

In my despatch of the 17th I informed your lordship that a magazine had exploded in one of our batteries, but I omitted to state that Captain Dixon, of the Artillery, availed himself of that opportunity to evince the noble judgment and most determined gallantry, by instantly opening a gun upon the enemy, notwithstanding the confusion which the bursting of the shell had occasioned. The number of men who had suffered from it, and the great damage the battery had sustained.

I have the satisfaction to report to your lordship

of the 48th and Royal Regiments from Corfu, in S. *Leopard and Sidon*.

I have omitted to mention in the body of this letter, two squadrons of Turkish cavalry were also in the

I have, &c.,

Lord Panmure, &c.

RAGLAN.

In the early morning of the 21st, the English resolved to storm a formidable rifle-pit, and to make their right attack. The troops told off for this enterprise were the 41st (Welsh) Regiment, and a strong party of engineers and sappers. They ran at the rifle-pits as fast as they could run, at the same time preserving order, and at once dashed into them, the Russians running away at the first touch of the bayonet. No effort was made by the fugitives to support their supports to recapture it; but the English opened such a fire at dawn upon the rifle-pit, that in a few minutes fifteen men of the 41st who held it fell under the cannonade. It was as obvious that the guns of the Redan so commanded the spot as to make the pit untenable: the men of the 41st, however, did not abandon it to the enemy, but entirely destroyed the rifle-pit, and filled it up with earth, leveling it down. This was effected so completely, and with such coolness under a heavy fire, as must have shown the foe the impossibility of again establishing himself there—it could no longer be occupied as a “concealment.” The French established themselves securely upon the flanks of the Flagstaff batteries.

These nightly combats were harassing to both armies engaged, and many a deed of valour was performed which has never been recorded, much less rewarded as it deserved. Mr. Russell says that all descriptions of such contests must be purely imaginative, as each detachment and scattered fragments of a detachment, not perceiving in the darkness how others are engaged, considers the peril as endured, and the chief feats as performed, by themselves. We cannot do the justice of this remark: the roll of the batteries around them would sufficiently attest that others also were deeply engaged, and performing their parts. Nor are these tasks perceived at random: night attacks are conducted by a few men generally, on single points, or on points connected upon ground pretty well known at least in its general character; and never difficult during the progress of the war, it may be for any one to estimate what can be accomplished out of his own section of operations, the historian who compares the present reports may often, without much fault, obtain a connected view of the whole. The imagination is as likely to exaggerate the difficulties, and underrate what is performed at every spot, and the value of its relation to general operations, as it is to claim any special glory for what is accomplished there.

Frequently great services have been rendered by even intelligent officers in night combats, who were astonished afterwards to find that they had been engaged in anything of such serious importance.

On the morning of the 21st the Cossacks and the Turkish outposts skirmished in the plain of the Tchernaya, but the Cossacks were much inferior in spirit to the irregular cavalry of our ally.

By the 25th the bombardment was nearly suspended, and the despondency and disappointment of the English artillerymen were extreme, while our infantry openly expressed their impatience, and desired to be led against the intrenchments of the foe. On the 24th, another reconnaissance was made by the Turkish infantry and the English cavalry and horse artillery, a brigade from Bosquet's corps being held in support. Both French and English extended their saps. The English guns, although only firing thirty rounds per day, still did considerable execution. The French cannonade was conducted with more energy, as our ally had plenty of men to relieve the gunners. The Russian army in the field was proved by the reconnaissances to be very small. Our enemy always keeping in view the importance of frequent relief to the gunners and workmen, preserved a sufficient garrison; the sharpshooters in the ambuscades were the hardest worked, and most useful portion of the Russian army. This force grew up, like the earthworks, in the presence of the besiegers; the Muscovite riflemen at the beginning of the siege were far inferior to the French, and still more so in comparison with the English, but by the date of which we write they were in every respect equal to either, except in courage. On the 24th, Lord Raglan sent home a despatch, in which, after naming the men who captured and destroyed the rifle-pit, on the evening of the 21st, he expressed his apprehension of greater loss of life in the future conduct of the siege.

*Before Sebastopol, April 24.*

MY LORD,—Nothing material has occurred since I made my report to your lordship on the 21st inst. The Russian rifle-pit, immediately in front of that which was taken on the night of the 19th, was destroyed by a party of volunteers on the morning of the 21st inst. These were headed by Lieut. and Adjutant Walker, of the 30th regiment, who is stated to be an excellent officer, and to have conducted himself on the occasion in the most spirited manner. The pit was found to be empty, and being useless was immediately levelled and filled in. The enemy did not interrupt the work.

I enclose the list of casualties, which, I regret to say, is heavy. The nearer we approach the place the more loss is to be apprehended. Hitherto it has been less than might have been expected.

I have, &c.,

The Lord Panmure, &c.

RAGLAN.

The correspondent of the *Smyrna Impartial*, already quoted, furnished the most correct summary of the intervening events given to the public:—

*Before Sebastopol, April 21 to 24.*

"At the centre and the left the fire of the allies has considerably slackened, as it is not judged desirable to exhaust too quickly the store of ammunition, which so many months were required to accumulate. But the question is, whether the enemy will not take advantage of this nearly total suspension of our fire to repair the ravages made in his fortifications and to remount his batteries?"

"*Sunday, April 22.*—The fire of musketry was very warm on the left attack the whole of last night, and cannon-shots boomed in quick succession. We have sprung several mines in the cemetery, between the Central Bastion and that of the Quarantine, in order to bring our new works nearer the crenellated wall. Unfortunately these mines did not produce their effect on the side intended; the explosion was rather towards us than towards the enemy, and the fragments which were set flying killed and wounded several of our own men. We set to work immediately in the craters, notwithstanding the fire of rifles and grape. The works made good progress last night. We shall soon have there, too, a fourth complete parallel at less than 150 metres from the crenellated wall. In the angle of that wall and the left flank of the Central Bastion there is at present an open breach, that is computed to be about 150 metres broad. All the adjoining houses are dismantled and riddled by our shot.

"*Monday, April 23.*—The night has passed at the trenches with the greatest calm. Guns have been fired at rare and distant intervals. All is equally quiet this morning. The enemy does not appear to be more desirous than ourselves of continuing the fire. A spectator might say that both sides were in an attitude of expectation. And yet no one here thinks peace at all likely. But if the Russians do not fire a great deal, they work very hard. I have just paid a flying visit to the left attack, and seen nearly the whole of the English one; I was amazed at the rapidity with which the enemy has repaired the injuries sustained by his defensive works. The huge breach, for instance, that I had seen with my own eyes in the angle of the crenellated wall near the Central Bastion, hardly exists any longer; sacks filled with earth and piled on each other rise like buttresses to within a third of the regular wall in height, and thus stop the gap.

"The land fortifications which terminate the defences of the place on the Quarantine side, the Quarantine Bastion itself, the Central and Flagstaff Bastions, the faces of which, together with the parapets and embrasures, seemed one mass of ruins, and the batteries of which were silenced, are now in a state for re-opening their fire. At first sight, their outside appearance is much the same as it has been for some days

past, but when we examine them with the we discover that, amid the dismantled or terred terraces, the enemy has made openings for embrasures. It is just the same the batteries of the barracks and the arsenal front of the English attack.

"Fresh reinforcements reach the Russian every day. We see from the heights north of the town their tents, which are pitched in vast squares. In the Inkerman Wood at the mouth of the gorge in the mountain of Vofouska, near Balaklava, we can see the glass, large encampments which were there a fortnight ago. The enemy is evidently collecting his forces, and means to try if he cannot keep the allies shut up in the triangle of seven or eight square leagues we occupy in the Crimea. Perhaps it is with the object of compelling him to draw off some of his forces from our rear, that Omar Pasha has just taken his forces to Eupatoria. That appears to be more probable than the necessity of so long a return for the defence of that small place still held by nearly 25,000 men, and sufficiently fortified now to be secure against any sudden assault whatever.

"This afternoon, between three and four o'clock, the enemy hoisted a white flag on the Constantinian, at the mouth of the harbour. The flag remained there nearly twenty-five minutes. During this time the batteries of the place did not suspend their fire, and, of course, the enemy answered it. I don't know what is meant by this, could not even guess, for no flag was flying from the staff a little to the left of the Quarantine Bastion, where the flag of truce is generally run up.

"*Tuesday, April 24.*—All night long there has been a very hot fire of musketry, and a heavy cannonade going on, chiefly on the left attack. There has probably been some engagement between our troops and those of the enemy, either for dislodging the ambuscade for defending the workmen attacked by the Russians in their works, which are rapidly approaching completion, especially those facing the salient of the Flagstaff Bastion. In the evening, *standi* gained a week ago, we are actually constructing a formidable breaching battery, at a distance of only sixty metres from the bastion. The fortifications were of masonry, the result of such a distance would be infallible, but it will be the effect of breaching earthen terraces.

"P.S.—I have this instant received private information of what occurred last night in the Flagstaff Bastion. The Russians sprung a mine at 11 p.m., for the purpose of getting into the craters of the ground, where I told you we are constructing a breaching battery. The mine produced no effect. A second one, which exploded at midnight, was slightly more successful, but without killing many of our

t a third mine, fired at three o'clock this morning, did us a great deal of harm. Still the enemy was not able to penetrate our works, owing to the bayonets of our intrepid soldiers impenetrable rampart."

In consequence of the mining success recorded in the quotation from the correspondent of the Smyrna Journal, the Russians were enabled to dig rifle-pits close to the new French works, and to offer from them formidable obstructions to further progress. The French had 10 men killed and wounded in their efforts to take these pits, of which the Russians continued to hold possession; our allies being less fortunate in this description of combat with the enemy than in any other, whereas the British seemed to have a peculiar faculty for turning the Russians out of their ambuscades with little loss. On the 25th, the second battalion of the 1st Royal Scots joined the second division, which were reviewed by General Pennefather, and presented an appearance of which any general might be proud. Their discipline was perfect, and the air of hardihood, and the soldierly bearing by which they were characterised, gave satisfaction to all who took part in the inspection. The French commander-in-chief held 10 inspections on a large scale; one, of the corps commanded by Bosquet, the other, of that commanded by Pelissier. The whole of each corps d'armée, except the men required in the batteries and on trench-guard, turned out and marched past the general. The review of Bosquet's corps took place on the ridge of the plateau overlooking the valley of Inkerman. The Russians crowded the Inkerman heights, from which they could see the flashing bayonets, the glittering eagles, and the ponderous artillery pass along in grand and martial procession. The next day the other corps was reviewed, and similar ceremonies were gone through. The general was received in silence, the colonels raised a cheer of "*Vive l'empereur!*" as each battalion passed, which was caught up by the men; but it was quite evident that General Roberts had lost the confidence of the army, on his inability to deal with the grave circumstances in which the failure of the bombardment, now apparent to all, had placed the corps: even the officers, whom he called in groups from several battalions and addressed, listened in silence to his words. The difficulty of the situation was greatly increased by the total inability of the English to maintain the cannonade, their artillerymen not being a third the number sufficient for the undertaking, and their supplies of ammunition being scanty and uncertain.

The home management told fearfully upon the second bombardment at its close, as it did on its progress. Lest our readers should

suppose that we dwell on this theme beyond its importance, we shall authenticate our remarks by a quotation from one whose truthfulness, patriotism, and ability none question. Mr. Russell, under date of the last day of April, thus writes in his journal:—"Meantime the siege ought to be going on, and as far as our cannon and mortars are concerned, it is suspended. What is the principal reason? Simply because Woolwich is not next door to us, and shells and fuses are not forthcoming. Why some attempt has not been made to bridge over the seas between us and our arsenals, is not for me to say. The fact is, however, plain. There are no fuses for such shells as we have, and we have plenty of fuses for shells which we have not. There are lots of 13-inch shells and no fuses for them, and there are lots of 10-inch fuses and no shells for them. Where are the shells that belonged to the fuses, and where are the fuses that belonged to the shells. Has the Purveyor got hold of them, or the Auditor-general, or the Chairman of the Bank of England? Who sent them out, or who kept them back? Who are the traitors, or the knaves, or the fools? And if they are all wise men who manage these things, how is it that we undertake to reduce, by means of a bombardment, the strongest place that was ever attacked, and have no means of carrying on that bombardment after a few days' firing? Perhaps it is quite right that this should be the case, but neither artillerymen, engineers, nor soldiers think so out here. It may be only just to remark, that it is only in shells of a particular kind, and in fuses of a certain description, that we are short, but that very kind of shell, and that very sort of fusee, are both most useful in the siege. We have railways and steamers, a secure haven, a transport corps, admirable carts, horses, mules, ponies, buffaloes, camels, oxen, drivers of all kinds of beasts of burden, collected from all parts of the habitable globe within three thousand miles of us, and yet the supply of *matériel* has run out, and our military Oliver Twists are asking for more, to the great astonishment, no doubt, of our overseers at home. The supply of ammunition which our authorities relied upon from the railway has been far exceeded, and it has not only carried up more than the estimated quantity of shot and shell, &c., but a very great amount of stores and cargo of all kind, in addition, moreover, to throwing obligations broadcast all over the army, from the generosity, kindness, and zeal of Mr. Beatty, to promote the comfort of every officer who had any little impediments to be sent to the front. Up to the week ending the 28th of April, the average amount of tonnage sent up from Balaklava to the terminus was 240 tons per diem; and on that day 180 tons of ammunition alone were forwarded by rail towards the batteries, and

deposited at the terminus. The warm clothing (furs, &c.) is being collected and packed up, to be sent to Constantinople to be cleaned, &c., and made fit for re-issue. A large number of sheepskin coats have been destroyed, which, it is believed, had competent persons been consulted, might have been saved."

Such was the position of the besiegers: the bombardment a failure, the armies discontented, and, unfortunately—worse than all, if possible, although not then known in Europe—the two chiefs at variance. Of the two, Lord Raglan was the more competent to direct any great enterprise. Canrobert was capable of commanding either a small or large body of men in action better than the English chief, having had much experience in handling large bodies of men; the English general had no experience in the command of any bodies of men great or small, except what he had gathered after the landing at Gallipoli. But Lord Raglan was a man of superior mind and education, and much better fitted, if in health, and old age had not deadened his energies, for the transaction of a large amount of public business. Canrobert could execute better than Lord Raglan—the latter could take a far more comprehensive view than the former; Canrobert had more of what the English call "pluck" in actual battle—Lord Raglan's courage was calm, passive, and negligent of peril. As Sir Walter Scott said of Louis the XI. of France—"he neither sought danger nor shunned it." Lord Raglan would not move from his proper post, although a battery was especially directing its fire upon it—Canrobert galloped forward to the place where his troops seemed most exposed, and by his presence inspired enthusiasm. The two generals were differently constituted, were mutually courteous, but never really agreed. Canrobert was also hampered by communications from Marshal Vaillant, while Lord Raglan was left to his own judgment and responsibility, where the *politics* of the campaign did not require instructions from his government. At the end of April their differences of opinion became more active. Lord Raglan pressed upon Canrobert the expediency of an assault before the enemy could recover from the exhaustion and dilapidation experienced in the cannonade, and before reinforcements arrived to him. Certainly the Russian army in the field was then smaller than it had previously been, or was permitted during the war to become; nor was the garrison so strong as to render an assault from such numerous forces hopeless. So Lord Raglan thought, and urged the assault; various positions bearing upon the ultimate conquest might in the English general's opinion be carried, even if the body of the place could not be immediately stormed. The British chief seemed to have adopted at last the views previously pressed upon

his attention by Lieutenant-general Burgoyne. Canrobert opposed all idea of an assault, wished to detach a force to act in the field; Lord Raglan was unwilling to withdraw from before Sebastopol a large body of men, but urged Canrobert to unite with him in detaching a sea a moderate, but efficient force, with fleets to Kertch and Yenikale, so as to cut the Russian communications between Asia and the Crimea. His lordship had information that the Russians were about to sink ships across the straits of Kertch, which he deemed possible, although the straits were watched by a small British force. To these most reasonable and expedient demands Canrobert offered confused, puzzled, and murmuring resistance; the real reasons with him were, that he received despatches from Paris, announcing the emperor's intention to take the reserves at Marask, Turkey, and the Imperial Guard, with other troops then under General Canrobert's orders, such regiments as he might bring from France, and placing himself at their head, act in the field, whether in the Crimea, or from the Danube, or where else, was not then determined in imperial councils. These instructions fettered Canrobert's hands, and swayed his judgment. Bazancourt awkwardly endeavoured to apologise for these absurd orders from home, and the consequent indecision of the French chief in the following manner:—"Certainly there is room for great varieties of plan. The storming of Sebastopol would be terrible, and might occasion enormous loss, without any substantial result. The sanguinary struggles produced little impression in Russia,—but it was otherwise in France and England. The compulsory indecision of the generals-in-chief attributable to the singular circumstances in which they were placed. Beside their base operations, a large fortified place, within which the hostile army lies motionless; at Vienna a congress which is on the point of pronouncing for peace or war; and, finally, at Constantinople, an army of reserve, bound to act at a certain epoch, which was not positively fixed;—an army, nevertheless, the presence of which is essential to the obtaining of any important result."

At last Canrobert yielded to Lord Raglan's both points; he agreed to an assault, and to detach, in the meantime, a force with the intention to operate in the Sea of Azoff, in the hope of cutting off the supplies in that quarter, to prevent their virtually starving Sebastopol; for it was evident that as long as they could find gunpowder, and food for the men, Sebastopol would likely to be reduced by such force of artillery as the allies had at command. Canrobert was influenced in yielding the first matter of defence by intelligence from Paris that 40,000 men of the whole force at Marask, and other to

ould speedily arrive and re-inforce his army; but he wanted his ships to bring the troops from the encampment, and therefore wished to postpone the expedition to Kertch. Lord Raglan urged the latter upon him, while the reinforcements were coming, as his information convinced him, that if an expedition to Kertch were not undertaken very soon, the time would pass for any hope of success in that direction. In this his lordship was correct, for the Russians became alive to their danger, and had already made plans of gigantic dimensions to strengthen their interests there. As to the assault, it was determined to await the arrival of the troops from the neighbourhood of Constantinople, and that in the meantime the expedition should sail for Kertch. Amidst these vacillations a new element of complication arose from intelligence that the Russians were concentrating a large force at Eupatoria, and Omar Pasha and his Turks were ordered back thither with all speed, pending the arrival of the reinforcements from Constantinople and Marseilles the more necessary. The new French army—for such was the magnitude of the reserves that they might be said to constitute a new army—was to arrive early in May: previous to this information the assault was determined between the two generals to take place before the end of April:—

“The works of the allies have engaged them with the enemy to such a degree,” wrote General Canrobert, under date of the 24th of April, “that the assault will be made in four or five days, unless retarded by some of those unforeseen events which are incidental to a state of war. We should have wished to retard this operation until the arrival in the Crimea of the army of reserve; but we are so near to the Russians, that there would be danger in waiting; especially as the hostile army daily receives reinforcements. The general officers of the special arms of the service of both armies, and the chiefs of our two *corps d’armée*, have been unanimous in yielding to the cries of our soldiers (French and English), demanding the assault. Lord Raglan strongly shares in their

opinion. I thought it my duty to give my adhesion also.”

General Pelissier had already reconnoitred all the enemy’s positions, and the site suitable for the assaulting columns to occupy preparatory to the great event. 1st. In front of the great breach in the crenellated wall (already two-thirds filled up with sand-bags and earth); 2nd. Before the Central Bastion; 3rd. In front of the Flagstaff Battery. In the rear a convenient position was to be occupied by immense reserves; on the right, the Mamelon and the White Tower, or rather the works in front of it, were to be assaulted, and when carried the English were to assail the Great Redan; on the left, the French were to march in three columns against the Flagstaff Battery, the Central Bastion, and the Quarantine. After the first line of works were forced, these troops were to turn the second, and “penetrate into the interior by the gorge, and effect a solid lodgment there.”

While the council of generals sat to discuss the final arrangements for the execution of this plan, Admiral Bruat sent to Canrobert a despatch from the French minister of marine, announcing that orders had been given for the army of reserve to proceed to the Crimea. This determined the council to wait: they waited, and nothing was done in the result of the second bombardment. The minister of marine also announced to Admiral Bruat that the emperor had decided to embark for the Crimea, and to take the command of a separate *corps d’armée*, and act externally—the plan to which Lord Raglan was most determinedly opposed, while the strength of Sebastopol was as yet undiminished. But along the coasts of the Sea of Azoff, and at the Straits of Kertch, his lordship, and both the British and French admirals, maintained that great injuries could be inflicted upon the enemy. The soundness of this opinion was afterwards happily confirmed. Thus ended the second bombardment of Sebastopol: the siege still went on with tedious progress, but murderous conflict, and evoking great events which other chapters shall record.

## CHAPTER LXXXI.

### THE VIENNA CONFERENCE.

“I do the wrong, and first begin to brawl.  
The secret mischiefs that I set on foot,  
I lay unto the grievous charge of others.”—SHAKSPEARE.

THE opening of the Vienna conference was regarded with profound interest by all Europe. Many believed that Russia merely entered into the negotiations to gain time, and that Austria—with which power the proposal to hold the conference originated—was in connivance with Russia. It was a more general

belief that the great German power was desirous, without any connivance with the government of the czar, to gain time for herself, and to find some pretext for deferring her fulfilment of her engagements to the Western powers, resulting from the treaty of the 2nd of December, 1854. Whatever her

motives in proposing a conference, all the governments concerned acceded to it, and appointed plenipotentiaries, who assembled in Vienna, and opened the conference on the 15th of March. Count Buol, the Austrian minister, was unanimously placed in the presidential chair. The count opened the conference by a speech, in which he exhorted his fellow plenipotentiaries to a spirit of mutual conciliation and a desire for peace. This speech was remarkable for the declaration that "the Emperor of Austria had made up his mind as to the indispensable conditions of peace, and that nothing should prevent him—not even the most serious consequences—from fulfilling his engagements to his allies." These conditions were the four points, so well understood by politicians all over Europe. The Russian envoy expressed his adherence to the *principle* of these four points, and was ready to adopt them as a point of departure for the negotiations. The representatives of France and England expressed their instructions to be, not to discuss the principles of the four points—they were to be regarded as beyond discussion; but only the application of those principles, which it was hoped that conference would amicably determine. The order the discussion was to take was thus arranged:—

- I. The Danubian principalities.
- II. The navigation of the Danube.
- III. The limitation of Russian power in the Black Sea.
- IV. The state of the Christian subjects of the Porte.

The discussion of the first of these subjects was at once entered upon, and Russia expressed her concurrence with the demands of the allies. On the second point she not only conceded all that the allies sought, but declared that she had never asserted any right to overrule or interrupt the navigation of the Danube. Baron de Prokesch-Osten, one of the Austrian representatives, adroitly observed that while it was not for him to call in question the good intentions of Russia, the results upon the Danube had been practically at variance with her professions. It was agreed upon that the Danube should be free—that a commission of the great powers should formally open, and also take measures for the permanent protection of the free navigation of that river. Russia was not to establish her quarantine at the Sulina mouth, and no fortifications were to be erected between the channels named Sulina and St. George.

Lord John Russell then declared that his government reserved to itself the right of making such special conditions over and above the four guarantees as the general interests of Europe might call for, and as would be most effectual in preventing the recurrence of complications. The Earl of Westmoreland ex-

pressed concurrence in the views offered by Lord John Russell. The Turkish envoys repeated these declarations. The Russian representatives took exception to the declaration made—that other demands beyond the four points might be made, but frankly admitted that the fortune of war might entitle them to make such demands. The Austrian representatives not only supported those of Russia but rather went beyond them in desiring that the four points should strictly limit the negotiations. The plenipotentiaries present were—

For AUSTRIA .....	Count Buol-Schauenstein, and Baron de Prokesch-Osten.
„ FRANCE .....	Baron de Bourqueney.
„ GREAT BRITAIN ..	Lord John Russell, and the Earl of Westmoreland.
„ RUSSIA .....	Prince Gortschakoff, and Count Tietoff.
„ TURKEY .....	Aarif Effendi.

The first point was "developed" and embodied in the first protocol; but as the Vienna conference did not secure peace, it is unnecessary to encumber our pages with details which were not carried into effect. The second sitting of the conference was held on the 17th of March, when all the plenipotentiaries were present. Both at the opening of the first and second sittings the Russian ministers urged upon the conference the admissibility of representatives from Prussia: this the other powers resisted. The Russian representatives insisted upon introducing Serbia to the guarantee of the powers, for the security of its then present immunities. It will interest our readers to know what were the peculiar rights which the Servians claimed, according to the enclosure annexed to protocol No. 2. They were as follows:—

- Freedom of worship.
- Choice of the chiefs of the country.
- The independence of its internal administration.
- The consolidation of districts detached from Servia.
- The consolidation of different imposts into one.
- The giving up to the Servians the management of property belonging to Mussulmen on condition of paying the revenue, together with the tribute.
- Freedom of commerce.
- Permission to Servian merchants to travel in the Ottoman states with their own passports.
- The establishment of hospitals, schools, and printing presses. And, finally—
- The prohibition to Mussulmans, other than those belonging to the garrison, to establish themselves in Servia.

On the 19th the representatives again assembled. The Turkish plenipotentiary showed a disposition to delay the work, as it regarded the protection of the principalities, on the ground that his master, the sultan, was engaged in devising a satisfactory plan for regulating the

rests. The conference insisted upon proceeding with the task which they had commenced.

On the 21st the fourth sitting was held, when the second point came under consideration. The differences between the motives and objects of the various powers at once became obvious. France and England were agreed; Turkey was reserved, and did not render to the Western powers even so much support as Austria rendered, which latter power betrayed, nevertheless, a jealousy of all the others; the Russian plenipotentiaries made no real concession, and gave indication which did not appear to awaken the suspicion of the other plenipotentiaries, that she was not sincere in taking a part in these negotiations.

The sixth sitting was held on the 23rd of March. The discussion on the second point continued; all the four came to an agreement, the representatives of Russia raised quibbles and objections at every step, wholly inconsistent with the principle agreed upon.

On the 26th of March the seventh sitting was held, and the third point introduced for discussion. The plenipotentiaries were excessively polite, and abounded in assurances of convictions each felt in the sincerity and intentions of the other. This was carried to an extent which betrayed either some secretgivings of good faith somewhere, or the extraordinary credulity of the representatives of the allies. The representatives of Turkey and Russia sought delay; those of the other powers were for proceeding with the objects of the conference.

The eighth sitting was on the 29th of March.

The Turkish representative opened the business by repeating the observations he had already expressed, and desiring delay until he had joined by another representative of the empire. The tone of the Turkish plenipotentiary was calculated to provoke hesitation on the part of Russia. The representatives of the Western powers stated that instructions from their governments compelled them to hold by the order of discussion which had been agreed upon, and they therefore declined compliance with the wish of the Russian plenipotentiary to discuss the fourth point, until the third was arranged. Austria proposed that, meanwhile, preliminary information should be obtained and discussed in reference to the fourth point. The compliant representatives of France and England were willing so to engage themselves if their governments permitted.

On the 2nd of April the conference met for the ninth time. The ministers of Great Britain and France declined going into the fourth point until the third was adjusted; the ministers of Austria and Russia united in urging the immediate discussion of the fourth topic, until

tidings should arrive from St. Petersburg giving the Russian ministers more precise instructions concerning the third subject in the order of negotiation. The representatives of the Western governments were firm. The Turkish minister did not appear prepared to discuss anything, whatever its place in the sequence of diplomatic arrangement. The conference was adjourned to the 9th of April. At that sitting the ministers of foreign affairs for France and Turkey were present, but no business could be transacted, as the Russian plenipotentiaries had not received any answer to their message to St. Petersburg.

On the 17th of February the sittings were resumed, and the answer from the czar had arrived, declining to take the initiative in proposing any limitation of power in the Black Sea. In answer to questions from the French foreign minister, the Russian ministers declared that they would not consent to any diminution of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea, and intimated that Russia was not in the condition of a power subjected to disaster, and upon whom, therefore, severe terms could be imposed. The second bombardment of Sebastopol was by this time known to be a failure, and no doubt affected the terms which Russia was willing to accept. The plenipotentiaries of the allies proposed adjournment, to agree upon terms to be proposed to Russia, as the latter, after eighteen days' delay, was not prepared to offer any. To this the czar's ministers offered pertinacious obstruction, and the sitting broke up without coming to any definite conclusion on any subject.

On the 29th the sittings were resumed, and the Turkish minister for foreign affairs proposed a resolution as a starting point for the adjustment of the third point. As corrected that proposal was as follows:—

“Art. I. The high contracting parties wishing that the Sublime Porte should participate in the advantages of the system established by public law between the different states of Europe, engage themselves severally to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire, guarantee together the strict observance of this engagement, and will in consequence consider every act or event which should be of a nature to infringe on it, as a question of European interest.

“Art. II. If a misunderstanding should arise between the Porte and one of the contracting parties; these two states, before having recourse to the employment of force, should place the other powers in a position to anticipate this extreme course by pacific means.”

The Russian ministers objected to guarantee the integrity of the Ottoman empire, but expressed their willingness to recognise the right. A warm discussion (caused mainly by an at-

tempt of the Russian plenipotentiaries to disengage the Turkish ministers from especial conference with their allies) then ensued, and the sittings were adjourned to the 21st. On that date the Russian plenipotentiaries formally refused to enter into the proposed engagement concerning the integrity of the Ottoman empire, and proposed that the Dardanelles be open to the war ships of all nations.

On the 26th of April the representatives of all the powers again assembled. They were convened at the request of Russia, who, by trifling modifications of her previous proposals, sought the acquiescence of the conference in her views. The Austrian ministers to a certain extent supported those views, as at least offering suggestions for a basis of peace; the Russian ministers urged the propriety of settling the matter with Turkey alone; the Turkish minister replied that, bound by a common treaty, the allies must act in concert.

The allies finally declined further to discuss terms of peace until Russia should consent to limit her power in the Black Sea, and the conference was broken up. Lord John Russell remained at Vienna for some time, and the French foreign minister for some time longer. During this interval Austria was especially busy in devising some plan, ostensibly to prove her desire for peace, but really to break through her own engagements of the 2nd of December. She proposed to the English and French ministers that Russia should be permitted to restore her fleet in the Black Sea to what it was before the war, but not to increase it; and that the Turks, French, and English should keep up an equal fleet there, and that Russia should be compelled to guarantee the integrity of Turkey. Lord John Russell and M. Drouyn de Lhuys consented to this, and induced the Turkish minister of foreign affairs to do the same; but the English and French cabinets repudiated the agreement, and continued firm in their original demands. Austria then declared that, having devised a fair adjustment, and the allies having refused to adopt it, she was not bound to go to war with Russia, and basely backed out of her most explicit engagements; yet Austria persisted in proposing one modification of these views after another. The last call which the Court of Vienna made upon the Western powers for negotiation was evidently in the spirit of sheer humbug. There was, too, an insolence about it in the presumption it implied of the weakness of France and England. Had not the Vienna politicians regarded the statesmanship of both France and England as credulous, they never could have dared to propose such terms of peace. Austria, while professing to negotiate, sought to betray, and did so in a manner to affront the self-respect of the allies. She had given her con-

sent to the four points, which were to be basis of a treaty of peace, and that the limitation of Russian power in the Black Sea, to secure the independence of Turkey, was one of these points, and that which was regarded as the most essential, and which Russia would be least willing to subscribe; yet the Austro-Russian solution of this problem was the *status quo bellum*. That Russian power should be limited "in the Black Sea was the basis of agreement, and the mode in which Austria proposed to effect that was by—first, the powers signing a declaration of independence of the Ottoman empire; and, secondly, by a treaty that Russia was not to increase her navy beyond the strength it possessed prior to the war. Russia—presuming upon the strength of so vast a navy, and such garrisons and places of supply as Odessa, Sebastopol, the granaries on the shores of the Black Sea—made the insolent demands of Prince Menschikoff, and Austria proposed that she should be restored to exactly the same position, only that her numbers of ships should be limited to what she then possessed. After the allies had driven the Russians out of the provinces, opened the Danube, cleared the Black Sea of Russian cruisers, shut up the Russian fleet in Sebastopol, and there sunk the *Prinzezen*, caused to be sunk the greater part of it, Austria proposed that we should withdraw our fleets and armies, and allow Russia to replace the ships destroyed, rebuild and strengthen all her fortifications, and repossess herself of the whole of the Circassian coast, to carry on a system of butchery, of which for so long the interests of the inhabitants of those realms had been the victims. The czar was to be at least as strong as ever in the Black Sea, except that the Dardanelles should be open to the fleets of the Western powers. The Austrian proposition, so viewed, was a monstrous attempt to act as the ally of Russia, under the guise of alliance with the Western powers. But this treachery had a worse feature than the above review of it brought out. If Russia had been permitted to retain a navy such as she possessed before, she would, under the circumstances, be the real beneficiary of treaty to her possession in the Black Sea of such a force; as it was, Turkey might object to it at any time, and if strong enough to do so alone, or in conjunction with America—say America—she might make its essence a *casus belli*; but if the Austrian proposition had passed, Turkey would have been tied down by treaty to recognise the right of Russia to appear any day at the entrance of the Bosphorus with her whole naval force in those waters. Against this, and the possible use of a power so great that the very existence of the empire would be a temptation to employ it, what guarantee did Austria provide? What

ration of the integrity of the Ottoman nations, and the right of France and England to send their squadrons to that sea! The foolishness of this would excite laughter, the faithlessness and impudence of it did kindle indignation. Why should the sea be at the expense of maintaining navies at distant sea? Of what use had all the declarations of Ottoman independence been, to which, over and over again, Russia had been a party? Of what avail would these declarations be if the Emperor Alexander II. should die, as his father so lately in effect said—"The man is sick; he will die; we must look to the effects; we must be prepared for the consequences—you may take Egypt and Candia the provinces." Should France and England be at war, or England and America, was there to prevent Austria uniting with Russia in a partition, on the ground that the "weak man" was then really very bad—so bad, worse that recovery was impossible; and if he had no legitimate heirs, they, his next of kin and best friends, had the most proper title to his estates? True, they did not violate the integrity of the dominions of the emperor; but as Servians, Bosnians, and Greeks all increased as he decreased, and some revolution somehow was imminent, they could not be troubled further about the integrity of the empire, and thought it best for the advantage of the occupying tenants to enter upon the empire as were near themselves! The proposal of Austria was actually an attempt to strengthen Russia for her meditated aggression against Turkey; for, although the number of Russian ships was restricted to what they had been before the war, Russia might make each vessel more powerful, and increase the comparative strength of her fleet enormously, in spite of any stipulations as to the number of guns or of ships—and the allied fleets could not be kept on the watch. The moral result of this proposal was to confirm in every fair judging man the suspicions of Sir G. H. Seymour, our ambassador to the czar at the breaking out of the war. He, in one of his despatches already referred to elsewhere, thus expressed himself concerning an interview which he had with the czar:—"It can hardly be otherwise but that the sovereign who insists with such pertinacity upon the impending fall of a neighbouring state, must have settled in his own mind that the hour, if not of its dissolution—of its events, for its dissolution—must be at hand. Then, as now, I reflected that the assumption would hardly be ventured upon by anyone, perhaps, general, but at all events by one, understanding existed between Russia and Austria. Supposing my suspicion to be well founded, the emperor's object is to strengthen her majesty's government, in conjunc-

tion with his own cabinet and that of Vienna, in some scheme for the ultimate partition of Turkey, and for the exclusion of France from the arrangement." The suspicions of Sir G. H. Seymour, most reluctantly entertained, were most substantially confirmed. Austria acted in concert with Russia, and appeared as if she only awaited the hour for the open declaration of her alliance. If her covert amity might save Russia from humiliation through the escape of a favourable treaty, she would, in the emergency, have best answered the end of "the intimate understanding." To this she directed all her arts, while she watched the progress of the war with an invidious vigilance. Yet her position was one which exposed her to the chance of being made use of by the allies, while she sought to abuse their confidence; and if any skill of statemanship had remained to the Western powers, they could, without the employment of any immediate force, have made her also obnoxious to the penalty of her baffled and beaten accomplice.

The unsuccessful termination of the Vienna conferences produced a great sensation in England and France, and murmurs were heard in both countries that their negotiators had laboured without results; and both the English and French plenipotentiaries were compelled by public opinion to retire from their offices in the cabinets of their respective countries. Count Nesselrode addressed an artful note to the ministers and agents of Russia in various states, the object of which was to represent the allies as resisting all conciliatory offers on the part of Russia. The tone and representations of the note were so identical with the arguments of Gortschakoff and Titoff at the conference, as to render its publication here unnecessary. The French plenipotentiary and foreign minister resigned his place in the imperial cabinet; the English plenipotentiary and colonial minister retained office until the cause of the French minister's retirement became known; and his conduct contrasted very favourably in English opinion to that of the English minister. Earl Clarendon and Lord Palmerston held back from the British parliament and public a correct knowledge of the facts, until it transpired, through Parisian gossip, that the French, English, and Austrian ministers were willing to accept peace on the condition of Russia and the allies keeping an equal naval armament in the Black Sea. The way in which Austria had hoodwinked the Western negotiators, and played into the hands of Russia, became at last evident; and Lord John Russell was forced to leave the English ministry. There were other results of the conference, and these rapidly developed themselves. It was no doubt a conviction on the part of the Russian government that its duplicity through-

out these negotiations, and its falsehood in accepting as a basis the four points, had deprived it of all moral influence in Europe, that led to the crafty and deceptive circular of Count Nesselrode, already referred to, in which he sought to persuade the world that Russia was—as some of the English peace lecturers frequently represented—a most ill-used nation. If no other result than that of unmasking Russia—even to the Peelites and their supporters—were attendant upon those conferences, it was so much gained for the prospect of a more united public opinion in England. But these negotiations tore the mask from Austria; she was evidently not an ally of the Western powers, but an accomplice of the foe; she dreaded Russia, but she was still more afraid of France. She for a long time had designs upon the Porte herself, which in the early part of 1853, were pretty plainly indicated by her support of the Montenegrin insurrection. At that juncture the demands of the Austrian ambassador at Constantinople were as insolent as those of Prince Menschikoff afterwards were, and excited the astonishment of the Russian ambassador, and even his incipient opposition, until Russia, to prepare the way for similar conduct on her own part, sent directions to her minister to support the Austrian demands. Austria was anxious to keep the provinces; to see Russia restricted without herself incurring expense or danger in the task; and to see the allies exhausted in the prosecution of such a policy. She would openly aid Russia and share the spoil, if she were not afraid of revolt in her Italian provinces, sustained by the armies of France, and the ships and gold of England. She had, on the other hand, no objection to see Russia humbled and beaten back from the Danube behind the Pruth, and even out of Bessarabia, if the allies would not ask her to expend anything, or fire a shot, and would guarantee for her the peace of Italy. Prussia only envied Austria for having something to barter on either side, and wished to see Russia—rather than her German rival, or the Western powers—gain influence and strength. She looked for compensation in the possession of the states of northern Germany for any extension of Russian power in the direction of Constantinople, but knew that Austrian influence was in the way of such a scheme, and, at all events, she preferred being a part of the Russian empire to an appanage of France. When we say Prussia preferred all this, we mean her king, her court, her aristocracy, her army, her government;—her people were too tame to resist what in great numbers they disapproved. The governing party in Prussia would have handed over the country to Russian protection, rather than see Poland resuscitated, or Prussia constitutional. The latter issue of

affairs is alike terrible to the government, clergy of Prussia, and will always lead to sympathise with the power of Russia, the best guarantee for an unrevolutionised Poland and against a revived Poland, which France would consider a far more formidable enemy than even Austria. The burst of indignation in Paris at the trimming of Count Bismarck, the dissatisfaction in the occupied provinces and in Constantinople with the conduct of the Austrian satraps in those provinces, alarmed Austria, and these things, taken together, with the disposition of the British and French to employ Poles and Hungarians in their army, drove Austria into a fever of fear and feverishness which induced her to feign alliance with the allies, and to attempt to re-open the conferences in order to patch up a peace, or determine upon more positive action. But when it was made known as we could not have known her but for the Vienna conferences, and whatever sense of disappointment or chagrin England and France might congratulate themselves upon so much. The effect upon the French emperor and government, and the French empire at large, of the breaking up of the negotiations, was electric. The emperor was known to be determined, however reluctantly, to evoke the nationalities which he oppressed, and, putting himself at their head, to tear the Austrian empire to pieces, if its emperor should prove faithless. France was of opinion that the way to St. Petersburg was through Italy, or over the Rhine, than through the Baltic. The appointment of M. Thiers to proceed to Vienna and Constantinople—to take place soon after the breaking up of the conference—could not fail to teach Austria no disguise would any longer save her from Napoleon. The employment of M. Persigny and the consignment of the foreign portfolio to Count Walewski, were the most significant hints which Buonaparte could give his ally short of the collection of an army of 100,000 men. Persigny was the Buonapartist of the party, and the favourite maxim of his was, “the old boundaries of the empire.” Walewski was a Pole as much as a Frenchman, and rumour ascribed to him the ambition of swaying the sceptre of reconquered Poland. The West, on the whole, was much more alarmed from the fall of the card-house of Vienna diplomatists. It was made clear that Lord Aberdeen was not the only procrastinator, and the mystery was cleared up how the petuous allies bore with the delays and the steadfastness of our government. M. de Lhuys was a good Catholic, and favourable, therefore, to Austria; he abhorred revolutionists and republicans, and would rather

ten by Russia than see Austria crushed with : he would never march over the ruins of "chief Catholic German power" to humiliate the Greek tyranny, however willing to strike directly at the latter; he wished the Greek places in Latin hands, and he desired to see splendid Catholic churches spring up in the cities of the sultan, and the Greek schism abolished; and he wished to have "Catholic Austria" as an ally in all this. Hence one of the games of diplomatic shuttlecock at which the allies had been playing. Nothing could have been more to the taste of Lord Aberdeen; he was, as he said himself, in a false application of the term, "a sort of an astro-Russian." In his opinion these states were the abettors of order—Russia was an elder sister, and Austria an affectionate sister, counselling the others: to reclaim the errant, and in-hand with the expostulant, was his duty. De Lhuys had no Russian sympathy—he hated the Greek schism; his sympathy was Austrian. Lord Aberdeen shared all the sympathies of his French coadjutor for the one, and out any of his disrelish of the other. De Lhuys' despatches were admirable, and his conduct statesmanlike and vigorous in all direct dealings with Russia; but dilatory when transacting any business with Austria likely to offend her, or where her promises were given. He even drove from about him, and from the employment of the emperor, when he dared, every one who had any doubt of Austria, or indifference to her interests. However contrary to the generally received notions of the public about these matters, such, in the end, is a true sketch of the policy of the emperor, and the ministerial revolutions in the government of our ally.

At no period since the peace of 1815 was there discussion of her European relations so intense in England. Although much light had been thrown upon the motives and policy of the various powers, still all was doubt: this was especially the case during the uncertain interval between the return of Lord John Russell from Vienna; and the disclosures which ejected him from the cabinet.

The fortunes of the war flickered, one day was hope of victory or peace, on the next country heard that the enemy had repaired broken earthworks and embrasures, and that categorical refusal of "terms" was given by plenipotentiaries to those of our allies and our own; while the shells scattered the bulwarks of Sebastopol, the heavy balls forced their way through the ramparts erected against them, and a fourth parallel was opened bringing troops nearer to the enemy, and exposing defences to a greater range of fire and a more powerful force of metal. The scaling-ladders, it was alleged, were dispersed, the ropes and

grapplings attached, and the men picked off for the impending assault. Such were the rumours in England at the close of the conference.

It was, however, certain, amidst so much doubt, that Russia once again proved utterly faithless: she accepted the principle of the four points, and entered into negotiations which would not have been conceded but upon such express acceptance of the principle as left misapprehension impossible. It became clear that she never meant to accede to them: upon the third matter in dispute the whole affair actually turned. Whatever possibility there might have been of patching up a peace upon the other terms, the limitation of the Russian power in the Black Sea admitted of no equivocation or explaining away; Russia refused to recognise in that point the very principle upon which she went into the conference. She played a part. She hoped to gain something by negotiating, and she calculated rightly upon the faculty of being duped which the allies had all along displayed. Austria had been evidently cooled down by these conferences; but for them she must have joined her arms to those of the allies, or plainly refused to do so, and thereby have thrown off the mask. That she agreed with the allies there was no doubt, for their demands were more in her interests than their own: that she wished the allies to obtain their demands by negotiations or arms was, therefore, sufficiently obvious; but that her aim was to secure the advantages in common with them, without fighting in common with them, every step of her procedure more and more plainly evinced. Even if she should by shame, which no one expected, or by fear, which was possible, be dragged to stand side by side with the Western powers in this war, there could remain no doubt as to the selfishness and cowardice of her policy. That Russia did not regard the future course of Austria with alarm, was proved by the freedom with which Russian troops were removed from the neighbourhood of her frontier, and poured into the theatre of battle. It was said that Austria was anxious to secure the support of the diet, and not to detach herself from the policy of Germany. It had been much overlooked in connexion with that excuse, that if these petty states really believed her in earnest, they would either follow in her wake or avoid all opposition: they would never dare to thwart such a power as Austria, if that power, in the name of German interests, threw herself into a war with such allies as France and England; but, like one of Dickens' characters, who put all the blame of his disagreeable measures upon his unseen partner, so Austria put to the account of Prussia, or the Bund, her own reluctance to expose herself in a cause which she wished to see gained and

paid for by the blood and treasures of others. The excuse was also urged for her that a powerful Russian army confronted hers, and that a chain of even impregnable fortresses, to which she could offer no parallel, were the points of support for this Russian army; that under such circumstances, and no corresponding force of the allies to reach her, she would be in danger of her empire were she to declare war. This excuse, if sound in everything, only proved that Austria was powerless of herself before Russia, and that the hour had arrived for her, with one heroic effort, to deprive her menacing enemy of his opportunity for ever. If she had everything to risk which the above excuse alleges, this would be the only course worthy of so great an empire, with half a million of soldiers at its disposal; but she had not all this to risk: already Russia had withdrawn those troops which threatened her frontier, and poured them into Bessarabia and the Crimea, to replace the hosts swept away by the terrible campaigns on the Danube and before Sebastopol, while already a numerous French army was encamped to march upon the Danube, the Pruth, or wherever else the interests of Austria and of war might call. From the beginning, the German powers had served Russia better than if in alliance with her. Had they been her allies, the Western governments would have revolutionised their provinces, and have paralysed their power: as it was, the position of France and England in the Crimea made it dangerous for them to throw Austria into the arms of Russia. She held our army there as a pledge of her own safety. If she joined Russia the allies must have withdrawn from the Crimea, and the provinces be wrested from Turkey. Should the allies change the theatre of war, all Germany would suffer; but, in the meantime, Turkey would be overrun and ruined.

Taking circumstances as they were, and all hope from negotiations having expired, the popular mind in Western Europe busied itself with anxious discussions as to whether, after all, peace could be conquered. In France especially many proclaimed the invulnerability of Russia, and the failure of the second bombardment aided much in producing that conviction. In England this idea prevailed to a considerable extent, even when the determination to risk all things in the struggle increased in strength. It is strange that so large a portion of well-informed persons in the two most intelligent countries in the world should have deemed Russia unconquerable. All who studied the subject closely must have perceived that if the allies remained patient, and did not attempt any grand *coup* upon the heart of the empire, but occupied territory on her boundaries, estranging the inhabitants of such territories from Russia,—generally an easy

task,—success would be sure. Tartar, Cossack, Bessarabian, Podolian, Finn, and Lithuanian, if armed, protected, and organised, would give Russia more trouble than any other invaders, and contribute as much to her subjugation. If the allies, like the first Napoleon, assembled 600,000 men, made the Germans and other unwilling mercenaries attempt to march upon St. Petersburg, Moscow, the results would be very similar. Russia was stronger for defence in 1865 than during the invasion by the great Napoleon. But if the Crimea, Bessarabia, Podolia, Poland, were all wrested from her—if Russia, Armenia and Georgia were torn from her dominions, and wisely held—if the Cis-Caucasian terrain were swept by the mountaineers and Turkish auxiliaries to the northernmost lip of the Caspian—if Finland were freed and joined to Sweden and Norway—and, if in those lands conquered by Russia, the allies set up free governments, each giving its contingent, and each contingent in its turn acting the *avant-garde* of the invading armies,—Russia would be subjugated, and her power and greatness perish from the earth. Much talk was talked during the first influences of diplomatic and siege reverses of the Russian as to their “falling back upon their forest and icy plains.” How was support to be derived thence? Salt cannot be manufactured from ice, cannon cannot be forged or cast from forest timber. De Custine says that the boasted resources of Russia are a great sham, even her forests can seldom supply timber for ships, and dwindle into patches of dwarf trees and stunted shrubs. If the Russian army shrank into hordes of wanderers on ice plains or in forests, the operations of the allies would be effectually done. Russia could be conquered just as other great nations were conquered. Her great cities could be picked or consumed by the torch of the invaders, or her own incendiary policy, her commerce cut off, the nations fringing the seas could be made independent—where would be the Russia of Nicholas I., or Alexander II.? She would have to begin her career of “development” *de novo*, without military resources or the means of procuring them. Without a sea-board, she would in every part of her vast area become subject or tributary to the new nations on the shores of the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff, and the gulfs of Finland and Bothnia; while their people, superior in civil and religious information, and in alliance with them powers with which they could not maintain, meantime, connexion, would increase in strength, and prevent the possibility of Russia any more emerging upon contiguous territories. So far from its being impossible to subjugate Russia by invasion, perhaps no great empire could be more easily subjugated, except Austria.

the dismemberment of Austria is its conquest; the nationalities that compose it are allowed their own centrifugal tendencies, they will fly off from Vienna, and nothing will remain to it but the contemptible little duchy of which it is the capital, and which might be absorbed into any one of the disintegrated nationalities near enough to take care of it. Russia dismembered, and she too perishes. This is the sure way to war with her. Napoleon I. saw it, but refused to follow his own convictions. He wished a great and unbroken empire to sue at his feet, and its autocrat to be his ally.

The policy of engaging the bordering nations in his warfare ought not to have been overlooked. "You will want us yet," said a respectable Wallach to an English traveller. "You must give us the power to organise an army, and we will do more to aid you in weakening Russia than you could by an invading army of French or English." Wallach, and Pole, and Finn, *let them loose*, and call them forth as we advance, and in any future war Russia is lost. It could not have suited the policy of the allies, especially in their delicate relationship to Austria and Prussia, to have proclaimed the submission of the nationalities. The people of such territories as might be invaded, such as Bessarabia or Finland, if liberated in the course of such invasion, should not afterwards be abandoned, but their independence secured, and thus, by erecting the barriers of new nations, the allies would stem the future wave of the wave of barbarous aggression.

During these negotiations at Vienna, and the consequent political agitations in the eastern capitals, Prussia remained the ally of Russia through the will of their king, the nobility, the army, and the established policy; nevertheless, the people hated that alliance, and desired to be once more in unity and co-operation with their old and faithful allies, the English. An able writer gave the following sketch of the feelings of the Russian people in that respect:—"If anything had been wanting to the general conviction of the nation, after the campaigns of 1815 and the hard-fought battles of Ligny, at Waterloo, and at Breda, that England was Russia's sincerest and truest ally, it would have been amply supplied by the recollection of the treatment they had but lately met with from the Russians,—a recollection that is fully alive to the present day: two years after the Emperor Alexander had sworn undying friendship and alliance with King Friedrich Wilhelm IV. over the grave of Frederick the Great, he concluded the Treaty of Tilsit with the common

enemy, and consented to enrich his dominions with a portion of the territory taken from Prussia (Bailystock); when the Russians were in occupation of the Baltic coast as friends and allies, they left no stone unturned to secure to themselves that whole district up to the Vistula, and plundered and thoroughly spoiled the towns when at last they felt themselves compelled to evacuate them, and it is a common saying in Prussia, that they would rather see the Russians in the country as foes than as friends. It is notorious to every Prussian, no matter how illiterate, that the poverty and wretchedness which prey upon all the eastern districts of his fatherland are owing to the repeated breaches of customs' treaties by Russia, who persists in interposing to all interchange of produce and manufactures an insurmountable barrier by means of her tariff and her frontier regulations. The friendly relations that have grown up between the two courts of Russia and Prussia, in consequence of the matrimonial union of the then Grand-duke Nicholas with the Princess Charlotte, do not extend beyond the court, nor to the whole extent of the country; the holy alliance, which was another compulsory result of the disturbance of Europe, was long the object of the people's hatred, and its dissolution gave rise to universal expressions of joy throughout the press and the people. Ever since the accession of the present king the nation has been taught openly, by precept and example, to regard its future welfare as bound up in the English alliance. It was to England that the king first paid a visit after his accession, and for an intimate union with her, chiefly on the ground of religious affinity, he has been content and willing to make great sacrifices. All these feelings of personal regard, national tradition, and religious affinity have pointed out to the present royal family that the true policy of Prussia is that of the great elector, Friedrich I., Friedrich Wilhelm I., II., and III., and the whole nation on its part will hail with enthusiasm the *Neue Allianz*, the renewal of the old matrimonial alliances of the two royal families of England and Prussia, which is fixed for consummation, D.V., on the 18th of October, 1857."

However true the representations in the passage above quoted, that the King of Prussia feels friendly to England, he was dissuaded from an English alliance by his sister, the Empress of Russia, and deterred from it by the powerful position Russia occupies in reference to his kingdom by the possession of Poland. Such were the leading facts and discussions connected with the Vienna conference and its immediate consequences.

## CHAPTER LXXXII.

THE SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL IN MAY, 1855.—NOTICES OF GENERAL NIEL AND GENERAL TODTLEBEN.—CAPTURE OF THE RUSSIAN WORKS BEFORE THE CENTRAL BASTION.—FIRST EXPEDITION TO KERTCH.—RECALL OF THE EXPEDITION.—RESIGNATION OF GENERAL CANROBERT AND APPOINTMENT OF GENERAL PELISSIER TO THE COMMAND OF THE FRENCH ARMY.

"Peace shall go sleep with Turks and infidels,"—SHAKSPEARE. *Richard II.*

MAY-DAY shone upon the beleaguered city, and the beleaguering camps, as brightly as in merry England when it is welcomed by the queen of the May, and the gay throng of happy English villagers. Spring had covered all around with its bloom, and the allied armies felt its cheering influence, and longed for more decisive efforts to subdue the stubborn city. General Niel, the new French chief of the engineers, showed prodigious activity, and more confidence was felt in his genius than in that of his predecessor. He was certainly a military engineer of great experience. A distinguished military French historian gives this sketch of his history:—"The important mission with which General Niel had been charged, the studies he had made of the locality of the attack; his high position in the engineers,—all naturally called him to replace the worthy general whom death had struck down. It was a heavy responsibility; for that period of the siege had arrived, when the engineers were obliged to confess that their hopes had been by no means realised, and that each day the attainment of the object of their efforts appeared to be still more remote. General Niel, now placed at the head of the engineers, was born in 1802. Pupil of the Polytechnic School, he was sub-lieutenant of engineers, at Metz, in 1823. In 1827, he was lieutenant, and already first captain in 1835. In 1836, he embarked for Africa, attached to the engineers' staff of the expeditionary corps against Constantine. Every one remembers this memorable siege, where General Valée—after the death of the commander-in-chief, General Damrémont—took the supreme command. A sanguinary and memorable achievement, where are already found in the first rank, among the most ardent to fight, those whose names, later, were to acquire a popularity so splendid, and to be raised, by the brilliancy of their services, to the first ranks of the army. General Niel distinguished himself in that arm of the engineers, which, in all sieges, was ready to brave the greatest part of the danger. He received, for his brilliant conduct at the assault of Constantine, the congratulations of the minister of war; and was, subsequently, named commander of the engineers of the citadel in that town. Major in 1837, he returned to France, and entered, at Metz, in the 3rd regiment of Engineers. A year had scarcely passed, when he became lieutenant-colonel, and colonel

six years later. This was in 1846. In different functions which he exercised, Colonel Niel had greatly distinguished himself, and was already classed among the most capable and the most enlightened of the officers of engineers. Therefore, when, in 1849, the expedition to Rome was decided upon, Colonel Niel was named chief of the staff of the engineers in the expeditionary corps of the Mediterranean. General of brigade two months afterwards, he was called to the command of the engineers of the expedition. He rendered signal services in discharging these important functions; and after the capitulation of Rome, the commander-in-chief, in evidence of his high satisfaction, gave him the honourable mission of going to Gaëta to carry the keys of Rome to the Holy Father. After this expedition, as chief of the service of engineers in the ministry of war, he was named member of a committee on fortifications, and afterwards general of division in 1853. General Niel possessed in the highest degree a passion for that arm of the service which he had chosen, and, in the high position which he owed to his services, still continued studies, which, in his own mind, he always regarded as incomplete. When war was declared in the East, and the emperor sent an expeditionary corps into the Baltic, under the orders of General Baraguay d'Hilliers, the choice of the minister was General Niel to command the engineers. The capture of the fortress of Bomarsund added another claim to distinction, to those which the general had already acquired in his active and laborious career. Appointed aide-de-camp to the emperor in 1855, he was sent on a mission to Sebastopol, to contribute, to this difficult and formidable siege, his share of intelligence and mature experience. Such is the military life of the officer who was to assume the command of the engineers. If he had laboriously studied in books this difficult and various science, he had, above all, often studied in the face of the enemy's cannon, at Constantinople, at Rome, at Bomarsund, and at Sebastopol."

The officer in charge of the engineer department in the British service was also a renowned officer, Major-general Harry Jones, whose services were noticed in another page of this History. Opposed to these skilful officers, no one in no way their inferior—the renowned Todtleben. "Francis Todtleben, whose m

the siege of Sebastopol was to render illus-  
trous, was at the commencement of his military  
career when the war in the East broke out. It  
was to this war, and to the genius which he dis-  
played in his indefatigable defence of Sebastopol,  
that he owes the high rank which he now holds.  
Son of a merchant of Mittau, Todtleben was  
born on the 25th May, 1818. After having  
finished his studies in the schools of Riga, he  
entered the College of Engineers at St. Peters-  
burg. At the commencement of the present  
war he was only a second-captain in the  
engineers. He distinguished himself under  
the orders of General Schilders, and was after-  
wards sent to the Crimea. What he has done  
before Sebastopol belongs henceforth to history,  
which will blend his name with the remembrance  
of that gigantic siege. In less than one year, he  
passed successively through the grades of cap-  
tain, major, lieutenant-colonel, adjutant-colonel,  
major-general, and adjutant-general, and re-  
turned from his sovereign the highest marks of  
esteem and consideration."

The garrison had been increased and supplied; the French army was about to receive fresh troops amounting to 40,000 men; efforts were being made in England to strengthen the expeditionary army,\* and reinforcements were slowly but surely "bit by bit" arriving. Everything foreboded that the failure of the second bom-

The following is a correct report of the divisional, brigade, and regimental arrangement of the British army in the Crimea, on the 5th of November, 1854. The reinforcements which arrived afterwards were noticed in the course of the narrative, and also the changes in command.

ST ("HEAVY DIVISION.")—Lieutenant-general the Duke of Cambridge commanding.

*gradiers*.—Major-general Bentinek (Guards); Major-general Sir Colin Campbell (Highlanders).  
 Madier Guards, 3rd battalion; Coldstreams, 1st battalion; Scots Fusileers, 1st battalion; 42nd Highlanders; 9th Camerons; 93rd Sutherland.

OND ("FIGHTING DIVISION.")—Lieutenant-general  
Sir De Lacy Evans commanding.

*adriers.*—Major-general Pennefather; Brigadier-general Adams.

, 55th, 95th, "Derbyshire;" 41st, 47th, 49th.

RD DIVISION.—Lieutenant-general Sir Richard England commanding.

*Brigadiers.*—Sir J. Campbell; Brigadier Eyre.

28th, 38th, 4th, 44th, 50th.

8TH DIVISION. — Lieutenant-general Sir George Cathcart commanding.

*Brigadiers.*—Goldie; Torrens.

, 21st, Rifle Brigade, 1st battalion; 46th,\* 63rd, 57th,\*  
th.\*

THE LIGHT DIVISION.—Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown commanding.

*adiers*—Major-general Codrington; Brigadier-general Buller.

23rd, 33rd, 19th, 77th, 88th, Rifle Brigade, 2nd battalion.  
ALRY.—Lieutenant-general the Earl of Lucan com-

*brigadiers*.—Hon. J. Y. Scarlett; Earl of Cardigan.

2nd Dragoons; 4th, 5th Dragoon Guards; 6th Dragoons; 4th Light Dragoons; 8th, 11th Hussars; 13th

ght Dragoons: 17th Lancers.

bardment would be followed by renewed efforts to conquer the obstinate defence of Sebastopol.

On the 1st of May, the French had a formidable and successful encounter. They attacked and carried a counter-guard before the central bastion, which covered the town, in which the Russians were labouring to place guns, and from which some small mortars had begun to throw shells into the French trenches. It appears that General Pelissier had been very urgent with the commander-in-chief to storm these new works, before they should assume a more formidable magnitude; with that excess of caution and deficiency of enterprise which characterised Canrobert, he resisted these importunities, until, at last, circumstances constrained him to alter his decision, when, with a bad grace, he gave his consent. Canrobert was still puzzled by incessant instructions from the French War-office; plans of complete investment, and exterior operations, rendered him more uncertain and vacillating than his own constitutional tendencies would have made him. At last, General Pelissier, as commander of the first corps, and who was to a great extent responsible if these Russian works increased to such magnitude as to cause much additional difficulty or loss of life, demanded from General Canrobert an authorisation to storm them. On the last day of April, Pelissier was thus addressed by his chief, in answer to his urgent requests for authority to act:—"Under existing circumstances, he would not consent to attack the work, unless it was demonstrated to him that it was of absolute necessity; not wishing to make a useless sacrifice of men, in order to occupy a point, the possession of which—exposed to the cross-fire of the two bastions—would cost still greater loss, if we should endeavour to maintain ourselves there."

Pelissier, knowing that the attack was indispensable, not only continued his importunity, but prepared to carry out the contemplated attack. To these renewed entreaties Canrobert replied: "My dear general, I adhere to the purport of the letter which I had the honour to write to you yesterday, on the subject of the works of counter-approach of the enemy, in front of our battery No. 40. These works must not be assaulted, except the impossibility of *not* doing so is materially or morally demonstrated to you. In such case only you will act; employing all expedients which your long experience may suggest to you. You will think, without doubt, that it will be necessary to employ adequate force, &c."

General Pelissier replied to the commander-in-chief:—"This work has been greatly enlarged, and soon it will be united with, and form a part of, the body of the place, and require a siege like the rest,—a veritable siege,

\* At Inkerman, but not at the Alma.

involving sacrifices really greater than the *coup de main* that I have proposed to you, and which our officers consider necessary for the security of our trenches and of our own batteries. If it rested with me to decide, I should not hesitate. The ardour of the Russians in thus pushing forward to create this obstacle, and in working even when under a hot fire of artillery and musketry, shows what importance they attach to this new creation. It forewarns us of the attention that we ought to pay to the matter." The general announced besides, "that the Russians extended themselves towards the Quarantine. It is not to be doubted," said he, in conclusion, "it is an advanced line of defence which they are establishing, with most daring activity. Day and night they are to be seen working unceasingly. If we do not march upon them, the enemy, emboldened, will be able to march upon us."

On the morning of "May-day," Canrobert issued his reluctant order for this enterprise. No time was required for preparation, Pelissier had already arranged everything, foreseeing the imperative necessity of accomplishing the object. The execution was committed to General of division De Salles, under whose command were placed Generals Bazaine, De la Motte Rouge, and Rivet. Lieutenant-colonel Raoult was also to take an important part in the work. These generals reconnoitred the ground during daylight of the 1st of May, so as to make their plans of attack on the spot itself. Canrobert accompanied them.

At five o'clock in the evening, the troops designated for the exploit arrived at the Clock Tower, and were massed near it in different detachments, each detachment accompanied by a proportionate body of workmen. The major of the trenches, and his aides-major distributed to the officers precise instructions as to the parts they were expected to perform. The troops moved slowly away, quietly entered the trenches, and stole furtively along in single file, so as not to attract the enemy's attention. The clearness of the night, which made the danger of detection by the enemy greater, also facilitated the exactness of every movement. The attacking mass was separated into three columns: General Bazaine, with the left of these, was to turn the work; General la Motte Rouge was to assail the position in front; the right column was of less importance, it consisted only of a battalion of foot Chasseurs, supported by two companies of the Fighting 42nd—as they well deserved to be called—and was led by Captain Villerman, supported by Captain Ragon.

At half-past six, a rocket shot up into the air, and instantly the French columns rushed on to the attack. They this time imitated the mode in which their English allies so rapidly stormed pits and trenches opposed to them—for

they ran on, with as much speed as was consistent with order, and, without firing a shot, scaled the parapets and dashed hand to hand upon the foe. On the left, the foreign legion, headed by Colonel Viénot, were the first troops of General Bazaine which reached the trenches, and they were received by a fierce fire of musketry. With shouts of "*Vive l'empereur*," they overflowed the parapets, and were hand to hand with the enemy, as was the case with the troops De la Motte Rouge on the centre, with the 46th, so often victorious, bore down the obstacles. The Russian officers, as usual, formed prodigies of valour, rallying the men to the rear of the work, where a *place d'armes* had been provided. On every point the defenders were forced to give way before the bayonet. Colonel Brégeot arriving with the 98th regiment, rendered vain all hope of a rally on any part of the vanquished. As usual in such cases, the Russian cannon opened to cover the retreat of the troops; grape-shot was showered on the place, but before the cannonade began the workmen had levelled, altered, and reconstructed much of the conquered position; and continued their work undauntedly beneath the storm of case-shot which swept over and among them. The parapets were soon so altered as to change the position, gabions were placed upon the bastions, and the work accomplished. Colonel Guilleminot of the engineers did honour to his country himself, by the skill and courage he evinced in the direction of this work. General Leboucq replied to the Russian artillery, checking their fire and punishing those who directed it. It was generally the case, many of the French soldiers were rash in the hour of victory—they pursued the enemy up to the Central Bastion, which they foolishly attempted to scale, the result was, destruction to most of those who precipitate bravery carried them so far. Some mines were sprung around the bastion, which tore up the earth in every direction, blowing to pieces the adventurous men, who in the hour of rash valour had found their way there. Still, however, the enemy recovered himself, and pushing forward his columns, attacked the French, but was repulsed: a second attempt, equally unfortunate, but that did not deter the Russians from a third, in which the repulse was so signal, and the attempt itself proved so costly in life, that the French were left in possession of their capture. They, however, did not relax their vigilance, but all night long five companies in front lying on the edge of the five deep, with fixed bayonets, ready to start into action at the first sound of the enemy's approach.

Canrobert watched the progress of this encounter from the observatory, but, unable to judge the state of affairs from the flickering and uncertain fire which ebbed from the

owed up towards the French lines with such constancy and fitfulness, he dispatched various officers to bring him some tidings of the fight; while they were on their errand, soldiers arrived from the combat bringing upon a litter the brave Colonel Viénot, slain at the head of his men: they announced to their chief the victory. This procession was speedily followed by two others, bringing upon litters Commandant Julien and Captain Dubosquet—both were dead.

When daylight dawned the scene of recent strife was strewn with dead, especially those of the enemy. Nine portable mortars, unlinked, were captured, many muskets, and a large quantity of artillery *materiel* and tools. Four hundred workmen occupied the morning making communications between the conquered work and the French approaches. The prize was worth the sacrifice—it brought the French 150 metres nearer to the Central Bastion. The importance of the conquest will be better judged by the private report of General de Salles to General Pelissier:—

GENERAL.—The orders which you gave me yesterday morning have been executed. The important work which the Russians have constructed at a few metres from the battery No. 40, has been vigorously carried at the bayonet's point by our brave soldiers; and the troops maintained themselves there. Under the direction of some officers of engineers, the parapets have been turned, and a communication with our approaches has been constructed during the night. We are able to retain the work by daylight. I am confident that it belongs to us definitely. This work presented a double line of works; its importance was immense. Its object was to crush, by the fire of its artillery, the battery No. 40 and the works which surround it; command two gorges which separate this battery from the Flagstaff Battery and from the crest upon which we have established the batteries Nos. 41 and 42. Almost entirely finished, it had already received an armament of mortars, and was defended by several battalions, backed by the cross-fire of the Flagstaff Battery and of the Quarantine, and exposed to the fire of the left face of the Central Bastion, and of the bonnet (*flèche*) which covers it. The work belongs to us; the defenders have been driven out at the bayonet's point; the artillery is in our hands. All the efforts of the enemy in attempting the recapture of this work have failed.

Next day at three o'clock, the enemy made a separate attempt to reconquer the lost ground. The position was defended by the troops who were left, and who were still weary from the heroic exertions which they had made. The foreign legion, which had acted so heroically in the assault, now heroically occupied the post of danger in the defence. The number of men which remained in occupation of the work was small—so was the number of the enemy who sought to recapture it, and never did the Russians behave better. They were composed of a body of picked men, chosen from volunteers; they penetrated the works, and fought bravely with broken muskets, picks, and stones, in one of the most desperate combats which had taken place during the siege. It was in the middle of daylight, yet so confused was the conflict,

that the combatants grappled one another in individual and deadly strife, as if in a night attack. The works were kept by the French, and the Russians, who so bravely attempted its recapture—or rather the few left of them—were driven back to their own lines. On the 3rd of May a white flag was hoisted on the Central Bastion, and a Russian officer demanded a truce for burial, which was acceded. In these two combats eleven French officers were killed, and twice as many wounded, some dangerously. Thus May opened for our allies in conflict and in victory. The first act of the British chief was to communicate to the army under his command the approval of her majesty in reference to a gallant transaction. The order of the day is dated April 30th, but was actually issued May 1st.

GENERAL AFTER ORDER.

*Head-quarters before Sebastopol, April 30.*

THE commander of the forces has the highest satisfaction in publishing to the army the copy of a despatch which he has received from the minister of war, conveying her majesty's gracious approbation of the conduct of the troops engaged in the repulse of the enemy, who attacked the trenches on the night of the 22nd of March:—

*War Department, April 9.*

MY LORD,—I received on the morning of the 6th instant your lordship's despatch of the 24th ultimo, in which you report to me the attack which was made by the Russians upon the intrenchments of the allied armies upon the night of the 22nd. I immediately laid this despatch before the Queen, and have received her majesty's commands to express to your lordship her admiration of the gallant conduct of her troops upon this as upon every former occasion. Her majesty desires me to express to your lordship, and through you to the troops under your command, the pride which she feels in the invariable gallantry displayed by them. The Queen deeply deploras that the repulse of the enemy was not effected without the loss of some gallant officers and men, whose devotion to their country's honour neither she nor that country can ever forget. I have the honour to be, &c.,

PANMURE.

*Field-marshal the Lord Raglan, G.C.B., &c.*

Lord Raglan avails himself of the opportunity to notice in terms of the highest commendation the distinguished gallantry of a detachment of the 77th regiment and other troops of the light division, under Colonel Egerton, in the capture of the rifle-pits, in establishing themselves in them under the judicious direction of Lieutenant-colonel Tylden, of the Royal Engineers, on the night of the 19th, and in their resistance to the fruitless attempt of the enemy to dislodge them from the one it was thought desirable to retain. It is a matter of deep regret to him that the army has, on this occasion, to deplore the loss of Colonel Egerton, whose conspicuous conduct and able and zealous devotion in every part of his duty rendered him one of the most valuable officers in her majesty's service.

(By order) J. SIMPSON, *Chief of the Staff.*

The following order of the day of the same date, shows how important were the contributions of science to the efficiency of war:—

*Head-quarters before Sebastopol, April 30.*

No 1. The use of the submarine electric telegraph is restricted to the following authorities, viz.:—

The commander of the forces of the British army.  
The commander of the forces of the French army.  
The commander-in-chief of the English fleet.  
The commander-in-chief of the French fleet.

The signature of any one of the above officers will be required to give authority for the transmission of any message by the telegraph. The telegraph arrangement is not yet in so complete a state as to admit of the transmission of any communications except those which are upon public service.

Lord Raglan was not exempt from anxiety concerning the health of the army when summer broke in brightness over the encampments. Crimean fever and cholera gave tokens of renewed activity, and various orders of the day, unnecessary for publication, were put forth, regulating the clothing of the army, and constraining attention to cleanliness. The food with which the troops were supplied was abundant and excellent; the bread was dark, but sweet and good, especially when not allowed to grow too stale. The arrival of M. Soyer some time after was of great service, as contributing to procure for the army better cooked and more nutritious rations. There were fifteen different kinds of food at this juncture distributed to the men, including wholesome fresh meat and varieties of vegetables. The following order of the day was most opportune, and produced effects the most salutary:—

WITH a view to maintaining the efficiency of the transport of this army, it is highly desirable that where the exigencies of the service will admit of the arrangement, one day in the week should be allotted for rest to both men and animals. General officers commanding divisions will accordingly be pleased to cause one-seventh of the transport establishments attached to their respective divisions to remain daily unemployed in their lines.

When Miss Nightingale arrived in the Crimea she was received as an angel of health, and her suggestions were very generally acted upon. The Crimean army fund agency wound up its affairs in the early part of this month, and the agents received high encomiums from Lord Raglan. The following communication to his lordship terminated the duties of the agency:—

*Crimean Army Fund Agency, Kadikoi, May 8.*

MY LORD,—We have the honour to report to your lordship that the operations of the Crimean army fund, of which we are the honorary representatives in the Crimea, have now closed. In announcing this officially to your lordship, we beg to express a hope that our endeavours to carry out the thoughtful and generous intentions of that association towards our noble and gallant countrymen in the Crimea have in some slight degree promoted the public service, and have not interfered in any respect prejudicially with the organisation of an army which we so love and admire.

We cannot conclude our mission without thanking your lordship, the quartermaster-general, and the authorities, for the kind countenance and support which we have received from the very commencement to the termination of our difficult but most grateful task. Your lordship will allow us to speak most highly of the quartermasters of regiments with whom we have been thrown in such frequent contact.

We have, &c.,

ALGERNON EGERTON.  
THOMAS TOWER.

*Field-marshal Lord Raglan, G.C.B., &c.*

On the 5th of May, the English commander wrote home referring to the victories obtained

by his ally on the 1st, and reporting casualties which had taken place under the fire of garrison:—

*Before Sebastopol, May*

MY LORD,—Since I wrote to your lordship on the instant nothing of importance has arisen; the enemy appear to be collecting troops upon the high ground the opposite side of the Tchernaya, in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, and convoys are constantly seen moving that direction. The fire from the place upon our trenches has not been heavy, but, notwithstanding, I have casualties to report to you, as shown in the accompanying returns; and I have to lament the death of three promising young officers, Lieutenants Carter, of the Royal Engineers, Curtis, of the 46th, and White, of the 1st regiments. On the night of the 1st instant the French attacked a kind of counter-guard which the Russians established in front of the Central Bastion. The operation was quite successful, and the enemy were driven out at great loss, leaving behind them nine small mortars, and allies have remained in the work, notwithstanding heavy fire to which they have been exposed, and established themselves therein, frustrating the efforts made by their adversaries to dispossess them of it. The following day, when a vigorous sortie was repulsed and the Russians were again great sufferers. The conduct of the French troops was very brilliant.

I have, &c.,

*The Lord Panmure, &c.*

RAGLAN

Concerning the same event, Canrobert happily expressed himself when he wrote, 4th:—"This double combat characterises, in most happy manner, the qualities of impulse and ardour which are proper to our troops. They did they give proof—upon a theatre restricted, it is true, but where the drama of war manifested in its most thrilling forms—of valour and impetuosity."

On the 2nd of May, the Kertch expedition set sail, after much difference of opinion between the allied commanders, which laid the foundation for the ultimate resignation of General Canrobert. Lord Raglan renewed his former expostulations and remonstrances, and with persistency as successful as that of General Pelissier in reference to the attack on the works before the Central Bastion, Canrobert still urged that the French army of reserve, then encamped in Turkey, would speedily arrive, and that there would be time enough to attempt extensive enterprises. "Let us profit," said the chief of the English army, "by the time which remains to us before the arrival of the army of reserve to explore Kertch, and the Strait of Yeniköy, to separate Asia from Europe, and take from the Russians the means of re-victualling which they draw from the Sea of Azoff. It is the most urgent to use despatch," he added, "because the Russians are working to obstruct the passage, and each day of delay doubles the difficulties, and takes from this enterprise favourable chances of success."

It was on the 30th of April the steamer *Albatross* to sea, but purposely went in a wrong direction to puzzle the enemy, and sailed as if bound for Odessa; but that night beat backwards, and the whole fleet gradually joined, and the whole

destined for the enterprise, were at last embarked, and dispatched to their destination. The flotilla was to rendezvous lat. 44° 54' long. 3° 28', which they accomplished in safety, but, before anything could be effected, they were ordered back by express sent from Canrobert, which Admiral Bruat, by the laws of the French service, was bound to obey, and Admiral Lyons then ceased to be in a condition to proceed alone; he soon after received a message from Lord Raglan to bring back the troops. The force which embarked was 8000 French, under the command of General d'Autemarre, successor to Forey (to whom the French emperor assigned the presidency of Oran, in Africa); 1000 British, under Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown; and a Turkish brigade of about 1000 men. The extraordinary course adopted by Canrobert, established such an opinion of his weakness in the fleets and armies, that both were filled with murmurs, and squibs and caricatures were circulated from battalion to battalion in both armies. He, who in his private correspondence, since published, was always writing home complaining of the delays of the English general, even when the latter was arming the French batteries with his mortars, and carrying up their shot and shell by his railroad, was the dead weight of the campaign, so far as any enterprise of real responsibility was concerned. Nothing could have been better planned than the Kertch expedition. It was necessary, it was wise, and the recall of it by Canrobert was a sheer act of fruitless irresolution and military incapacity. None braver in the field than the brave Canrobert, none truer to his country; but he had not the resolution to assume large responsibilities, nor the capacity to embrace comprehensive plans and purposes. Gallant and disinterested, he was well suited to a less enlarged command. A man could be more free from mean jealousies, by which he was never actuated in his complaints of Lord Raglan; but he was restless and impatient until a project undertaken was accomplished; yet, so timid of responsibility, that he could be easily induced to command it. The cause of the sudden change of purpose with the French general, in this instance, was a telegraphic despatch from the French emperor:—

"On the receipt of this despatch, assemble your means in order to prepare yourself to attack the enemy externally;—concentrate immediately all your forces; even those at Maslak." General Canrobert immediately proceeded to Lord Raglan. "He had been able," he said to him, "in consequence of a certain latitude I gave him as to time, to profit by it," as the English general had himself said, "to send troops to Kertch; but in face of a positive order, emanating from the emperor, which

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commanded him to assemble without delay all his means of attack, and to concentrate his forces, he could not allow any part of his troops and transports to be removed to any considerable distance."

It was in vain that Lord Raglan argued the urgent importance of that time for accomplishing the objects of the expedition, and the consequences that would ensue, if, after proceeding so far, it should be recalled. The other officers, French and British, pointed out how fully the nature of the case justified the responsibility he would assume by allowing the troops to proceed. He would listen to no expostulation, incur no responsibility, but literally obey a despatch sent in obvious ignorance of the real situation of affairs. Too much was done in Paris, too little in the Crimea. The French War-office pertinaciously meddled with everything; the French commander-in-chief was wafted hither and thither by its whims. A mutual understanding between the two generals could no longer exist. Lord Raglan was not willing to place himself under the command of the Emperor Napoleon, or Marshal Vaillant; and he must either be governed by telegraphic despatches from the French war-minister, or remain inactive, except so far as the prosecution of the siege-works of his own lines before Sebastopol. Such a state of things could not last. Canrobert immediately dispatched the French fleet to the Bosphorus to bring up the army of reserve, which was encamped under the command of General Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angély. In the meantime an envoy arrived from the emperor, Commandant Favé, who presented to General Canrobert a plan of campaign, which the emperor wished to have put into execution. He had himself abandoned the idea of carrying it out in person, in consequence, it was alleged, of the mode in which the Vienna conference terminated, although it was difficult to see how that could effect his personal superintendence of the campaign. It is certain, however, that on political grounds the emperor was well advised to abandon the project of a command in the field, and he accordingly committed the following scheme to his lieutenant:—

*The Emperor, to General Canrobert, Commander-in-chief of the Army of the East.*

*April 28, 1855.*

"The fire which has been opened against Sebastopol will, by this time, have either succeeded or failed. In either case, it is absolutely necessary to quit the defensive position in which the army has remained during the last six months. For this purpose, in accord with the English government, I would have the troops divided into three armies—one siege army and two of operations. The first

is destined to protect Kamiesch and to blockade the garrison of Sebastopol; the second to operate at a short distance from Balaklava, and, in case of need, to take possession of the heights of Maskenzie; and the third is intended to effect a diversion.\*

"If, as I have reason to think, the Russians have 35,000 men in Sebastopol, 15,000 to the north of Eupatoria, and 70,000 between Simpheropol, the Belbek, and the Tchernaya, it will suffice to have 60,000 good troops to destroy the whole Russian army, which might be taken in the rear before it could unite all its forces; and even should it be able to unite them, the numbers would be almost equal; for that great principle of war must not be forgotten, that, if a diversion is made at a certain distance from the base of operations, it is necessary that the troops employed in such a diversion should be in sufficient number to be able of themselves to resist the army of the enemy, which might unite all its efforts against them.

"All this being well considered, I would have sent into the valley of the Baidar the 40,000 men taken from the army of Sebastopol; and, supported by Lord Raglan, I would have occupied, from Skelia as far as the bridge of Teulé and Tchorgoum, the four roads which crossed the Tchernaya. We should thus have had so many *têtes-de-pont*, threatening the left of the Russians, established on the heights of Mackenzie.

"After this movement I would have left Lord Raglan master of all the positions on the left of the Tchernaya from Skelia as far as Tchorgoum; I would have assembled in the rear of the lines occupied by the English the 40,000 men of the active army, with the cavalry, and the means of transport at my disposal, waiting in that position, with look-outs on the cliffs by the sea-shore, for the arrival of my *corps d'armée*, which, coming from Constantinople, would have received orders to reconnoitre Cape Pharos.†

"What would be our position in regard to the Russians? The movement on Baidar, by

\* "1st. The siege army, composed of 30,000 French and 30,000 Turks ..... 60,000  
Without counting 10,000 men who cannot be disposed of.

2nd. The first army of operation, under Lord Raglan, of 25,000 English, 15,000 Piedmontese, 5000 French, and 10,000 Turks ..... 55,000

3rd. The second army of operation, of 40,000 French of the army of Sebastopol, and 25,000 of the army of reserve at Constantinople ..... 65,000."

† "The active army would be thus organised:—  
General Canrobert, General-in-chief.

1st *Corps d'armée*.—General Bosquet, with four divisions of infantry and one of light cavalry.

2nd *Corps d'armée*.—General Regnaud de St. Jean D'Angély, with two divisions of infantry, one division of the guard, and one division of heavy cavalry. General Pellissier would have continued to command the besieging army."

giving up the passages over the Tchernaya would have threatened their left, and led to suppose that it was our intention to lodge them from the heights of Inkerman Mackenzie. The Russians would have thus kept in check, and their attention drawn on Inkerman and Perekop. Our positions have been excellent, and my plans being known, if anything had deranged them, not would have been compromised. But, supposing that nothing had opposed the general plan, would have been carried out in the following manner:—As soon as the fleet, bringing 25,000 men of the reserve, had been approaching, orders would have been given to them to proceed to Alouchta, to that part of the beach which, secretly examined, should have been found favourable for a landing. The first body of 3000 men would, immediately after their landing, establish themselves three leagues from Alouchta, beyond the defile of Alouchta. No others would be landed until information had been received of the occupation of the defile. The reports being favourable, the advanced guard would take up a good position beyond the defile, intrench themselves, and await the army. The remainder of the 25,000 men would then land, and the 40,000 assembled at Baidar would receive orders to march along the road which skirts the sea-coast to Yalta. In three days, that is to say two days after the landing of the army at Alouchta, the 40,000 men from Baidar would have joined under the walls of Simpheropol the 25,000 landed; possession would have been taken of the town, and a sufficient garrison left in the rear, or a good position would have been taken on the road we had just passed, to secure the rear of the army.

"Now, of two things one: either the Russian army before Sebastopol would have abandoned that formidable position to meet the army which would advance from the side of Bagtché Serai, and then the first army of operation, under the orders of Lord Raglan, would push forward and take possession of the position of Inkerman; or the Russians would advance their lines the arrival of the army advanced from Simpheropol, and then the latter, advancing from Bagtché Serai on Sebastopol, always supporting its left on the mountains, would form a junction with the army of Lord Raglan (who would have advanced from Bagtché upon Albat), repulse the Russian army, and drive it back into Sebastopol or into the sea.

"This plan appears to me to possess great advantages. In the first place, the army, far as Simpheropol, which is only nine leagues from Alouchta, would be in communication with the sea; the country is very healthy, better supplied with water than any other part of the Crimea; its rear would be al-

ture; it would occupy ground where our superiority in cavalry would be less sensibly felt; and lastly, it would come suddenly on the Russian line of operations, and cut off all their supplies, by probably taking possession of their parks of reserve. If the defile of Ayen—indispensable element in the success of the plan—should be so fortified as not to be capable of being taken, the 3000 men who were advanced for that purpose would be at once disembarked; the army of reserve would then be landed at Balaklava, and the diversion which was intended to make on Simpheropol would be made by Baidar, but with fewer advantages. “As to the march of the 40,000 men from Baidar to Alouchta, it would be without danger, as the ground is protected by almost inaccessible mountains, and is at a great distance from the Russian army. Our army might, during almost all the distance along the sea-shore, be followed by steamers to receive the sick.\* If, on the contrary, it should be wished to make a diversion by Eupatoria, the opinion is that nothing could be more dangerous or more opposed to the rules of art and the counsels of prudence. In order to operate from Eupatoria on Simpheropol, the army so engaged would be in an open and unhealthy country, and almost without water; it would be on ground where the Russian army, which is very numerous, would have every chance of success; and it would have to make a march of sixteen leagues in face of an army which might come from the north as well as from the south, fall upon our columns, and cut off all retreat. The wings of the army would have no support from the nature of the ground. In order to go from Eupatoria to Simpheropol, it must carry with it all its provisions and all its ammunition; for when once the army had left Eupatoria, the 15,000 Russians in that neighbourhood (most of whom were cavalry) would harass its rear, and prevent the arrival of any convoys. If it should meet with any resistance at Simpheropol, and the Russian army should, by a change of front, be taken position on the road over which the army had passed, that army would be either annihilated or famished. There is, besides, another absolute principle; and that is, that a flank march is not possible unless at

\* On the other hand, the minister of war would have collected at Constantinople rations of meat, gunpowder, and other objects occupying little space, in order that the soldiers, by leaving all their baggage, might carry eight days' provisions, with a shirt and a greatcoat. The *corps d'armée* of reserve would have had on board the steamers eight days' rations for 60,000 men. The waggons which would follow the army from Baidar would carry the same quantity, so that the 60,000 men commencing the movement would have sixteen days' provisions assured to them. When once they had reached Simpheropol the waggons might revictual the army from Alouchta.”

a distance from the enemy, and when sheltered by the nature of the ground.

“The army which would operate from Eupatoria to Simpheropol would consequently have no line of operations, nor any defence assured for its flanks, nor any means of retreat, nor favourable field of battle, nor means of procuring food. Lastly, this army of operation, instead of being compact—composed of soldiers of the same nation, commanded by a single chief—would be formed in great part of Turks; and as some allied divisions would be added to it, there would be neither unity, nor security, nor absolute confidence.

“If, instead of marching on Simpheropol, the army leaving Eupatoria should desire to proceed direct to Sebastopol, it must recommence, under disadvantageous conditions, the campaign which we made in disembarking in the Crimea; it must carry the formidable positions of the Alma, of the Katcha, and of the Belbek. This enterprise is impossible, for it would be disastrous. Hence follows the absolute necessity of leaving at Eupatoria only the number of Turks strictly indispensable to defend the place.

“Such is the plan which I wished to execute at the head of the brave troops which you have hitherto commanded; and it is with the most profound and acute sorrow that I find that graver interests force me to remain in Europe. “NAPOLEON.”

There is one portion of the foregoing programme of military operations which was erroneous as to matter of fact. The objection to operations from Eupatoria because of deficiency of water is invalid. After Southern Sebastopol fell, Pelissier acted upon this unsound information, and Codrington, then in command of the British army, fell in with his views. The course which an army acting from Eupatoria must have taken was well watered. Mr. Upton, the distinguished engineer, son of Colonel Upton, who built the docks of Sebastopol, and who knows the topography of that region well, declared repeatedly to the author of this History, that the route of an army acting from Eupatoria in the direction indicated, would be favourable from the very circumstance that water existed abundantly. In other respects the opinions of the emperor did not rest upon sufficient data, but this is not the proper place to discuss them. When Canrobert perused the extraordinary document just quoted, he perceived that it was impossible for him any longer to hold the command of the army. He knew that Raglan and Omar Pasha would never consent to any such scheme, as both generals concurred in the opinion that if operations “on the exterior” were resolved upon, Eupatoria was a good base. Lord Raglan, however,

was for giving undivided and vigorous attention to the siege. There can be no doubt that as the English marshal gained experience in the command of a large body of men, his talents were seen to more advantage, and that he then generally displayed more soundness of judgment and military comprehensiveness than Canrobert. With such men as Sir Richard England, Sir John Burgoyne, Sir Harry Jones, and Sir Colin Campbell in his counsels, he was likely to improve, as he more frequently consulted his superior officers, and relaxed the reserve which was so injurious to him in the earlier stages of the campaign. Both the English and Turkish generals resisted this scheme of the emperor *in toto*. Omar Pasha came from Eupatoria to the Crimea, and conferred with the English general, and their concurrent opinion became strengthened in opposition to a plan, which, at all events to them, appeared wild and impracticable. The French general was obstinately determined to carry out his master's views as to Eupatoria, and the other allied generals were obliged to abandon all idea of action in that quarter. Thus a large force was kept idle where active operations might have been prosecuted with vigour and success. Lord Raglan considered that the route from Alouchta to Simpheropol was exposed; he preferred that from Baidar to Bagtché Serai, but did not approve of either; and the experience of General Pelissier, after the fall of Southern Sebastopol, justified the judgment of the English chief. In fine, Lord Raglan and Omar Pasha were opposed to the whole plan of the French emperor in principle and detail. Canrobert expressed his own concurrence with the emperor's views, and avowed his despair of ever carrying Sebastopol by assault, or subduing its earth-works. Raglan, Sir Richard England, General Jones, Sir George Brown, Pelissier, and Bosquet, were all hopeful that, by perseverance and courage, the place would be ultimately subdued, and the army set free for operations in the field, more hopeful of success than those sketched by the French emperor. Canrobert accordingly, following the patriotic and self-sacrificing impulses of his character, offered the supreme command to Lord Raglan, and advised Omar Pasha to follow his example: he declared that the war could not be carried on by a command divided among three co-ordinate chiefs. Lord Raglan, according to Bazancourt, was at first astonished, and refused so great a responsibility—then hesitated, and finally acceded; but, upon the first act of supremacy, Canrobert refused obedience to the chief he selected. According to Bazancourt, his lordship demanded that the English trenches should be occupied by the French army, and Canrobert refused compliance. Had his lordship made this demand it would not have been so

unreasonable, as it would have created unity in the action of the siege, and set the English army free for any exterior action which might prove feasible; but we doubt the assertion of Bazancourt, who is often insidiously destructive of the English generals.

It is certain that the resolution of Canrobert to carry out the projects of his emperor led to serious conferences, and one of them lasted seven hours. General Canrobert was, in the meantime, lampooned and caricatured by every wag in all the services, military and maritime, especially in the fleet and army of his own nation: yet he was both loved and respected. His vacillation and want of decided plans of action in conducting the siege were the cause of these acts of disrespect. It was not understood that his own government was in a great measure the cause of this. Under these circumstances, General Canrobert resolved to sacrifice his own position to the general good, and on the 16th of May, telegraphed to the French War-office his resignation of command.

"My enfeebled health no longer permitted me to retain the command-in-chief, my duty to my sovereign and my country compels me to ask you to transfer that command to General Pelissier—an officer of great skill and experience. The army which I leave to him is intact, warlike, ardent, and confident. I beg the emperor to leave me the place of a combatant in its ranks, at the head of a simple division."

In attributing his resignation to ill health, the general was actuated by a desire to conceal the real causes of his procedure from public view. On the 19th of May he thus expressed himself in a letter to the emperor:—

"The little relative effect produced by the numerous and excellent batteries of the allies against Sebastopol, since the reopening of the fire; the non-attack of our exterior lines by the enemy—an attack which had appeared very probable, and on which I had founded hopes of a success more decisive than that of Inkerman; the arduous duties which I have experienced in preparing the execution of the plan of campaign of your majesty, now becomes almost impossible by the non-co-operation of the chief of the English army; the very false position towards the English in which I have been placed, by the sudden recall of the Kertch expedition, which I have since discovered they attached great importance; the extraordinary moral and physical fatigues, to which for nine months I have not for an instant ceased to be subjected;—all these reasons, sire, have produced in my mind the conviction that I ought to

ger to direct in chief that immense army, esteem, affection, and confidence of which have been enabled to obtain. Thenceforward, duty towards your majesty and towards country was to retire, and ask to be received by the general for whom, in his intelligent foresight, the emperor had confided to a letter of appointment as commander-in-chief;\* and who united the conditions of capacity, moral authority, and the habit of conducting great undertakings, with the energy necessary to bring to a fortunate and permanent result the vast enterprise which the death of my predecessor and the will of the emperor had committed to me. The officers and the officers are all well acquainted with the warlike qualities of General Pelissier; they will give him all their confidence, and the cooperation of us all is secured to him; and I know that the new general-in-chief has the strongest confidence of success. Your majesty will allow me to observe, that my name is too little known to the troops, whose confiding affection has never ceased to do me honour, and in the existing circumstances not to remain in the midst of them, in order, in their dangers and dangers, to set them an example of devotedness to the service and glory of the emperor and of France. I therefore request your majesty to allow me to command a simple division in this fine and heroic army, the conduct of which has conferred and will continue to confer so much honour on France."

To the minister of war he wrote thus:—

The army which I leave to my successor will come out of the rude and perilous trials it has had to undergo, fuller of ardour and confidence than ever. It is a glory for France, which has never ceased to be to me a source of consolation, from the devotedness which it has shown towards me up to this day; and it is my duty to accomplish the greatest undertakings which may be required, in the service and for the glory of the emperor."

After these communications were made, he handed the presence of General Pelissier in the tent, when, according to Bazancourt, the following scene took place:—

"General," said he to him, "I was for a long time under your orders in Africa; now you who are under mine. In the high position which has been entrusted to me, it has been my duty to observe you closely; and I have recognised in the man who knows how to obey without murmuring, the rare quality

"The emperor, to guard against the chance that any fortune might deprive the army of its commander-in-chief, had dispatched to General Canrobert a letter of appointment for General Bosquet. After the arrival of General Pelissier, this secret letter of appointment (in case of accident, or of sudden death) bore the name of general."

of the authority of command;—that authority you must now prepare to exercise upon a large scale."

General Pelissier regarded him with astonishment.

"Listen to me with attention," continued General Canrobert. "The differences of opinion which, for some time past, have arisen between Lord Raglan and myself, have rendered my position a false one towards the head of the English army, and my relations, consequently, very embarrassing. In my opinion, under existing circumstances, and in consequence of unforeseen occurrences, my continuance in my present capacity adds farther complications to a situation already sufficiently critical. From this moment, therefore, it becomes my duty to the emperor and to my country to retire. I have, accordingly, requested his majesty to confer upon you the command-in-chief, and permit me to place myself at the head of a division."

"General," said General Pelissier, with emotion, interrupting him, "do not persist in this, I entreat you; hereafter you will bitterly regret it."

"To have performed a duty can never be a cause of regret," General Canrobert simply replied.

General Pelissier's feelings betrayed themselves in his voice. Tears rose to his eyes, and as General Canrobert seemed surprised to see so much emotion displayed upon that manly and warrior-like countenance, he said—

"Yes! It is so; I do not conceal it. I am deeply moved—not so much by the responsibility about to be laid upon me, as by such a complete abnegation of self. Wait yet awhile, general."

"The despatch has gone," replied General Canrobert; and he handed to his successor a copy of it. General Pelissier read it, and then, in silence, shook the two hands of General Canrobert, and the generals separated.

This was a touching scene, and merits to be preserved by history among its souvenirs.

In reply to Canrobert, a telegraphic despatch from the emperor was promptly sent. It was as follows:—

*Paris, May 16, 11 P.M.*

THE emperor accepts your resignation. His majesty regrets that your health has suffered; he congratulates you on the feeling which makes you request to remain with the army; you will there take the command, not of a division, but of the corps of General Pelissier. Transfer the command-in-chief to that general.

This was communicated to Pelissier. The staff of the French army was convened, and in their presence Canrobert proclaimed the change which had taken place. The occasion was one of deep emotion to the heads of the French army.

On the 19th, Canrobert bid farewell to the army as commander-in-chief, and Pelissier, in an order of the same date, paid a noble tribute to the merits and self-denial of the retiring chief.

Pelissier, on assuming the command, paid his respects to Lord Raglan, whom he treated with great deference, and for whom he felt much esteem. Scarcely was he installed in his new position when instructions from the emperor arrived, directing him to abide by the programme which his majesty had marked out for General Canrobert, as far as he possibly could, but at the same time appending this very important addition—"If it is necessary to modify them, let it be done with the concurrence of Lord Raglan. Act in concert." Pelissier did act in concert with Lord Raglan. In the first place, it was resolved to resume the expedition to Kertch: the English and French admirals united with Lord Raglan and Omar Pasha in demanding it; Pelissier entirely approved of it, and gave his hearty co-operation. In the second place, the plan of carrying on the siege urged by Lord Raglan and by the British engineers, Sir J. Burgoyne, before he left the Crimea, and General Jones, since he assumed the office of chief of the engineer staff, Pelissier also heartily approved. The English had suffered greatly, and were much impeded in their approaches by Canrobert's inaction in reference to the Mamelon, and the other counter-approaches of the enemy, or against the French works. Canrobert would neither storm the Mamelon nor consent to Lord Raglan's doing it, while the latter and his engineers declared that necessary to further progress. The English generals were for boldly assaulting all the outworks of the enemy upon a regular and well-organised plan of operating in detail. Canrobert hesitated, allowed time to pass, and was unwilling to hazard anything upon the desperate measures of assault. The French army generally concurred with the English in their bolder policy, and Pelissier thoroughly appreciated the feeling, and apprehended the peculiarity of the situation.

On the 18th, the day before Pelissier assumed the command, Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angély arrived with his new *corps d'armée*, of which he was permitted to retain the command.

It is important, at this juncture, in the state of affairs, to give some notice of the previous military career of General Pelissier. There was not, perhaps, in the whole French army a more experienced or competent officer. Although, perhaps, both Cavaignac (then in exile) and Bosquet were more fit for the command-in-chief of an army for very varied operations, Pelissier was by far the most suitable to conduct so stupendous a siege. His antecedents

were full of exploit. A French officer thus counts them, and sketches his life:—"I was born in 1794. He entered the school St. Cyr in 1814, and was attached in 1815 to the household artillery of the king, with the rank of sub-lieutenant. Being placed in activity at the disbanding of the troops on the 26th of August, he entered, at the end of the same year, the departmental legion of the Loire Seine. On the 20th of January, 1819, he was admitted, after an examination, to the corps of the staff. In 1823, he made the campaign of Spain, with the grade of lieutenant, and was named chevalier of the Legion of Honour. After his return from Spain, he was successively aide-de-camp to several generals. In 1827 he was a captain, and made in the years 1828 and 1829 the campaign of Greece, as aide-de-camp to General Durrieu. He brilliantly distinguished himself at the siege of the castle of Morea, and was named Knight of St. Louis. In 1830, when the Algerian expedition was resolved upon, he belonged to it, and, as in the two preceding campaigns, drew upon himself the attention of his superiors, who pointed him out to the minister of war as an officer full of promise. In the same year he was named major and officer of the Legion of Honour. Those two rewards which followed each other, at two months' interval, sufficiently show the services which he had rendered, and how much they relied upon those which he was to render subsequently. In 1832 he directed the war depot, for several months, the military section of Algiers. After having been successively attached, in the course of several years, to general inspectors, Commandant Pelissier was appointed lieutenant-colonel on the 26th of November, 1839, and he immediately started for Algiers, as chief of the staff of the division. From that moment he never quitted Africa. In 1842, he was named a colonel and deputy-chief of the staff of the Algerian army. Everywhere he gave proofs of high intelligence and daring courage. In 1846 he was raised to the grade of brigadier-general, and commanded in 1848 the division of Oran. In all the expeditions in which he took part, General Pelissier distinguished himself by the energy of his resolutions and of his enterprises. His name was several times mentioned in the orders of the day of the army, and twice he was wounded before the enemy whilst fighting with intrepidity. Frequently stern to excess, in command, he hides under this rough exterior a heart warm and devoted to those he loves. In the later years of his stay in Algeria—having been appointed general of division since the year 1850,—he added to the qualities of a valiant soldier, those of enlightened organisation and administrator, during the command of the division of Mostaganem, of the division of Oran.



MAJORAL PELISSIER.  
(DUC DE MALAKOFF.)

*From a Photograph by A. Pottier.*



and lastly, in the general government, *ad interim*, of Algiers. The capture of Laghouat was a bold and brilliant feat of arms, which crowned the previous military services of the general."

General Canrobert refused to take the place of General Pelissier in the command of the 1st *corps d'armée*, and which was therefore confided to General de Salles. This was not only self-denying, but judicious, on the part of General Canrobert; for had he assumed the command vacated by Pelissier, it would have devolved upon him to execute the very things he shrunk from undertaking as commander-in-chief. General de Salles was an officer of experience; he had seen service first in the expedition to the Morea, next in Africa, then in the siege of Antwerp, and again in Africa. His direction of the well-executed attack of the 2nd of May gained for him great reputation in the

Crimean army. Still, it was doubted whether his experience was sufficient for so large a command.

The events narrated in this chapter were too important not to be placed in detail before the reader. Their consequences were momentous, and therefore we have followed the track of all those circumstances which constituted the painful complications of the period, but which at last gave place to a new order of things. Canrobert retired with dignity, and the sympathy and respect of the allied armies and nations went with him in his comparative obscurity. He did not partake of what so many have experienced, and which Shakspeare has so well described—

"The painful warrior famoused for fight,  
After a thousand victories, once foiled,  
Is from the book of honour razed quite,  
And all the rest forgot for which he toiled."

## CHAPTER LXXXIII.

BEFORE SEBASTOPOL IN MAY, CONTINUED.—ARRIVAL OF THE SARDINIANS.—USEFUL LABOURS OF M. SOYER.—ILLNESS OF MISS NIGHTINGALE.—FRUSTRATED ATTEMPTS OF THE RUSSIANS ON THE BRITISH ADVANCED TRENCHES, AND BRAVERY OF THE 68TH REGIMENT.—EXTRAVAGANCE OF THE TRANSPORT MANAGEMENT.—SICKNESS OF THE TROOPS.—DREADFUL CONFLICTS ON THE LEFT OF THE FRENCH.—CAPTURE OF RUSSIAN AMBUSCADES.—ADVANCE OF THE ALLIES UPON THE TCHERNAYA.

"It is no time to discourse: the day is hot, and the weather, and the wars, and the king, and the dukes."—SHAKSPEARE.

In the last chapter, the events of the siege which occurred between the recall of the expedition to Kertch and the instalment of General Pelissier in the command of the French army were omitted, in order to allow of the consecutive relation of the incidents of such deep interest, which so rapidly succeeded in bringing about the retirement of General Canrobert, and the substitution of a more vigorous director of French military affairs. While the emperor was endeavouring to govern the movements of the allied armies, and the chiefs were disputing, the Russians were working. It was truly no time to discourse: the weather was hot, disease was reappearing in the camps, the emperor was interfering, and the leaders were quarrelling; but the foe was turning up the earth with mattock and spade, placing gabions, and making desperate attempts against the allied troops.

On the 8th of May, the Sardinian army, under the brave and skilful General Marmora, arrived at Balaklava, and sent up their advanced guard on the 9th. They had scarcely taken a part in the duties they had undertaken, when cholera and Crimean fever made their appearance among them, and some officers and soldiers fell victims. M. Soyer was exerting

himself to improve the dietary of the army. The indefatigable and devoted Miss Nightingale was ministering mercy throughout the camp; and the British soldiers and sailors were working indefatigably, still borne down by overwork.

On the night of the 9th, the enemy made two serious assaults upon the most advanced parallel of the British right attack. These conflicts bore a close resemblance to many which preceded them: the enemy came on furtively, but this time the British were more on the alert, and the chastisement inflicted upon the enemy was more severe. The French manifested an earnest desire to aid the British, and drew off the fire of the enemy considerably.

On the night of the 10th, an alarm ran along the whole of the British lines. The Russians sought to effect a surprise on the advanced British parallels, which was detected and punished severely. For about half an hour, in front of the English right attack, the musketry rolled ceaselessly, but all the efforts of the Russian officers, and they were strenuous and brave, could not induce the soldiers to charge the English with the bayonet. They lay down on their breasts upon the ground, and in this

way loaded and fired; they suffered, consequently, less than they otherwise would have suffered; but as the position was new to them, they fired too high, and very little loss was experienced by the British.

On the 11th there was an awful storm, and the Russians took advantage of it, hoping to come up unheard upon the British left attack. The sentries were vigilant, and the foe fell back before the resolute fire of our men. They were rallied by their officers, and it was next to impossible to hear their approach, so loud and fierce was the storm. They gained the parapet unheard and unseen, for although very stormy nights are seldom dark, that night was one of dismal gloom. As they leaped into the trench, they were received upon the bayonets of the 68th regiment. This corps behaved most gallantly, maintaining a formidable conflict hand to hand with superior numbers of the enemy. They had a brave and skilful commander in their colonel, Mackey. Clearing the Russians out of the work, the fight was resumed with the enemy's supports, and this time the Russians were obliged to use the bayonet in and out of the trench. The conflict ended as such conflicts between the British and Russians always ended, by a decisive defeat of the latter. Their dead and wounded were numerous, and prisoners were left in the hands of the gallant 68th. In reference to these combats the English commander wrote home on the 12th of May as follows:—

"I do myself the honour to acquaint your lordship that General de la Marmora, with a portion of the Sardinian contingent, arrived off Balaklava on the night of the 8th instant, and he came up to head-quarters the following morning. The very unfavourable state of the weather since the 9th has prevented any material part of the force being landed; and it has been found necessary to send the vessels that brought it, and which could not be got into the harbour, to Kazatch Bay, until it should moderate. Five troops of the 12th Lancers landed on the 9th from the *Himalaya*, which performed the voyage from Alexandria to Balaklava in ninety-four hours. The enemy made two serious assaults upon our most advanced parallel of the right attack on the night of the 9th, but were on each occasion most nobly met, and repulsed with considerable loss. The arrangements of Colonel Trollope, who had charge of the right attack, and Lieutenant-colonel Mundy, the field-officer of the trenches, were most judicious; and Captain Turner, of the Royal Fusiliers, and Captain Jordan, of the 34th regiment, are reported to have done their duty in the most gallant manner. They opened a powerful fire on our trenches on the following night, and exposed their columns to

a heavy musketry fire from the troops on duty. They did not, however, reach the parapets, nor, indeed, come very near them. Last night a very determined sortie was made upon the advance of our left attack. The enemy moved forward in two columns from the Woronzoff Road. Our advanced sentries having slowly retired, the guard of the trenches was prepared to receive them, and consequently drove them back in the most determined manner. A few Russians only got into the parallel, and five were left dead close outside. The conduct of both officers and men was admirable, and it is with deep concern that I have to report the death of Captain Edwards, of the 68th foot, and that of five men. I have also the pain of saying that the wounded amount to thirty. Owing to the great quantity of rain which has fallen during the last few days, the service in the trenches has again been most arduous and severe upon our men, who deserve all praise for their energy and untiring perseverance. I enclose the returns of casualties to the 10th instant."

On the 15th his lordship again addressed the minister of war:—

"Since my despatch of the 12th instant, nothing has occurred worthy of being reported to your lordship. The fire has been very slack, and that of the enemy has been directed towards the French works, rather than against the English trenches. The remainder of the 12th Lancers has arrived, and will be disembarked to-day. All our means are devoted to the landing of the Sardinian troops, which the bad weather had prevented on the arrival of the first ships. I have found it necessary, in some instances, to land artillery horses at Kazatch Bay, to avoid further crowding the harbour of Balaklava. I enclose the return of casualties to the 13th instant, inclusive."

The camps were much distressed to hear that Miss Nightingale was attacked with Crimean fever. The heat now set in with nearly as much inconvenience to the men as the cold of winter, and as there was much decomposing matter about the camps, sickness went on increasing. The troops suffered much from the want of water, and but for the rains which had fallen for some days, the inconvenience would have been much greater.

The correspondents of the English press complained of the extravagance with which the chiefs of departments conducted their affairs, especially in the navy; and the way in which transports were kept idle in the harbour at enormous expense. Sir James Graham, who, as first lord of the Admiralty under the Palmerston government, ought to have known something of these matters, stated

his examination before the Sebastopol committee, almost in the same breath, that Admiral Dundas and that Lord Raglan were the responsible persons having control in this department; both officers disclaimed it, and Admiral Dundas declared that he never did or would assume the smallest responsibility or control in connection with the transport service. Mr. Russell commented that every sailor serving ashore cost the country about £25 per day, in consequence of the detention of vessels for their use in one way or other. A transport laden remained, according to the *Times'* correspondent, six weeks in harbour, without discharging its cargo, the country paying about £2 15s. per ton, per month. By the middle of May the heat was ninety-five degrees in the shade, and the sickness, indicated in the early part of the month, much increased. This state of things, at last, called for the notice of the commander-in-chief in his despatches. The reports of the medical officers, sent by him as enclosures, were interesting statistically, and as showing the difficulties still to be encountered in this great war. On the 19th of May Lord Raglan wrote as to Lord Panmure:—

"I have the honour to enclose a letter from the inspector-general of hospitals forwarding the weekly report on the sick of the army under my command. I deeply regret to have drawn your lordship's attention to the fact that cholera has reappeared here, that twenty men have died, and that fifty-two men were yesterday labouring under the fatal disease. The troops have been free from it for several months, and I was in hopes that we should have had no return of it. General Canrobert informs me that it had never ceased to prevail in the French army, in a greater or lesser degree."

In this despatch Lord Raglan enclosed a report from Dr. Hall, inspector-general of hospitals, dated at the head-quarters camp, on the 12th, and which ran as follows:—

I have the honour to report on the weekly number of sick of the army serving in the Crimea, from the 6th to the 12th instant, and to observe that the following are the proportions, which are extremely moderate, viz.:—Ratio of admissions to strength during the week, 0.10 per cent.; ratio of deaths to strength during the week, 0.20 per cent.; but I regret to have to add that since the 12th instant spasmodic cholera has considerably increased, and as many as eighteen deaths, and fifty-two cases of treatment, have been reported within the twenty-four hours. The 4th division, including the Buffs and 71st, the 2nd and the 3rd divisions, with B G and P batteries of artillery, have suffered most; but as yet the

disease can hardly be said to exist in the cavalry, 1st and 3rd divisions, or in the siege-train. This exemption, however, there is reason to apprehend, will not be of any very long duration. Hitherto the disease has chiefly attacked new comers, and many of the cases have occurred when the men were either actually in the trenches, or immediately after their return from duty in them. This may have been owing to the combined causes of fatigue and local miasma, but to neither in particular, for we find the men of the B G P batteries, who never go into the trenches at all, and who are not overworked, have suffered nearly as much as any others. All the men attacked in them, with, I believe, one exception, had recently arrived in the Crimea. In the P battery, two of the men attacked had only just landed; one, I think, had been about twenty-four, and the other thirty-six hours on shore when they were attacked, and in both the disease followed intemperance.

"The weather, which for some days previous to the 10th had been extremely warm, was followed on that day by heavy rain, which continued, alternating with periods of dense fog, during the whole of the 11th and 12th; but it has now cleared up again, and the temperature has been considerably reduced. The Buffs and 71st, which had only just marched up to their new encamping ground before the rain set in, were ill prepared for such an occurrence, and their tents, which had not been properly trenched, were speedily flooded. The 48th regiment, in the 4th division, and the 2nd battalion of the Royals, in the 2nd division, both newly-arrived regiments, had been a few days longer in camp, and were somewhat better prepared, but the sites of their camp are not good, nor are those of the Buffs or 71st either. The 48th are on a level piece of ground, where the 63rd hospital establishments were in the winter: the soil is tenacious, and the water lodges in pools, and remains until evaporated by the sun's rays. The Buffs and second battalion of the Royals are on low ground between the second and fourth divisions, with the same disadvantages as the 48th; the 71st occupy rather better ground, as their tents are pitched just where the ground begins to rise to form the hill on which the huts of the 14th and 39th have been built; but, I think, all these regiments might be removed with great advantage to their health, to the higher and drier ground, and I hope, from the short distance, without any very material detriment to their military position. The health of the first division continues to improve, and the number of the fever cases in the 79th and 93rd is considerably reduced. The men are well supplied, and the duties and fatigues comparatively light. In the left siege-train and attack

some cases of low continued fever have occurred, arising, Mr. Elliot, the superintending surgeon, thinks, from fatigues in the heat of the day, and exposure to damp at night. Two serious accidents have occurred during the week, one requiring amputation of the thigh, on account of cannon-shot injury of the knee, the other an injury of the foot, occasioned by the same shot, requiring the removal of the heel and a bone adjoining it, called the astragalus. These injuries occurred on the 7th, and are both doing well. There is another interesting case in the hospital of the left siege-train, where the greater part of the lower jaw on both sides was carried away by a cannon shot. This case, under the able and indefatigable care of Staff-assistant Surgeon A. H. Taylor, is rapidly proceeding to a cure, and, by judiciously drawing the parts together, the deformity will by no means be so considerable as might be imagined. The man is now walking about, and though he as yet requires to be fed through a tube, he is able to smoke his pipe. The cavalry division is improving in health. There are fewer fever cases, and the man of the 13th Light Dragoons, who last week was considered in a hopeless state, is, I am glad to say, progressing favourably. The 10th Hussars is the only regiment in the cavalry division that has anything like a heavy sick list, and they are suffering from dysentery contracted in Egypt, and kept up by sleeping on the ground here, after the comforts of Indian barrack life. In the second division febrile complaints still continue to be the most numerous class of diseases, but bowel affections are becoming more common, and spasmodic cholera has made its appearance; eighteen cases have occurred during the week, of which seven proved fatal. In the third division, although there is no marked diminution in the number of sick, the decreased mortality marks a mitigation in the form of fever that is prevailing. The mortality this week is only one-half what it was last week. Fourth division:—Cholera has made its appearance in this division during the week, and thirteen cases have occurred, seven of which died, and four of them belonged to the 48th regiment.

"On the night of the 11th the Russians made a sortie, and one officer and five men of the 68th were killed, and twenty-two men were wounded; among the latter is a case of musket bullet lodged in the brain. The man must have been shot from above, as the ball entered the upper part of the head and lodged. The trephine was applied, and several *speculi* of bone, that had been driven down, removed; but the ball was so deeply embedded in the brain it could not be discovered. He is still alive, but there is little or no hope of his ultimate recovery.

"Light division:—In this division, as in others, fever is the prevalent disease, but on two deaths have occurred from it during the week. Seven men have died from wound and two of cholera—one in the 77th, and the other in the 23rd regiment. Fifty-five cases of gun-shot wounds were admitted during the week, the greater portion of them fresh wounds. Of the seven deaths that occurred, one was wound of the lung, one a wound of the abdomen, in which the small intestines were wounded; one a fracture of the skull by musket ball, another a severe fracture of the thigh and ankle, by the bursting of a shell besides bullet wounds through both arms. There was a second case of injury of the head as well as a second of injury of the lung. The seventh death is not detailed.

"Every precaution is being taken to remove nuisances from the camps and their neighbourhood, and to improve their sanitary condition, as well as that of the locality, and in this the sanitary commissioners sent out from England afford their cordial assistance."

On the 19th his lordship sent home a brief despatch to this purport:—

"I do myself the honour to enclose the list of casualties that occurred between the 14th and 17th instant. For the last two days there has been hardly any firing on either side. Larconvoys have come into Sebastopol from the northern side, but there has been no movement of importance. The heat has been very oppressive since Wednesday. I deeply regret to have to report that I have just received a letter from General Osten-Sacken, in answer to an inquiry I addressed to him on the subject informing me that Captain Arnold, of the 4th regiment of foot, who was wounded and taken prisoner on the night of the 5th, died the same night."

Another despatch, of the same date, was very satisfactory to the public:—

"I have the honour to enclose the copy of a letter from Captain Montagu, of the Royal Engineers, prisoner of war, dated Simpheropol April 28th, transmitting a list of British prisoners who died either there or on their route from Sebastopol. I beg to forward this return in duplicate. Your lordship will see with satisfaction that the British prisoners who are still in the hospital at Simpheropol receive equal, not greater attention than the Russian soldiers from the authorities, and are constantly receiving presents from visitors."

The enclosures which this despatch carried made the following report:—

*Simpheropol, April 28*

SIR,—I have the honour to enclose the accompanying list of prisoners who died either

re or on their road from Sebastopol. There were some others dead; but Thomas Berry, 8th Hussars, who furnished me with this list, could not remember the names of the rest.

I have, &c.,

H. MONTAGU,

*Captain, Royal Engineers.*

*To Major-general Estcourt, &c.*

"I have been given to understand that the prisoners who are sick in hospital have received equal, if not even greater attention than their own soldiers from the authorities, and are constantly receiving presents, &c., from visitors. There are five or seven men who will be sent on the first opportunity to Odessa, for the purpose of being forwarded to England, they being incapable of serving again."

The events of the siege up to the 26th are given in brief in a despatch of his lordship's, of that date:—

"I have the honour to report to your lordship that a portion of the allied armies took a position yesterday on this side of the Chernaya, the left of the French resting under a redoubt established upon the edge of this ridge overhanging the valley, and opposite the Kerman heights; the right extending beyond Baktar; and the ground more to the right, behind Tchorgoum, being occupied by the Sardinian troops, aided in their advance by the 10th Hussars, and 12th Lancers, and the horse artillery, under Colonel Parlbay. Omar Pasha at the same time moved forward to the low heights in front of Balaklava, and thus afforded support to the French divisions before him. These were commanded by General Canrobert, who pushed forward across the bridge of Baktar, and drove the enemy, who were not in great numbers, off, and, having cleared his front, he withdrew to this side of the river, where he now remains. Sir Colin Campbell advanced the Royal Marines from the high ridge on our extreme right to a point commanding the old Baidar Road; and Colonel Parlbay, with the regiments I have mentioned, reconnoitred the country on the immediate right of General La Marmora's position, and controlled along the Woronzoff Road, in the direction of Baidar. The appearance and bearing of the Sardinian troops are highly satisfactory, and I anticipate the greatest advantage from their addition to this army under their distinguished leader, General La Marmora, whose zeal for the service and ardent desire to co-operate with us I am happy to have so early an opportunity of acknowledging and recording. Nothing of importance has occurred in the British trenches since I wrote to your lordship on the 19th instant. The death of Colonel Egerton, of the 77th, on the night of the 19th ult., as already announced

to your lordship, prevented my receiving in due course the official report of the conduct of the officers serving immediately under him; and it is only a few days ago that I learnt that Captain Gilby was the next in seniority to him, of the 77th, on the occasion, and that he had highly distinguished himself. I deem it an act of justice to a most deserving officer to bring his conduct under the notice of your lordship. I enclose the returns of casualties to the 24th inst. Your lordship will regret to see that Lieutenant Williams, of the 17th, has been severely wounded. I have the greatest pleasure in announcing to your lordship the brilliant success which attended an attack by the French army of some ambuscades at the head of the Quarantine Bay, and in front of a cemetery near it. The attack was made on the night of the 22nd, and the operation was completed on the following evening. The enemy had collected a very large force on the first occasion to resist our allies; but, notwithstanding, the French were enabled, by their brilliant gallantry and determined resolution, to maintain themselves in the pits at the head of the bay on the 22nd, and on the 23rd to occupy the whole, with less resistance on the part of the Russians, who are stated to have sustained a very severe loss. The French were necessarily exposed to a very heavy fire, and were assailed by vastly superior numbers. The achievement they accomplished redounds therefore highly to their renown, and is hailed with satisfaction by their allies. An expedition, composed of British, French, and Turkish troops, sailed for Kertch on Tuesday evening and Wednesday morning, and I hope soon to be able to announce the landing of the corps, and the result of its first operations. It is commanded by Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown, and has been conveyed in English and French ships under the command of Admiral Sir E. Lyons and Admiral Bruat, whose exertions to carry out this important service have been most conspicuous. The 31st regiment has arrived from Corfu. I am much concerned to have to report that Major-general Buller has been obliged, by the failure of his health, to leave the army. He has been constant in the discharge of his duty since he joined this army, distinguished himself both at Alma and Inkerman, and persevered in taking his turn in the trenches until driven by illness to withdraw. I regret the loss of his services exceedingly."

The sailing of the Kertch expedition, referred to by his lordship in the foregoing, will form the subject of a separate chapter, as a distinct theatre of action will be brought before the reader.

The attack on the 22nd, of the cemetery and

rifle-pits referred to, was one of the most gallant acts hitherto effected by our ally during the progress of the siege. General Pelissier immediately on assuming the command, determined to carry into execution the measures which both he and Lord Raglan considered to be necessary. Instead of attacking the town as one vast intrenched camp, the points were to be selected for assault, to capture which would gradually break down the strength of the enemy's position; so that the siege would, as it were, resolve itself into several sieges, each having a certain distinct character from the other. The English directed their efforts against the Great Redan, and the Garden Battery; and the French more particularly directed their labours against the Mamelon. To distract the enemy's attention from the procedure against that work, as well as to dislodge him from a position of importance, the assault of the works about the cemetery was undertaken. The enemy had worked with sleepless vigilance and restless toil against the French approaches on the left, and their defences arose, as if by magic, formidable alike in strength and numbers. The French approaches, which were formed in the result of the gallant assault of the 2nd of May, gave the enemy serious alarm, and to avert pressure in that direction, the enemy turned his attention to his extreme right, on the side of the Quarantine. That which the French had to apprehend on this point was the formation, by the Russians, of a *place d'armes*, favourable for them against the left attack of the besiegers. To connect certain ambuscades on the bay with the larger side of the cemetery, appeared to be the object of the enemy, which Pelissier determined to defeat: he accordingly ordered De Salles to force the position. The nature of the operation was, in all respects, similar to that which De Salles had personally accomplished on the 2nd, in front of the Central Bastion; but the sphere of battle was larger and more favourable to the defenders. A most bloody resistance was expected. De Salles committed the conduct of the attack to General Paté, assisted by La Motte Rouge and Beuret, generals of brigade; in company with these officers De Salles reconnoitred the position, and then summoned Generals Dalesme and Lebœuf, officers of the engineers and artillery, and by their advice determined on the mode of procedure.

At four o'clock, the troops marked off for the attack assembled on the same spot where they had mustered, who on the 2nd of May issued forth against the works before the Flagstaff Bastion. Colonel Raoult marked the points of preparatory occupation.

The force was divided into two distinct commands: one detachment was to attack the ambuscades on the bay, the other to attack

those which debouched from an angle of the cemetery. On the former point, General Beuret was directed with three companies of the 10th battalion of foot Chasseurs, three battalions of the 2nd regiment of the Foreign Legion, and a battalion of the 98th regiment on the second, La Motte Rouge, with the pickets of the 1st regiment of the Foreign Legion, with two battalions of the 28th: a battalion of the 18th, and two battalions of the Imperial Guard were in reserve. The force thus set in motion was most formidable, and it was evident that the assault of these ambuscades would assume the proportion of a battle. The troops employed were excellent, and the Foreign Legion, as usual, were among the foremost. This body of men was comprised of Poles and Italians, with some Germans, Swiss, Belgians, and Spaniards; but either of the first two contributed more than all the last four put together. The men were brave, and generally hated the Russians; but were sensitive to the slightest reflection upon their respective nationalities, and were apt in such cases to desert.

At nine o'clock General Paté gave the signal and the battle began. The soldiers of the Foreign Legion darted forward with indescribable impetuosity upon the ambuscades of the cemetery, carrying it at the point of the bayonet. La Motte Rouge, ever foremost where engaged, leading them himself. The other body of the legion carried with equal courage the ambuscades on the bay. On that very night, the enemy had intended to connect by works these two points of attack; and there was, therefore, a far larger body of troops collected than otherwise would have been at hand. This is evident from the journal of the operations of the Russian army, which contains the following entry:—

“The aide-de-camp General Prince Gortschakoff having remarked that the enemy extended his trenches on the left of his approaches and thus menaced our lodgments near the cemetery, ordered that there should be constructed a line of counter-approaches, in front of those lodgments, on the declivity of the Mamelon, towards the enemy's side, with embankment towards Bastion 5. This new intrenchment could be defended by the cross-fire of our nearest batteries, and the proposed object was to establish, at its extremity, a battery to take in flank the works of the besiegers. Intending to finish in the night of the 22nd to 23rd May the intrenched work so commenced the aide-de-camp General Prince Gortschakoff ordered that the regiments of Chasseurs of the Marshal Prince of Warsaw and Podolia, with two battalions of that of Jitomir, should be concentrated at nine o'clock in the evening in front of Bastion 6, to protect the works. The battalions of the regiment of infantry of Minsk

d that of the Chasseurs d'Ouglitch were sent reinforce the troops engaged."

With these forces the Muscovites rallied and argued. For two hours the battle raged, and the French were victors; immediately they worked to fortify the conquered post, while the motion of the vanquished played upon them the case-shot. On the side of the Quarantine vine the Russians poured forth in great numbers; but the French engineers had to some extent directed the workmen to find shelter, while the obstinate Foreign Legion lined the ranks. It was the custom of the Russians to begin on formal attacks with great noise; their drums beating, trumpets braying, and the men uttering the most dissonant yells, to which their officers frequently gave a sort of key-note. But this was practised to intimidate the French with the idea of superior numbers, but the "inkerman screech," as the English called it, had no effect upon the legion, they silently and resolutely stood to their arms: they received the shock of the fanatical and excited attack, a few well-aimed volleys were exchanged, and then the dreadful bayonet shock smote the attacking lines. The night was not dark, it was summer, and the combatants could distinctly see one another in every varying phase of the fight. Terrible was this conflict—few living men have witnessed such another: each party brought up his reserves; the French guard engaged with shouts of enthusiasm, and the voltigeurs of the guard displayed the agility and valour for which their description of force has been celebrated since the campaigns of the Emperor at Napoleon. The French reserves as they came up were mowed down in considerable numbers by the cannon of the foe; and, after long struggle, and after penetrating every ambuscade, the French had to retire upon their entrenchments: they re-formed, were reinforced, fought in again with the same impetuosity, and again were victors. The French force on this point became overwhelmingly numerous at this juncture, for two other battalions of the voltigeurs of the guard had joined them, and two regiments of chasseurs; yet all that this great force could do was to destroy the ambuscades—the obstinacy with which the Russians fought prevented the permanent occupation of the post. Colonel Raoult was desperately wounded, and some officers of well-known merit perished.

The next night the battle was renewed: the Emperor declared that he would sacrifice 10,000 men, rather than allow the Russians to carry out their system of counter works in that direction: meanwhile, throughout the day, the Russians conducted a heavy fire from the town. In the evening the assailing columns were repulsed at the previous rendezvous; the division Le Vaillant was to bear the brunt of the

battle, and the guards and two additional battalions of voltigeurs were to form a strong reserve. On the extreme left of the French the conquest of the previous evening had been more complete, and there the troops were powerfully reinforced under General Couster: General Duval was to attack the works under the cemetery wall, for many had not been destroyed the night before. At nine o'clock a rocket shot up as the signal of advance, and the troops dashed on with the same impetuosity as in their previous attack. The enemy did not appear to expect any assault that night, and their false security betrayed them; almost without resistance they were expelled from all the posts they ought, with their usual bravery, to have defended. As soon as ever the enemy was driven out, the French engineers commenced their works, and continued under a heavy fire to urge them forward: so paralysed were the Russians by the suddenness of the *coup*, that they did not dare to resume the contest. The works went on all night until dawn under a heavy fire of grape, and such ambuscades as did not come within the French plans were destroyed.

On the 25th, Osten-Sacken sent out word that an armistice for burial was desired: it was granted. The French handed over 1200 dead to the enemy; many more perished, for the commander of the French artillery directed his guns with fatal effect upon the Russian reserves: 4000 men, in killed and wounded, were lost to the czar, and half that number to the French emperor.

Soon after this it was resolved to extend the positions of the army. It was necessary to do so from the scarcity of water, and of fodder for the horses. General Canrobert was entrusted with a force to clear the valley of the Tchernaya of any parties of the enemy lounging there, and open the way for the occupation of the ground to the very banks of the river. The whole valley was rich with verdure, and offered tempting supplies for the horses of the invading hosts. The force of Canrobert was composed of his own division, Bruat's division, and of the two cavalry divisions of Morriss and D'Allonville. Five batteries of the artillery of the reserve were added. These corps assembled at midnight on the plain. French authorities, in relating this affair, omit all mention of the Sardinians, who preceded Canrobert, and pushed their way to the Traktar Bridge, driving back the Cossacks, who made feeble opposition to their advances. A considerable Turkish force followed, of whom our French friends make no more mention than of the gallant Sardinians. Sardinians, Turks, and French, occupied the valley without resistance. The French threw their powerful force of cavalry across the stone bridge called

Traktar; and these were followed by French and Sardinian infantry. Upon all these troops the guns of the Russian redoubt gave play; but, before the arrangements made to storm it could be carried out, the enemy secured the guns, and retreated upon the M'Kenzie Heights, and upon Aitodor. The allies retired to the left bank of the river, and the French occupied the heights of Fedukhine. The Sardinians pitched their tents to the French right, on the heights between Inkerman and Tchorgoum. The Turks formed themselves into two lines on the knolls where the battle of Balaklava had so much of its interest. The French continued, day by day, to extend themselves towards the valley of Baidar, which furnished excellent and abundant sup-

plies for the cavalry. This the enemy would have destroyed had he any foresight as to its occupation by the allies; but he remained secure, supposing that their great sufferings, especially on the part of the English, would incapacitate them for such an extension of their lines.

General Canrobert resigned the command to General Morriss, the senior officer. The troops rejoiced in the re-occupation of this beautiful valley, then clothed with rich verdure, and variegated with flowers of every form and hue, for which the southern Crimea has been famed.

So ended May in the embattled army, which were preparing for still further carnage and still greater actions.

#### CHAPTER LXXXIV.

HOME EVENTS AFTER THE VIENNA CONFERENCE.—PARLIAMENTARY DEBATES.—STATE OF PUBLIC OPINION IN ENGLAND AND FRANCE.—DISTRIBUTION OF MEDALS BY THE QUEEN.

"There be three parts of business—the preparation, the debate or examination, and the perfection; whereof, if you look for dispatch, let the middle only be the work of many, and the first and last the work of few."—LORD BACON.

In the chapter on the Vienna conference some home events were anticipated in order to give a completeness of narrative to the whole series of events connected with that political abortion—

"Parturiunt montes nascitur ridiculus mus."

Scarcely had the Vienna conferences terminated, when the government was fiercely attacked for its conduct in connection with them. Some of those attacks were simply factious; others were dictated by principle, and a jealousy for the honour of the country. In the Peers, the Lords Grey, Derby, Malmsbury, and Ellenborough, looking at the war and the conduct of the ministry from very different stand-points, raised various discussions. In the Commons, Messrs. Gibson, Bright, Layard, Roebuck, and D'Israeli, conducted a series of cross-questions and debates exceedingly annoying to the ministry. These parties were hardly met by the Premier with sufficient dignity, and Lord John bore himself with an insolent *hauteur*, incompatible with his real position.

On the 11th of May, Mr. Milner Gibson proposed an address to the crown, declaring the regret of the house that the Vienna conferences had not been brought to a satisfactory conclusion; and asserting the opinion of the house that the overtures of Russia offered the elements of a just and equitable peace. As Mr. Gibson was the mouth-piece of the peace-party, this resolution was regarded as of supreme importance, especially as it was understood out of doors that the whole Peelite

faction would support the member for Manchester. Lord Palmerston, however, adroitly parried the blow, by stating that Austria was engaged in seeking a fresh solution of the difficulty; that he (Lord Palmerston) would eagerly receive any honourable approaches from the part of Russia, or any satisfactory mediation on the part of Austria, but he would never consent to the humiliation of the country by a treaty which did not guarantee a lasting and solid peace. This was well received in the house, and Mr. Gibson withdrew his motion. In the course of this debate, however, Lord John Russell delivered a verbose speech which did very much to impair the good effect of that made by Lord Palmerston, exciting some uneasiness in the house, and much disaffection in the country, as to the probability of useful conferences at Vienna impairing the spirit, energy, and earnestness of the allies in carrying on the war.

Later in the month Mr. D'Israeli divided the Commons on the conduct of the war, and of the Vienna negotiations. The speech was so thoroughly partisan that it failed in producing any moral effect; and, notwithstanding the deficiencies of the government, the discontent of the country, and the recent blundering of Lord John Russell at Vienna, Mr. D'Israeli, in a full house, obtained from all parties dissatisfied with the conduct of affairs, only 219 votes, while 319 were recorded for the government. Mr. D'Israeli, in the debate, made happy and effective use of the fact of Lord John Russell's ignorance, when foreign min-

of the actual treaties between Russia and Turkey, and his recognition of a protection of the sultan's Greek subjects by the czar. Lord John, by a weak, unworthy, and ludicrous distinction between the words protector and protection, sought to escape the position in which Mr. D'Israeli placed him, but only provoked more biting sarcasm and withering reproof from the eloquent opposition leader. It was evident, however, from the vote that no other public man shared the confidence of the house and the country so largely as Lord Palmerston, and that all attempts to disturb the ministry, by motions in either house, must prove failures. There was, however, one statesman who did not think so: Earl Grey, though a witness of the triumph of the government in the Commons, and well knowing that the Derby party were not disposed to unite with him, persisted in moving a resolution in the Lords similar to that of Mr. Gibson in the Commons. His lordship's resolution was thoroughly pro-Russian: it would pledge the powers of England to the adequacy of the Czar's terms of peace. He delivered a speech, clever, captious, inconsequential, and personally querulous, enunciating the most incompatible principles, and betraying a very vicious temper; and after all, finding no supporters, and uselessly consuming the time of the country, did not press his motion to a division. Earl Grey's motion was justly characterised by the *Times* as "extraordinary;" and the *Globe*, with equal propriety, remarked that no other member of either house could make such a motion and preserve his character as a man of sense, not to say a statesman; but the evening organ of the government had great faith that this feat, to all other men impossible, his lordship had achieved. It was quite certain that he achieved nothing else on the occasion—if, indeed, his reputation for either sense or statesmanship passed through the ordeal without loss; unless it be that, having already fallen so low, it could in neither respect continue to descend, whatever the political fluctuations of this eccentric peer. Lord Grey was of opinion that the terms offered by Russia were quite satisfactory, or, at all events, sufficiently so to cause us to sheathe the sword. But his lordship was neither a Quaker nor a Slav; there was no likelihood of his being found in the chair, instead of Mr. Charles Sumner, at a meeting of the Peace Society; nor was he likely to be seen "arm-in-arm" with the noble John Bright on his way to the Covent Street meeting-house in Manchester. He had a very expensive and ill-conducted mode of his lordship's management at the Cape, which he showed no such horror of war, for his own sake, as would interfere with the execution of his own administrative crotchets.

During the last Sikh war he was a very indifferent administrator, or minister, and he will never repair to Lord Gough for a character in these matters. To what, then, was to be attributed his lordship's anxiety to close with Russia in a peace, when, to use the well-known Hibernicism, "the reciprocity was all on one side?" We could comprehend Mr. Bright when he advised us to lay down our arms and betake us to the olive branch. To say that we should not resist, but only remonstrate by quaker or other deputations to St. Petersburg, may be erroneous, but there is a principle in it which we are bound to respect, and the men who urged it were consistent. Joseph Sturge did not blow hot and cold with the same mouth. He did not talk one day of the duty of a vigorous prosecution of the campaign, and another for closing it on any terms for peace's sake. It was with Lord Grey such a paradox of policy was alone to be found. What did Russia offer? She would consent that the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus should have open gates, through which the allies could enter the Euxine, and Russia enter the Mediterranean. This might or might not be an advantage to the Western powers; but it would be a very certain advantage to Russia. But what right had any power to demand of Turkey that she should open the sea-gates of her empire to the cruisers of all other powers? What would be thought of the honour of nations who allied themselves for the integrity of her dominion, and made peace by ceding her most sacred territorial privileges to her enemy? We had no right to enforce such a measure upon Turkey, even if the advantage to ourselves more than counterbalanced the concession to Russia. Russia had proved herself a perfidious enemy of Turkey. She had lent her help only the more effectually to destroy her. She repelled Mehemet Ali because it was not for her own interests to see so powerful a chief sitting in the gate of the City of the Sultan. She would rather aid the Padishaw to repel the Pasha than, by allowing the latter to clutch the reins of empire, find a more powerful barrier raised against her own encroachments. Yet, on the ground of such services, she asked for a recognition from Turkey of confidence, and a free passage through her waters. The other proposal of Russia, to keep the straits of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus closed against all ships of war was nothing more nor less than to propose the *status quo ante bellum*: it was in effect to say, "Withdraw your armies from our territory, and your fleets from the disputed sea, and leave to Turkey and ourselves the task of balancing naval and military strength there." Why, this was just what the two powers had been doing hitherto, with exclusive profit to

Russia, with continual danger to the balance of European power, and uneasiness, if not alarm, to every government and people proximately or remotely interested. Yet Lord Grey thought this was all very good of Russia: so it was, for herself; and so it would be for Lord Grey also, sympathising as he did with the Greek church, and anxious to promote its power—at all events, when not in direct collision with the Latin. It would also bring into disrepute the politicians who excluded Lord Grey from power—Peelite and Whig—and smooth the way to the great object of that nobleman's ambition—the premiership. If, however, the government had gone out upon his motion, he would never have dared to carry into effect the policy upon which he should foist himself into power, admitting that in such case he would be sent for by her majesty. But he knew very well the government would scarcely go out upon an adverse vote of the lords; his aim must therefore have been to weaken them by such a vote at home, and more especially abroad, and prepare the way for himself on some other question. Still we do not deem it necessary to find for the noble earl any such calculating policy, however correctly the supposition may depict him. It may, after all, have been one of the frequent outbursts of oddity to which he is liable, arising in great part from the affectation of being wiser than everybody, and having the political sagacity of the empire centred in himself. This made his lordship the torment of every ministry with which he had been connected. His faculty of mischief, one way or other, in or out of office, seldom rested, and would, in his position, be far from harmless, if he were less odd and crotchety in his selection of occasions for its exercise. Yet this was the man who, some time previously, a party were anxious to make minister of war. *Proh pudor!* What a minister of war we should have had in the man who would again give up Turkey to the honour of a czar, the honesty of his diplomatists, and the mercy of his marauders. Welcome peace, if we can secure it with untarnished principle; but to play fast and loose with the empire which we interposed to save, and to gamble with our own blood and treasure—satisfied with a drawn game, where that was the only hope for our opponent, and the only fear for ourselves, was a policy as humiliating to our intelligence as it would have been to our honour and our power.

It was the tone adopted by both the government and its opponents in these discussions which incensed the Austrian government, and caused it to publish these documents which expressed the part Lord John Russell and the French foreign minister had played at the Vienna conferences. Count Buol addressed a

circular to the minister and agents of Austria at the various courts where her representatives were placed, recapitulating the facts of Austrian mediation at the conference, and the perfect willingness of the English colonial minister and the French minister for foreign affairs to accept her terms. On the 29th of June inquiries were made in the Commons as to the truth of the statements contained in that circular. The answers given to these inquiries showed the dangers to which secret diplomacy had exposed the country. It then came out that the cabinet ignored all that Lord John had proposed to do—that his French colleague retired because he could not conscientiously aid in carrying on war when he was convinced that the terms of peace offered ought to have been accepted while the English minister kept his place, and continued to be a most bellicose member of the administration, if his warlike speeches in the Commons were fair criteria of his views and spirit; he all the while conceived that Russia had offered terms which England ought to have accepted—the government and the minister so acting concealing the whole transaction from the country! On the 6th of July the consequence of these replies was developed—the whole matter was brought more formally and seriously before the house. On the 10th of July, Sir E. B. Lytton gave notice of motion: “That the conduct of our minister in the recent negotiations at Vienna, has, in the opinion of this house, shaken the confidence of the country in those to whom its affairs are intrusted.” Lord John, upon this notice, resigned his place in the cabinet, and thereby saved the ministry. There can be no doubt that a vote, as significant as that, adverse against the government as that obtained by Mr. Roebuck against the cabinet of Lord Aberdeen, would have marked the indignation of the commons and people of England at the underhand proceedings.

Independent of the class of debates in both houses, noticed in the foregoing pages, there were other important questions agitated, which stirred the heart of the nation. Late in April Captain Boldero brought before the house the deficiencies in the medical department of the army, and he adduced irrefutable proof of his allegations. The government resisted his motion, and succeeded in defeating it only by a very narrow majority. Their victory, however, was a moral defeat, for the public felt that while Lord Palmerston personally deserved their confidence, he was surrounded by men the enemies of all reform. Later still in the same month, the chancellor of the exchequer made his financial statement, producing a general conviction of his unfitness for the magnitude of the task imposed upon him. The demands made by him upon the resources of the country were appalling. Lavish as the

country had been of its treasures for the adequate prosecution of the war, all that vast supply had been expended, although the soldiers had been starved and left unclothed, without arms, badly armed to a great extent, and often, without supplies of ammunition which could not be used against the enemy. The country felt that it was plundered—for the wild and reckless waste of the public funds, unprincipled neglect, and the employment of incompetent persons to please the ruling class, when competent persons could be had for every purpose, was plunder, in fact, by whatever other name it might in common parlance be described. The chancellor of the exchequer showed that twenty millions sterling would be required for the army and navy, and that eighty-six millions sterling would be required for the year, and yet the estimate of taxes would be twenty-three millions short of the money required. A loan of sixteen millions, to be paid at one million per year after the war should terminate, was proposed to be taken up. These estimates provoked many discussions as to the competency and integrity of public men, which vibrated through the whole nation.

At the close of April Mr. Layard—to whose patriotism and ability the check put upon corrupt officialism was in a great measure to be attributed—gave notice of motion, “That the state of the country is such as to cause serious alarm; that the sacrifice of efficiency to family influence and party interests is the source of great misfortune and disgrace to the country; and that the house will support any ministry which can enforce the efficient conduct of the public service, and the vigorous conduct of the prosecution of the war.” “The house,” however, was not willing to do all that Mr. Layard proposed to it, and persisted in entertaining the hope that Lord Palmerston, by his ability, energy, and patriotism, would be found equal to the crisis. The attempts to run down Mr. Layard by all parties interested in speculation and abuse were very appropriate to the motives that dictated them. There was a very general desire to see Mr. Layard in office, and in the Treasury-office especially; and out of doors it was held on all hands that Mr. Frederick Peel ought to give place to the honourable member. Early in May discussions arose as to the comparative merits of the officers in the service of the crown, and in that of the Honourable East India Company. A very general impression prevailed that the country suffered by the inequality between the two services, and a great desire was spread to see the Company’s officers more extensively employed in the war. Lord Ellenborough, in the Lords, and Mr. E. Perry, in the Commons, called the attention of the government and the legislature to the importance of the matter. These motions,

though not immediately successful, laid the foundation for changes which were afterwards effected, equalising the degrees of rank of the two armies, and led in various ways to the employment of the Company’s officers while the war continued.

On the 15th of May the Earl of Albemarle made an important motion—“That in order to bring the war to a speedy termination, it is necessary to restrict the trade of Russia by more efficient measures than any which have hitherto been adopted or conceived by her majesty’s government.” The interest of this debate turned upon the economic considerations connected with the course proposed, and the undesirableness of doing anything that might offend Prussia, and throw her into the arms of the enemy. It was obvious from the facts brought out that Prussia was an enemy to the allies, and espoused, in every way which she dared, the cause of the aggressor.

On the 5th of May a movement commenced which was expected to do great things for the country. “The Administrative Reform Association” was formed at a public meeting, convened for the purpose in the London Tavern; Mr. Morley, an eminent merchant of the city, in the chair. This society did very little, and received very little general support, showing that, after all the misfortunes that befel the country, it was not prepared to “lay the axe to the root of the tree.” More failures, more discredit, and more suffering, and a *great deal* more of all these were necessary to shake the clinging reliance of the people from the classes who hitherto held the reins of power. Lord Palmerston saved these classes from ignominy, and preserved for them a longer hold of power, while he did his best to teach them to use well their position and influence. To no man living ought the aristocracy of England be so grateful as to Lord Palmerston. He saved that class—he served all others. His administration benefited the country at large, and averted the class ruin of his own order. Throughout the war the country was greatly indebted to the clear-sightedness, eloquence, and fidelity of Lord Lyndhurst. The veteran lawyer and statesman early in June called the attention of the peers to the double dealing and dubious policy of Austria. He boldly affirmed that a review of the whole course of procedure of that power led to the inference that she had a secret understanding with Russia and Prussia, and was playing the allies falsely. Lord Clarendon, in a tone and manner indicating that he was himself very much of Lord Lyndhurst’s opinion, deprecated any reflections upon an ally which might yet join her forces to our own.

A resolution of Sir E. B. Lytton was carried in the Commons, which gave great satisfaction

to the public mind, it was as follows:—"That this house recommends to the earliest attention of her majesty's ministers the necessity of a careful revision of our various official establishments, with a view to simplify and facilitate the transaction of public business, and, by instituting judicious tests of merit, as well as by removing obstructions to its fair proportion and legitimate rewards, to secure to the service of the state the largest available proportion of the energy and intelligence for which the people of this country are distinguished."

Early in June a very remarkable incident occurred, showing the feeling of the court and the alarm and disapprobation entertained in high quarters in reference to the public demand for the reform of abuses, and the more direct responsibility of the ministers and other officials to the Commons and the country. The desire of the country for a more direct and efficient popular control over the army, was alleged to have been one of the chief causes of the movement now to be noticed. On the 9th of June a banquet was given by the Trinity Corporation; Prince Albert was invited to that banquet. His royal highness was in a position in relation to the crown and the country which required the most careful abstinence from interference with the government of the country, except so far as he might give private advice to her majesty. The country would regard with constitutional jealousy any such interference on the part of a prince, a German by birth, and having German sympathies, and more especially as the retirement of Lord Palmerston from the Russell ministry was popularly believed to arise from his royal highness's too frequent meddling with foreign affairs. The old constitutional principle that the ministry are the responsible advisers of the crown, liable to be called to account by the people's house of parliament for any illegal, unconstitutional, or treasonable advice given to the crown, was too deeply seated in the English mind for the people to listen complacently to a lecture from the prince-consort on their behaviour to their rulers; and such was the character of the speech which he delivered. The English people felt that they were as competent to offer advice to his royal highness as he to them—that they had more experience than he had of the working of constitutional government—and that before he became the husband of their queen they had known how to perform their duty to her, and were likely to preserve their loyalty to her, and a just moderation towards any ministry appointed by her, without any help or counsel from him;—that to step out from his sanctuary of privilege to lecture them at public meetings for not confiding sufficiently in public men, when every

branch of the administration was proved to corrupt,—and that most of all with which officiously meddled, the army,—was on its part a great indiscretion. The public dealt leniently with this act of forgetfulness on the part of the prince, but they nevertheless felt that it was disrespectful to the nation which he adopted him; and a painful suspicion arose in the court sympathised after all with the foreign despotic governments, and that this sympathy was through his influence. No circumstance during the whole war tended so much to disturb the public mind, to make it suspicious of any movement of diplomacy, or to shake its loyalty—were that possible—to a queen so much beloved, and so deserving of that love, the intrusive speech of his royal highness at the banquet of the Trinity Corporation. The following are the passages which excited public surprise, and caused public censure:—

"If there was ever a time at which her majesty's government, by whomsoever conducted, required the support—aye, not the support alone, but the confidence, good-will, and sympathy of their fellowmen—it is surely the present. It is not the way to success in war to support it, however ardently and enthusiastically, and, at the same time, to tie down and weaken the hands of those who have to conduct it. We are engaged with a mighty enemy who is using against us all those wonderful powers which have sprung up under the generating influence of our liberty and our civilization. You find him with all that force which unity of purpose and action, impenetrable secrecy, and uncontrolled despotic power have given, while we have to meet him under a storm of things intended for peace, and for the promotion of that very civilisation, the offspring of public discussion, of the friction of party, and of the popular control on the government and the state. The queen has no power to lead troops, nor has she any at her command, such as offer their voluntary services. If the government can take no measure for the prosecution of the war which it has not beforehand to explain in parliament. Her armies and fleets can make no movements, nor even prepare any, without their being publicly announced in the papers. No mistake, however trifling, can occur, no want or weakness exist, which is at once denounced, and even sometimes exaggerated, with a kind of morbid satisfaction. The queen's ambassador can enter into no negotiations without the government having to defend him by entering into all the arguments which that negotiator, in order to be successful, ought to be able to shut up in the innermost recesses of his heart. Nay, at the most critical position, when war and diplomatic relations may be at their height, an adverse vote in parliament may at a moment deprive the queen

the whole of her confidential servants. gentlemen, our constitutional government is undergoing a heavy trial, and we shall not pass successfully through it unless the country will grant its confidence—patriotic, intelligent, and self-denying confidence—to her majesty's government."

Among the home incidents which attracted the attention of the people of England was the distribution of medals to the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates, who had returned from the Crimea invalided or wounded. Her majesty had resolved to distribute the medals in person, and this greatly increased the interest of the occasion. It was deemed the public a most graceful and befitting act on the part of her majesty, to give, with her own hands, the decorations won by those whose courage so nobly shielded her throne. The feelings of the brave men who were to receive these decorations were raised to enthusiasm, when they learned that they were to receive as a reward of their courage and constancy from their beloved queen herself. The place appointed for this grand ceremony was most appropriate—the square of the Horse-Guards, St. James's Park. The writer of this History, when he looked upon the extensive and magnificent preparations for this event, felt strongly the effect it presented to the scene which he witnessed little more than a year before, near the same spot, when the people's representatives assembled along to Buckingham Palace to assure her majesty of their support in the war she had declared. Galleries were erected for the accommodation of the Lords and Commons, for members of the government, and for the families of those who were to be publicly honoured—a most graceful tribute on the part of the country to the feelings of these gallant men. How proud that day must many a wife's, parent's, and brother's, and sister's heart have been, as the objects of their affectionate gratitude bowed before his sovereign to receive on his breast the glorious badge his noble conduct won! The royal family occupied a spacious balcony projecting from the lower windows of the Horse-Guards, which was festooned with scarlet cloth and otherwise decorated.

At ten o'clock on the morning of the 18th of July, the scene presented from the windows of the Horse-Guards, and the windows and roofs of the neighbouring houses, was most strikingly effective: a vast mass of people filled the whole area within view, yet all preserving the best order. The most conspicuous object was a group of 100 officers, decorated with various foreign badges, those of Turkey, France, &c., awaiting the most highly appreciated of their distinctions which they were that day to receive. The bands of the household

infantry were upon the parade at nine o'clock, and the guard of honour consisted of the flank companies of the battalions which had remained at home. The non-commissioned officers and men who were to receive the medals were drawn up in the rear of the guards; there were also drawn up detachments connected with these regiments which were serving in the Crimea. When this arrangement was effected, the band of the Royal Marines was heard as they marched from Whitehall, followed by the officers and men of that corps, and by the officers and men of the other branch of the sea service who were to receive medals. Her majesty occupied a suitable position upon a *dais*. The Duke of Cambridge very suitably had command of the troops on the parade: he marched the men who were to be decorated until they came within 100 feet of the *dais*, where they stood directly in the presence of the queen. There stood the stricken, mutilated, heroic band of noble heroes and patriots. Her majesty never in any public scene, in which she always performs her part with queen-like dignity and womanly grace, betrayed so much emotion—not only her countenance, but her whole frame indicated the deep and throbbing sensibility of her heart. Never, perhaps, on any public occasion did the multitude manifest so much delicacy and tact, mingled with so much enthusiasm. The people of London have a just celebrity for the intuitive possession of what is fit when assembled in masses, such as no where else is conceived; it was so on the instant when the maimed warriors of England arrived, the word "halt" was given by the Duke of Cambridge, and they stood in the presence of majesty. The whole of the mighty assemblage gave utterance to their feelings—it was not a cheer—it was not a murmur of applause—it was not a buzz of approbation—it was as if an audible throb broke from the heart of queen and people at once, in their common homage to the heroism of the brave. The people felt, too, that they had a sovereign worth battling and bleeding for; and the queen felt that she had a people, loyal alike in weal or woe, affluent alike to her in their treasures and their blood. When the queen entered, it was—as usual on public occasions—amidst the thunder of cannon and the cheers of faithful multitudes, but when she and her wounded braves stood face to face, the suppressed, yet audible, emotion of the people was the most peculiar enunciation of feeling ever perhaps heard from a multitude. The candidates for honour passed in single file to the spot where her majesty stood; each man, as he reached the left side of the *dais*, presented a card to Major-general Wetherall, containing his name and rank, the nature of his wound (if wounded), and the engagement in which it had been sustained; the general read them aloud

for the information of her majesty and her glorious suite. The minister of war handed, in each case, a medal to the queen, who personally bestowed it upon the candidate for the honour. Alas, many of these gallant men wore honours given by the enemy in the scars which seared their manly countenances, or the maimed limbs which rendered them no longer able to tread the field of war. The Duke of Cambridge, and his aide-de-camp, Major McDonald, who so gallantly incurred such imminent peril by the side of his royal highness, were the first to receive the decorations; a flush of pride rose to the countenance of her majesty at the thought that so near a kinsman—one of her own royal race—should be the first among the ranks of the meritorious and the brave, to receive public honour at her hands. The bands played the coronation march from the *Prophète*. Sir De Lacy Evans, Sir J. Burgoyne, the Earl of Cardigan, the Hon. Major-general Scarlett, Major-general Torrens, and other officers of rank, were among the first received by her majesty. Three officers were wheeled up in Bath chairs: Sir Thomas Trowbridge was the first of these, he had lost both his feet at the battle of Inkerman. It is said that the queen was so overcome with feeling that she burst into tears; when the gallant soldier was borne up to her majesty, she leaned over the chair, and not only bestowed the decoration, but announced to Sir Thomas that he was henceforth her aide-de-camp,—a post not only of honour, but of emolument. Captain Sayer of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers, and Captain Currie of the 19th foot, were the other two officers thus drawn in a carriage. The Highlanders attracted much interest on the part of the spectators, as they marched up, or hobbled up, for many were so wounded and maimed that they could not be said to march; the band struck up “The blue bells of Scotland,” and “Whar hae ye bin a’ day.”

The queen generally made some kind remark to each soldier as he passed. The sailors and marines followed in like manner, and the astonishment of the tars when her majesty said some kind word to them was very ludicrous; Jack seemed entirely unable to know what to make of his position, he looked in almost every case as if he did not know where he was; and, despite the seriousness of the occasion, and the sympathy which filled the royal breast, her majesty must have been amused by Jack’s “dumfounded” expression and bearing. There was, however, no mistaking his proud look, as he “bore away” after receiving the distinction he had well deserved. Many officers and men crept slowly along the line of procession by the aid of a stick, or the assistance of a comrade, and

some could only approach her majesty on crutches. The compassion, as well as the exultation, of queen and people was deeply increased. After some military movements the bands struck up the national anthem, and the magnificent and touching scene closed.

The non-commissioned officers, and soldiers and marines, and the petty officers and men of the navy, were marched to the queen’s riding school in Pimlico, where an excellent dinner was laid out for them; her majesty, the Prince of Wales, and the royal consort visited them during their banquet.

Many of the gallant sufferers became the subjects of individual generosity, and all were the objects of national admiration and gratitude. “After all,” said one poor fellow, he limped homeward after the day, “our country has not forsaken us.”

The events which we have described received extensive publicity in France and Italy, and other parts of the Continent, and everywhere the good taste and well-timed manifestation of public sympathy with the shattered heroes of the Crimea were applauded.

During the interval from the mutual termination of the labours of the Vienna conference to midsummer, reinforcements were sent to the Crimea from both England and France. The latter country was much agitated during a portion of that time by discussions connected with the emperor’s expressed intention of proceeding to the seat of war, or upon some separate expedition. The failure of the second bombardment caused much despondency in France, where the war had not been taken up with the public spirit which attended it in England. The heavy losses of the French troops in the fierce and frequent encounters for the Russian rifle-pits, and from the numerous sorties of the besieged, also created dissatisfaction and doubt of success; and when on the 18th of May the resignation of General Canrobert as commander-in-chief of the army was announced to the French people, they were still more concerned for the fortunes of the war, and still less sanguine of success. Had Russia offered a moderate terms of peace, France would have hailed the opportunity to terminate a war which was felt to be burthensome, and had not yet brought all that glory so necessary to sustain our ally in great enterprises. There was also a feeling of disappointment created both in France and England by the want of success in the Baltic, and a second year of maritime failure in that quarter was foreboded.

Thus chequered and disturbed were the home events which followed the rejection of the Russian overtures at Vienna. We are more turn to the scenes of actual conflict.





## CHAPTER LXXXV.

THE NAVAL CAMPAIGN IN THE BALTIC TO THE END OF JUNE, 1855.—DISCUSSIONS AS TO THE COMMAND OF THE FLEET.—NEGLECT OF THE ADMIRALTY TO PREPARE GUN-BOATS.—PREPARATIONS OF RUSSIA ON HER BALTIC COASTS.—FURTIVE VIOLATION BY PRUSSIA OF HER NEUTRALITY.—CRONSTADT IMPREGNABLE WITHOUT GUN-BOATS.—HANGO MASSACRE.—DESTRUCTION OF A FLEET OF RUSSIAN COASTERS.

"I cannot discover the policy of not hitting one's enemy as hard as one can, and in the most vulnerable place. I am certain that he would not act so by us if he had the opportunity."—THE LATE DUKE OF WELLINGTON.

At the close of the Baltic campaign of 1854 the country expected that the Admiralty and pretentious first lord would make such exertions for the next campaign in those waters would demonstrate the invincible power England upon the sea. Two things had been learned from the experience of the previous season; namely, that the fleet should, if possible, consist of screw-steamers rather than paddle-wheels, and that it should be attended by a large number of small craft capable of navigating shallow waters, and comprising gun-boats suited to the creeks and sinuosities of the gulfs of Bothnia and Finland. Accordingly, much was heard through the winter of 1854 of wonderful preparations made by England to send out an equipment in every way fit for the great objects proposed. The fleet was certainly superior to that of the expedition of 1854; but it was deficient, after all, in the kind of armament most required. The following are correct lists of the ships and their armaments, as compared with those of 1854. The former have been already given; but, as various alterations occurred after that fleet actually set out, a comparative view of both fleets here, drawn from the most accurate sources attainable, will be desirable and useful to the reader.

# BALTIC FLEET, 1854.

VICE-ADMIRAL SIR C. NAPIER.

	Guns.
Wellington ..... screw	131
Royal George .....	120
St. George .....	120
Neptune .....	120
St. Jean d'Acre ..... screw	101
Princess Royal .....	91
James Watt .....	91
Cassar .....	91
Nile .....	91
Prince Regent .....	90
Monarch .....	84
Majestic ..... screw	81
Cressy .....	81
Cumberland .....	70
Boscawen .....	70
Blenheim ..... screw	60
Hogue .....	60
Edinburgh .....	60
Ajax .....	60

1672

# FRIGATES, &c.

	Guns.		Guns.
Imperieuse .....	51	Odin .....	16
Euryalus .....	51	Magicienne .....	16
Arrogant .....	47	Valorous .....	16
Amphion .....	34	Penelope .....	16
Dauntless .....	33	Cruiser .....	14
Tribune .....	30	Archer .....	14
Leopard .....	18		
		Total .....	256

# STEAMERS OF AND UNDER EIGHT GUNS.

	Guns.		Guns.
Desperate .....	8	Rosamond .....	6
Conflict .....	8	Gladiator .....	6
Dragon .....	6	Prometheus .....	5
Bulldog .....	6	Janus .....	4
Vulture .....	6	Alban .....	4
Basilisk .....	6	Lightning .....	3
Driver .....	6		
Gorgon .....	6	Total .....	80

# TOTAL FORCE OF BALTIC FLEET, 1854.

	Guns.	Men.	Horse power.
19 Liners .....	1672		
13 Frigates, &c. ....	356		
14 Steamers of and under 8 guns	80		
46	Total .....	2108	21,200
			16,006

The following, under Commodore, afterwards Admiral, Grey, with lower deck guns out, conveyed French troops to the Aland Isles, and were present at the destruction of Bomarsund; or, at all events, were in the Baltic at that time:—

	Guns.
Royal William .....	120
St. Vincent .....	120
Hannibal* ..... screw	91
Algiers* .....	91

# FRENCH BALTIC FLEET, 1854.

	Guns.		Guns.
Austerlitz .....	100	Trident .....	80
L'Hercule .....	100	Duperré .....	80
Jemmappes .....	100	Andromaque .....	60
Tage .....	100	Poursuivante .....	52
L'Inflexible .....	90	Zenobie .....	52
Duguesclin .....	90	Virginie .....	50
Breslau .....	90		
		Total .....	1044

\* These proceeded afterwards to the Black Sea.

## BALTIC FLEET, 1855.

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR R. S. DUNDAS.

		Guns.
Wellington.....	screw	131
Royal George.....	"	102*
Exmouth.....	"	91
James Watt.....	"	91
Orion.....	"	91
Cæsar.....	"	91
Nile.....	"	91
Calcutta.....	sailer	84
Majestic.....	screw	81
Cressy.....	"	81
Colossus.....	"	81
Blenheim.....	"	60
Hogue.....	"	60
Ajax.....	"	60
Edinburgh.....	"	60
Russell.....	"	60
Hawke.....	"	60
Cornwallis.....	"	60
Pembroke.....	"	60
Hastings.....	"	60
		1555

## FRIGATES, &amp;c.

	Guns.		Guns.
Imperieuse.....	51	Cossack.....	21
Euryalus.....	51	Falcon.....	17
Arrogant.....	47	Harrier.....	17
Amphion.....	34	Cruiser.....	14
Retribution.....	22	Archer.....	14
Tartar.....	21	Magicienne.....	16
Pylades.....	21		
Esk.....	21	Total.....	367
Twelve steamers of and under eight guns.....			76

## TOTAL FORCE OF BALTIC FLEET, 1855.

	Guns.
20 Liners.....	1555
14 Frigates, &c.....	367
12 Steamers of and under 8 guns.....	76
21 Steam gun-boats.....	57
15 Mortar-boats.....	15
Total.....	2070

## FRENCH BALTIC FLEET, 1855

	Guns.		Guns.
Austerlitz.....	100	Angle.....	8
Duquesne.....	90	Tonnerre.....	6
Tourville.....	90	Pelican.....	5
Isis.....	36	Seven gun-boats of	
Galashée.....	36	three guns each.....	21
D'Assis.....	16		
		Total.....	408

Several writers have affirmed that the French did nothing in the Baltic in 1855. The above correct statement confutes that assertion. The British Baltic force was, however, vastly superior. Great importance was attached to the selection of a commander for the fleet of 1855; and the appointment of Admiral Dundas, and the setting aside of Sir C. Napier led to public discontent, and to discussions which created the conviction that the war revealed what in peace we had never found out, and probably never cared to find out—the thorough rottenness of our great official departments, civil and military. The letter of Sir Charles Napier, then going the round of the papers, exemplified this in a very forcible way. Sir

Charles was sent out with a fleet well adapted to clear the Baltic of the Russian navy, and to keep them shut up behind the granite defences of Sweaborg and Cronstadt. If that navy had encountered Sir Charles, it would have been sunk or captured. As long as our Baltic fleet could remain upon the station, not a Russian ship of war would venture out for any purpose. The object of sending out that fleet was not, however, simply for the purpose of a blockade; it was expected that Sweaborg and Cronstadt would be stormed, especially when the success of the allied forces at Bomarsund was so signal. As these objects were not answered, the dissatisfaction of the British public was great; and one of the most fertile sources of the unpopularity of the Aberdeen ministry was the do-nothing policy of the Baltic expedition. Sir James Graham, as first lord of the Admiralty, had the direction of the whole, and the responsibility rested mainly upon him, or upon the admiral he entrusted with the conduct of the expedition. No one could blame Sir James for his selection of a commander—Sir Charles had the heart of the nation with him. Either, then, the admiral disappointed public expectation, or Sir James thwarted, for some purpose or other, the gallant chief of as gallant a fleet as ever sailed the sea. Which? We never for a moment doubted that the trick and intrigue of the head of the Admiralty were the cause of the failure. It appeared that the admiral gave it as his opinion that, with a fleet of gun-boats, he could destroy the batteries of Sweaborg without troops, and that, with a certain degree of military aid, he could destroy Cronstadt. But that to such a fleet as he had—a fleet of large ships—both fortresses were impregnable. Sir Charles declared that he was baffled by the Admiralty and the government at home, and he brought against them, especially against Sir James Graham, the most grave and heavy charges. Everything that a government could do to render the Baltic expedition abortive was done. First, the admiral was allowed to undertake nothing that would risk the fleet without referring to the home authorities; yet he was told to attack Russia upon every vulnerable point. He accordingly informed the Admiralty that he could with his fleet destroy Sweaborg if there were no Russian fleet ready to pounce upon him after it had incurred damage and loss by the attack. But that, as the Russian fleet at Helsingfors and Cronstadt would certainly sally out and destroy his shattered squadrons after he had broken up Sweaborg, he must not make the attempt; but that if the Admiralty supplied him with gun and mortar-boats, and with Lancaster guns, he could accomplish the destruction of the island batteries at Sweaborg, and preserv

\* Altered from 120 in winter 1854—55.

is ships in readiness to encounter the Russian fleet should it venture forth. The Admiralty furnished him none of these appliances, which were, in a small degree, placed at Admiral Dundas's disposal, that he might be enabled to accomplish what Sir Charles had failed to do. After all the generals of engineers and artillery, and the admirals, had pronounced opinions more or less in accordance with Admiral Napier's, he was urged by Sir James to attack the Russian batteries. If the object of the government was to destroy the English fleet and save Russia, this is intelligible; but Sir Charles, or his officers, or the public, no way else. Admiral Chads, one of the first professors of naval gunnery in the world, expressed his accord with the opinions and policy of Sir Charles. Our readers will say, perhaps, Well, if Sweaborg and Cronstadt could not be battered down with the means at his disposal, why did not Sir Charles attack Riga and other small places on the coast, and why did he not make the blockade effectual?" Here Sir Charles pleaded that he was placed under two different directions—the Foreign Office and the Admiralty; the latter commanding him to obey the former, and yet still giving orders at variance totally with the orders of the new authority; so that the despatches of Sir James Graham and Lord Clarendon could not by any possibility be forthwith obeyed. If the object of the Aberdeen government was to protect Russia from any serious annoyance by the fleet so ostentatiously put out, this game of cross-purposes between the first lord and the foreign minister is ridiculous enough. It was a sure way of keeping the fleet knocking about, and of, perhaps, ruining the liberal and patriotic commander. On any other supposition, this handing over the admiral from one office to the other was altogether inexplicable. Lord Clarendon had properly nothing to do with the matter; but two offices were concerned, their chiefs might easily escape responsibility on the plea of misapprehension. Finally, the French admiral, stung with a sense of insult, and disgusted with the whole proceedings of the English Admiralty, prematurely withdrew his fleet, and left Sir Charles to himself. Upon his return he was deprived of his command, the government denying and prevaricating on the subject, until at last it was plain that the truth-speaking admiral was put aside. Sir Charles demanded the publication of his despatches; Sir James resisted on the ground of danger to the public service, and Sir Charles returned with impatience Sir James's false statements. At last Sweaborg was attacked in 1855; not with adequate resources, indeed, if these were not at Admiral Dundas's disposal, but with such means as enabled him to

burn and destroy vast accumulations of material of war, by the very means which Sir Charles had pointed out fourteen months before as necessary,—this very Admiral Dundas being one of Sir James Graham's confederates as a lord of the Admiralty, in sending out Sir Charles without a proper equipment for the service, and keeping him without it, notwithstanding his remonstrances. This very Admiral Dundas refused to go out without such aids as Sir Charles was promised and never received; yet he was Sir James Graham's backer in dismissing Sir Charles from an honourable post, that he might obtain it himself. He adopted Sir Charles Napier's plans, after having dismissed that officer for not carrying out his (Admiral Dundas's) own, which were impracticable. The collusion and treachery all through is revolting to every honourable mind. To "cap the whole," Sir James, according to Sir Charles Napier's allegation, falsified his despatches. When we couple all this with the promotion of Sir James Graham's son over the heads of his seniors and superiors by Sir Edmund Lyons, we have a picture of Admiralty mismanagement, injustice, and perfidy, which no honourable, intelligent, and free people would endure. The whole history of the Aberdeen government was one of infamy, and the administration of both our navy and army was corrupt to the core.

The discussions as to the conduct and competency of Admiral Napier, which arose in 1855, are too voluminous to transfer to these pages. When the Palmerston government was responsible for the Baltic fleet of 1855, they continued the appointments previously determined upon by the Aberdeen government. This could not well be otherwise, as Sir James Graham remained at the head of the Admiralty until the secession of the Peelites. After that event everything in this matter remained unchanged, and Admiral Dundas took out the fleet to its destination. Lord Palmerston found an occasion, however, to pronounce his opinion of Sir Charles Napier, when Mr. Malins introduced the whole question of the command of the fleet to the discussion of the House of Commons. The judgment then pronounced by the head of the cabinet was such as will give the reader a fair opportunity of judging between Sir Charles Napier and his censurers:—"I have had the pleasure and honour of a long acquaintance with the gallant admiral, Sir Charles Napier, who is the subject of this discussion, and, admiring as I do his professional and personal character, it would have been matter of very great and deep regret to me if he stood in the position of a man who had been censured and dismissed for conduct pursued in an important command. I think it has been

clearly established to the house that he has neither been censured nor dismissed. The honourable and learned gentleman quoted opinions expressed by me in a different room from this of the professional merits and distinguished qualities of my gallant friend, for so I must call him. I retract none of those opinions. I am proud to say that I think the courage, the gallantry, the professional skill and ability of my gallant friend stand as highly now as they did at the moment when I made those observations. It has been my fortune on a former occasion to profit, in the official capacity in which I was acting, by the invaluable services of Sir C. Napier. He rendered the most important service to the country by the able and distinguished manner in which he performed his duty on that occasion, and it is only due to him to say that, in my opinion, nothing has occurred in the course of the last year which in the slightest degree diminishes the high character which he has attained in the service of his country. Sir C. Napier rendered important service in the command of the Baltic fleet. He showed the greatest skill in conducting that fleet through the most intricate and dangerous navigation. He brought back a magnificent fleet without any injury, under circumstances in which a man of less skill and less judgment might have sustained serious and great disasters, and he secured the country against all those evils which might have arisen if the Baltic fleet of Russia had been permitted, either wholly or in part, to quit its ports and scour the sea. Sir, I shall only repeat, that the motion which is now made is one which the house ought by no means to agree to; but I wish it to be distinctly understood that, in negating that motion, I do not consider myself in the slightest degree, either directly or indirectly, concurring in the least impeachment of the character of Sir C. Napier. On the contrary, I think that his character stands as high as it ever did, and that my honourable and gallant friend will rank for ever among the most distinguished ornaments of the naval profession."

Such a eulogy, from such a man, ought to have been sufficient to soothe the wounded feelings of Sir C. Napier, by whomsoever aspersed.

The objects which this mighty armament was expected to accomplish were very different among different classes. A large portion of the public exulted in the anticipation of the speedy destruction of Sweaborg and Cronstadt. Those who were better acquainted with its adaptations, mourned over the neglect which left the country unprovided with gun-boats and floating mortar batteries. Sir J. Graham had warning enough, but he did not take it. The bomb-boats which accompanied the fleet were in some cases imperfectly constructed,

and the iron floating mortar-batteries were not in a state fit for service; they proved a wretched failure, sharing the fate of most specimens of naval architecture under the system of favouritism and jobbing which prevailed at the Admiralty and in "the yards." Sir James seemed to have been very much afraid of hitting the enemy too hard; the motto of this chapter did not convey to him any useful maxim or suggestion. The "hit-hard" system of the Great Duke had gone out of fashion under the influence of Peelite quackery. A considerable number of politicians were of opinion that the most that could be hoped for from the Baltic fleet was a blockade, that no more ships should be sent out than would render such blockade effectual, the true policy of the government being to bend all the energies of the nation upon the war in the Black Sea.

In Russia every exertion had been made to meet the stupendous power which it was apprehended the allies would put forth in the Baltic in 1855. The uttermost industry was used all the winter in providing and applying naval and military resources, so that the allied fleets might meet a warm reception whenever they came. The efforts of the enemy were chiefly directed to the chief fortresses, which they spared no expense to make as strong as possible. General Von Berg was appointed governor-general at Helsingfors, the Emperor Nicholas having much trust in his energy and resources. Early in February eleven large mortars arrived there, of ten to twelve inches in diameter in the bore, and capable of throwing shells of 1 cwt. Thirteen horses were required to draw these monster mortars, which were the objects of much curiosity, the people travelling from great distances to see them. Between Helsingfors and Abo large bodies of troops were placed; the cavalry were numerous and well mounted; they were so distributed, as to be able to throw themselves with rapidity upon any point where the allies might attempt a landing. From the end of February, until the fleets appeared off the coasts, detachments of Bashkirs arrived continually, these were to be employed as "advance corps" on the two shores of Finland. At Revel and Riga very strong parties of irregular cavalry arrived from the extreme east of the empire early in March. The general of artillery, Yermaloff, was dispatched by the Emperor Alexander, soon after his accession, with extraordinary powers to inspect these coasts. A regiment of hussars, 1200 strong, commanded by Gottschalk, arrived at Mittau, and extended its pickets as far as Taurogen. Between that and Libau a regiment of regular Cossacks, 900 strong, was posted in detachments. General Grekoff, with a large staff, took up his station at Libau, where he was continually reinforced by the arrival of

small detachments of Cossacks. General Siewers personally saw that Libau was put in a suitable state of defence, and showed vigour and activity throughout his command, inspiring the inferior generals with his animation. Two regiments of infantry took post in Mittau at the end of March. Five regiments of infantry, and (what the Russians call) a brigade of artillery, under General Siewers, early in the month garrisoned Norva, Riga, and Revel. The Hamburg correspondent of the *Independence Belge*, under date of the 24th of March, thus wrote:—"When I announced to you, in November last, that the Emperor of Russia had decreed the formation of an army of 100,000 men on the coast of the Baltic, I informed you that General Siewers, commander of the first army-corps in Poland, had been instructed by the emperor to organise that army, of which he was to assume the chief command. This general, who established his head-quarters at Mittau, has displayed so much activity that, towards the middle of January, he had already succeeded in uniting under his orders 62,000 men. The troops destined to complete this army are to be drawn from the different depôts of the reserve battalions, and are now *en route* from the interior to join their respective corps. To-day I have heard from Riga that the authorities have been ordered to prepare quarters for a division of 20,000 men, who are to garrison the city, and for a second corps of the same force, which is to remain in the neighbouring districts. A similar order has been addressed to the authorities of Revel by General Siewers, who is invested with all the discretionary civil and military powers conferred in Russia on the general-in-chief of an army in the field. An entire division of infantry, consisting of 16,000 men, will be shortly quartered in the barracks, public buildings, and private houses at Revel. The first corps are to arrive in those cities between the 10th and 15th of March. The Baltic army is to be *echeloned* from Cronstadt to Pölangen, that is, along the coast of the provinces of Esthonia, Livonia, and Courland. The parks of artillery stationed in 1854 in the environs of Riga and Revel, will receive this year a reinforcement of four mounted batteries."

Lines of telegraphs were formed along the shores of the gulfs, in order to prevent the possibility of surprise anywhere, and so that troops might be precipitated at a moment's notice upon the spot. Their naval preparations equalled their military. Immense supplies of hemp, tar, pitch, resin, rope, sails, spars, tanks, and other naval material, were ordered to be supplied at certain points of delivery before the end of March, under a heavy penalty. Contracts were formed with German merchants for various supplies, for which high prices were

given, bargains against time, so that before a certain date in April their supplies should be delivered at the places prescribed. It was supposed that the allies would trust a great deal to gun-boats of a new and formidable construction, and preparations were made to match them. In 1854 there were 250 Russian gun-boats in the Baltic; in 1855 they amounted to 400, each armed with one gun of 68, and four of 32-pounders. Still, with all their efforts, the enemy could only muster ten war steamers, when the English fleet entered his waters, although Cronstadt contained so powerful a force of sailing line-of-battle ships, frigates, brigs, sloops, &c., computed at thirty ships of the line, more than twice as many frigates (such as they were, many not deserving the name), and eight brigs. Early in February the *Invalide Russe* published in detail Admiral Glazenapp's report as to the build and construction of certain "new row gun-boats." They were armed in a peculiar way, to repel attempts at boarding. The *Invalide* thus described them:—"They consist of an iron lance, about seven feet long, and a mace of cast-iron, the massive head of which resembles a pine-apple, and like it is beset with a number of obtuse but pointed projections. Each boat is provided with from thirty to forty lances, and from fifteen to twenty maces, in the management of which the Finns are said to possess great skill." From this description these maces would appear to resemble the *morgernstern*, still in use with the watchmen in Sweden, and with one of which the Marquis of Waterford, some fifteen years back, came inconveniently into close contact.

So alarmed was Russia for the safety of her Baltic provinces, that the press of St. Petersburg contained the most inflammatory appeals to the soldiery quartered there, and to the loyal inhabitants. The *Abeille du Nord* of St. Petersburg published a fanatical appeal to the Russian people to rise in arms for the defence of the orthodox church. It called upon the clergy to exhort their flocks to fight for the good cause, and to impress upon them that the war was the ancient war "of the Prince of Darkness against the kingdom of Christ." It concluded with a prayer to the Almighty to admit those who fall on the field of battle for the good cause at once into the kingdom of Heaven.

On Cronstadt and Sweaborg the Russians expended all the resources of their fanaticism and their power. Every point where the slightest weakness was detected was strengthened; and prayers, masses, benedictions, religious processions, and religious harangues, were employed to consecrate every battery, and almost every gun. Sir Charles Napier did not think Cronstadt impregnable in 1854, if

he had suitable means for attacking it, but when he visited it early in 1856, after the peace, he was of opinion that after his fleet left the Baltic, and before the arrival there of Rear-admiral Dundas, it was made impregnable. On several occasions the gallant admiral recorded this opinion; in a letter to the *Morning Advertiser* he thus wrote:—"If fifty sail of the line, and 50,000 men in steamers, were to attempt an attack, it might just possibly succeed, provided they did not sink ships between Menschikoff and Cronslott, and our ships did not take the ground in going in. It would be necessary for the leading ships to anchor against the batteries. Those following should go in and break the boom. If they succeeded, we should probably overpower the fleet, and the steamers would and the troops on the seawall. If we failed in breaking the boom, there would be great confusion, and there is no knowing what would happen. It would also be necessary to have a strong reserve to take the place of the ships against the batteries, if they failed in silencing them, which is more than probable. If all went on right Cronstadt would be taken; and if all went wrong, the fleet would be lost. No one, I think, except the *Times*, would have tried Cronstadt. They said it was not necessary to see how one was to get out, it was only necessary to get in. I have shown that the north passage is double—I may say triple—holed, and four new batteries built; so that passage is sealed. There are no guns on the north wall; but outside there are redoubts well armed. On the south side, between Risbank and the mainland, there are two new batteries, which render it unsailable, and the passage up towards Peterhoff is holed also. On the ramparts there are about 120 guns, many of them pointing seaward. The carriages are not in good order. Fort Menschikoff is now fitted with platforms like a ship's decks, with 32-pounders, where the seamen are exercised in the winter. It is well ventilated, having no guns on the sides or rear. On the shore, inside Peter the Great, there is a heavy earthen redoubt, which points to the sea. There are redoubts all over the island, and on the western part of it a new fortification is begun, right across, and between it and the town a chain of redoubts. The line wall is of small stones, like Bomarsund, which could be easily knocked down. There is a ditch, but no glacis. I forgot to say that the screw line-of-battle ship has 830 men, excluding engineers and stokers."

Again, in his place as a member of the British parliament, he observed:—"He had seen many strong fortifications in his time—he had seen Toulon from the sea, and from the shore too; he had seen Cadiz; he had not seen Brest, but he had seen Cherburg,—but no

place he had ever yet seen was to be compared with the fortifications of Cronstadt. It was not the forts only that made it so strong,—for if he had had to deal with those stone three-deckers and stone four-deckers, as they might be called, in the open sea, where they could be got at, he should not have hesitated a moment in attacking them,—because ships in general, when well exercised and well disciplined, fired their guns with more celerity and almost as well as forts. It was the danger of going in that made Cronstadt so strong; the passage was very narrow and very shallow."

Whether the means provided by the British Admiralty to meet the case for 1855 had been sufficient, our readers must judge for themselves, by a comparison of such statements with Sir James Graham's defence of himself and the Admiralty, of which he was the first lord. In his speech in the House of Commons, in reply to Sir Charles Napier, he said:—"Neither in the Black Sea nor in the Baltic may we have been so successful as we desired; but in my conscience I can say that, whatever may have been our failures, they have not proceeded from want of exertion on the part of the Board of Admiralty. With respect to preparations, I say distinctly that, if we had received the honourable and gallant officer's report of what was necessary, in his opinion, for the attack of Sweaborg by naval means only in the beginning of June, it was quite in the power of the Admiralty to have sent out such a quantity of mortars as would either have sufficed to plant on the islands occupied in the attack in 1855, or, placed in mortar-vessels, would have aided the operations of the fleet in the manner recommended by the honourable and gallant officer, before even in his view the season would have prevented the attack. Be that as it may, however, was I negligent in the intervening time? In concert with my colleagues, I prepared, in the autumn of 1854, to be ready to sail with the fleet in the spring of 1855, twenty-six gun-boats, twenty-two mortar-vessels, and five floating batteries, all built and ready for sea in April, 1855. By an agreement with the French government, an equal force of gun-boats, mortar-vessels, and floating-batteries, had been prepared and built by France; and, in addition to four screw line-of-battle ships, commonly called block-ships, we fitted five other line-of-battle ships with high-pressure engines; so that there were ready for attack in the Baltic in the spring of 1855—nine sail of the line, twenty-six gun-boats, twenty-two mortar-vessels, and five floating-batteries; this number of gun-boats, mortar-vessels, and floating-batteries being doubled by the arrangement made with France."

The statement of Sir James Graham as to



CRONSTADT.



the gun-boats provided for the fleet was indirectly met by a letter from Sir Charles to the editor of the *Times* :—

"SIR,—If your 'Special Correspondent' had taken the trouble to examine the chart of Cronstadt, which a sensible and honest man ought to have done, before he attacked me, he would have seen that the north of Cronstadt could only be approached by gun and mortar-boats with a light draught of water, not one of which I had; he would also have seen that the passage to the north (which was never available for large ships) was protected by a barrier supported by eight or ten block-ships, pwards of one hundred gun-boats, several steamers, and the boats of twenty sail of the line."

"Your 'Special Correspondent' says the Russians were perfectly aware that the northern side could be forced, and it was quite possible for a determined enemy to run past the forts, most of which were constructed on arcs of spheres having their *maximum* of amount of guns directed in front, and having only part of their guns available for an enemy attacking their right flank."

"Now, sir, the Russians knew perfectly well that the passage to the north was not practicable, and there were no batteries constructed on arcs of spheres. To the north it was barred, as I have already described, and could only have been attacked by gun and mortar-boats of light draught of water, and this I stated to the Admiralty in 1854, and was complimented on that they were pleased to term my very able report."

"In 1855, when Admiral Dundas appeared here, they had in the winter of 1854-5 constructed another barrier, outside of the shoal water, to further protect the north; and, though he found a passage through the piles of his gig, he did not venture to attack the north of Cronstadt with the gun-boats he had at his disposal. Why he was not furnished with more the Admiralty can best answer; they had a year for consideration."

"In 1856, when I was at Cronstadt, they had constructed a third barrier right across, protected by five batteries, which rendered an attack on the north impossible."

"Had the Admiralty, in the autumn of 1853, well examined the north of Cronstadt, they would have known that gun and mortar-boats were the only means of attacking it with success; and if I could make such a report from a reconnaissance from the sea in 1854, a much better one might have been made from the north wall in 1853."

"I am, sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"C. NAPIER."

As the full discussion of this subject here will prevent the necessity of encumbering with it the narrative of the operations in the Baltic, we will notice another episode in the controversy. Sir Robert Peel visited St. Petersburg and Cronstadt after the war had terminated; he was then a lord of the Admiralty. On his return he declared that the Grand-duke Constantine informed him that in 1854 Cronstadt was not impregnable, and that if Sir Charles Napier had had the spirit to do so, he might have destroyed it. Sir Charles, with this statement of Sir Robert's in view, made observations at another public meeting in direct contradiction to it, declaring that the grand-duke had given him a precisely opposite opinion :—"He went to Cronstadt because he was extremely anxious to examine it with his own eyes, to see whether he was right or wrong, and he must confess that the fortifications were much stronger than he believed they were when he was off it. He considered it was entirely impregnable. The Grand-duke Constantine had favoured him with an interview, and showed him the plan of the defences of Cronstadt, and a more judicious and proper plan was never entered into. The Grand-duke Constantine was a man of talent and ability, and was perfectly honest and plain with him. He said that if the British fleet had attempted to go into Cronstadt it would have been destroyed. More than a thousand guns, he said, would have been brought to bear upon the fleet—that there was not water for the large ships—that the channel was narrow, and filled with infernal machines—and that even the Russian ships in passing were in danger of being blown up. He (Sir Charles Napier) then asked the grand-duke why they did not meet them at Kiel, when they were badly manned and disciplined; and the grand-duke held out his hand to him in a frank and sailor-like manner, and said he did not know it until it was too late, and that perhaps it was very lucky he did not meet them. The gallant officer, in conclusion, referred to the necessity of keeping the navy in a state of efficiency, and declared that if they were determined, as Lord Palmerston had said at Manchester, not to bear wrong, they must be prepared to resist it."

It became important to the allies to conciliate the good-will, and, if possible, secure the alliance of the neutral Baltic powers. Prussia continued to practise rather an original neutrality,—she allowed through her own territory all contraband of war to reach Russia, yet when a vessel containing some copper, exported to England from Russia, and which the Russians themselves allowed to pass, touched at one of her ports, she treated it as contraband of war—dealing more stringently with us than the enemy with whom we did battle, while

showing for that enemy on every occasion a gross partiality. The weakness of the allies towards Frederick William was very unaccountable, unless it was their policy, until Russia was conquered in the Black Sea, not to arm any portion of Germany against the alliance, reserving their opportunity in such case to deal with Prussia more vigorously. But that power had a very large force of *Landwehr*, and, contrary to her usage, a sea force, which was thus described by Mr. Scott Russell, the constructor of the *Nix* and *Salamander*:—"I know as a fact that the navies of certain foreign governments have steam gun-boats, for which no vessel in our navy is at all a match. They have proved themselves perfectly good sea-boats in the open sea. Under steam, in their best trim, they go fifteen statute miles an hour; in their worst, thirteen. Their light draught, fully armed and equipped, is only five feet; their load draught, with coals for 2000 miles, less than seven feet. They carry four long 68's, and four long 32's. They can fire two of the 8-inch guns parallel to the keel at either end, and can bring all the four 8-inch guns over to either side for a broadside. These long 8-inch guns are all mounted on the traversing slides, and there is ample room for the stowage of the guns when out of use and in action. I have seen these guns worked with perfect ease and security in so heavy a sea that the water was coming over the weather bow in such quantities, that an experienced officer in the Royal Navy assured me it would have been impossible to work the long guns of a steam-sloop of 1200 tons, then under his command, in similar circumstances, without water pouring down the bore of the gun."

The influence of Prussia upon the other Baltic nations was injurious. Denmark and Sweden, however interested in the war, could not disregard the policy of the German nations, even when the fleets of the two greatest naval powers in the world crowded their waters, offering them alliance, and blockading the harbours of their foe, who was not less their foe, although not waging upon them an immediate war. The Danish king was as little desirous as the Prussian king to quarrel with the czar—despotic sympathies united them all. The Danish king was satisfied if the independence of his gallant little kingdom lasted his time—its crown might grace the head of the Tartar after he passed away; he had neither the patriotism, sincerity of creed, nor personal manliness to make the slightest effort for his country, his church, his people, or his honour. The alliance of Denmark could not be counted upon.

Sweden was full of sympathy for the allies. Her alliance would have been a great accession. Her navy was at this juncture considerable:—Ten sail of the line, six frigates, four schooners,

four brigs, nine steam schooners, seventy-seven gun-boats, one hundred and twenty-two armed boats, six mortar-vessels, twenty-two steam despatch-boats, two royal yachts, twenty-one transports, five hundred and ninety-four armed row-boats. Norwegian fleet:—Two frigates, two schooners, two steam schooners, one brig, forty-three gun-boats, five tugs, with a steam frigate, and a despatch-boat, both of which were being finished on the stocks at Christiana. All the vessels of war were ready to go to sea, but in time of peace they are laid up in ordinary. Only the vessels strictly required by the government are kept on service.

But while the feelings of the Swedes, and, still more, the feelings of the Norwegians were with us, there were grave political considerations to deter these united Scandinavian states from joining the allies. The point of view from which the people regarded the probable consequences to themselves may be seen by a quotation from a paper published at Stockholm, called the *Svenska Tidningen*:—"Now that the sun of spring is beginning to melt our snow, and burst the ice which enchains our seas, the Western powers will assuredly renew their appeals to the Northern states to join their alliance. Will they succeed? Will the King of Sweden and Norway, who by the fundamental laws alone has a right to declare war, break the neutrality he has hitherto maintained? This is a question of immense importance for the future of our country, which our governments must face in the midst of difficulties, dangers, and caprice. The Western powers have already attached Sardinia to their cause; she has sent 15,000 men to the eastern seat of war. The same powers are striving to gain Portugal, which can only offer them a still smaller number of troops. If England and France are seeking such allies, what advantages would they derive from having Sweden and Norway on their side, able to throw very considerable forces on the side of the Baltic? Our assistance would be of especial service to England, when she possesses at this moment no army to send to the Baltic, nor can she form one; and in our flotilla she would find that species of maritime arm so necessary for crippling the Russians. France, too, would have 60,000 men at her disposition, whom, in the event of our non-assistance, she would be compelled to send to the north. Our situation is not that of Sardinia or Portugal, although there is some resemblance between the population and military forces. We are not, like them; at a great distance from the seat of war; we are, not like Sardinia, enclosed between two great protecting powers; nor, like Portugal, situate at the extremity of Europe, under the ægis of an imposing flag. Our situation has more analogy with that of Austria.





ke her, we are close to the great enemy, far from our great allies; we should be the *first*, and probably the *last*, to bear the burden of the war. Austria, who can bring into the field 100,000 men, for whom the present war is a real question, as her most precious commercial advantages, her religious and political independence are at stake—Austria, who has on her right Turkey for an ally, and on her left France, ready to send a formidable army to her aid through Germany—Austria hesitates about drawing the sword, and is using her utmost exertions to terminate the contest by negotiations; and we, for whom the famous ‘four emperors’ present scarce any interest—for whom the war has no settled object—are expected to hurl ourselves into it blindly!”

Such was the state of affairs in connection with the theatre of war in the Baltic, when the British fleet, under Rear-admiral Dundas, sailed from the English shores in March and April, 1855. No display was made as in 1854. The fleet departed quietly to its sphere of duty. Captain Watson, commanding the advanced squadron, left England on the 20th of March, and on the 17th of April declared the blockade of the Russian Baltic ports. Before the end of March the captain reached the Kattegat, and then divided his squadron, taking with him a portion of the ships through the Great Belt to Kiel, and ordering Captain Yelverton, with the other portion, through the Sound. The ice in the Baltic was then fixed in some places, and floating in great masses in others. The following letter depicts this:—

*Nyborg, March 25.*

“Two days ago the Great Belt was passed, but a severe storm from the south-east, which has been blowing ever since this morning at daylight, has brought in large fields of ice, which have completely blocked up the strait, so that the passage between Helsingør (Canute’s Head) and the island of Sprogø is no longer to be attempted. The strait and port of Kiortemünde are free from ice, as well as the whole of the upper part of the Sound, and six boats came across from Seeland yesterday. At Elsinore the Sound is free of ice; but between Vedbek and the island of Hven it is still firm, and at Copenhagen it extends beyond the Trekroner Battery. The Bay of Kiel was partially free of ice, but the prevalent easterly winds have drifted in large masses. The ice in the harbour has not yet been broken up. Several colliers from English ports to Elsinore and Wingo Sound, with coals for the Baltic fleet, were seen on the 21st near Copenhagen entangled in the ice. Some ice-boats were sent to their assistance.”

By such circumstances Yelverton was obliged to linger at Landskrona for a considerable time.

The great fleet, commanded by Admirals Dundas, Seymour, and Baynes, with the honourable W. F. Pelham, as captain of the fleet, made ready for sea. On the 9th of April it departed from the Downs. Admiral Dundas reached Kiel on the 17th, and remained during the month in Danish waters. During this time he was the object of much public attention and respect from Danish citizens, and once the king received him. Several prizes, of no great value, were captured by Captains Yelverton and Watson.

On the 3rd of May, Dundas being informed that the ice was now well cleared, left the harbour of Kiel at the head of a large portion of his ships, consisting of thirteen line-of-battle, five frigates, and two gun-boats. The rendezvous was Gothland, whither the advanced squadron had already gone. Several detachments then struck off from the main fleet to Nargen and Revel, the Åland Isles, and Hango. The admiral followed with the fleet to Revel, which he found well prepared to receive him,—bristling with new batteries, well manned, and furnaces ready to enable the batteries to discharge red-hot shot. Opposite Revel is Nargen, a pleasant island, which the admiral found abandoned. This spot was chosen as the British headquarters, for which it was favourably situated, being just within the Gulf of Finland. A squadron was sent to reconnoitre Riga, which was found as well prepared with batteries and troops as Revel. This squadron captured a swarm of small vessels laden with various articles carried in the Baltic coasting-trade. Dundas proceeded to reconnoitre Swaaborg and Cronstadt, both which places were in the condition already described in this chapter. These proceedings consumed the remainder of the month of May.

On the 1st of June Admiral Penard and the French fleet, or rather squadron, joined Dundas before Cronstadt, and a council of war was convened to determine the question of its pregnability. The admirals landed at Tolbukén Lighthouse, at the west end of Cronstadt Island. From this spot a panoramic view of the island, the channels, and the batteries could be had, and the allied chiefs were utterly astonished at the vast magnitude and power of the defences. They then steamed along the southern coast of the island, reconnoitring the various batteries. It was seen that three line-of-battle ships and two frigates were moored across the harbour, before which was planted enormous piles of timbers, which just appeared upon the surface of the water. The harbour was also defended by a flotilla of gun-boats, not less than 200 in number. Earthworks of enormous magnitude, and constructed with the greatest labour and care, were erected wherever this description of defence was available. Not a point could be traced which the

enemy had left vulnerable to ordinary means of attack. Admirals Seymour and Baynes, in a ship's boat, attempted a close and minute reconnoissance, and were in imminent danger of being captured.

To attempt the breaching of the forts and batteries with large ships was impracticable; the liners could not steam nearer than two miles and a half, and Admiral Dundas had only twenty gun-boats, two of which were of no use: these could effect nothing. All Sir James Graham's tricky eloquence, sustained by the voice of party hacks in the Commons, was here tested. Where was the result of the exertions of the Admiralty after the dispatch of the Baltic fleet in 1854, to the time of the dispatch of that fleet which was provided with twenty gun-boats where 400 was required? England had the material, and could have commanded any amount of skill and labour; but she had not a competent Admiralty. Rear-admiral Dundas was himself one of the lords of that Admiralty, under whose misdirection and deficient zeal his fleet was obliged to sail without the weapons by which alone the stronghold of the enemy was assailable. Sunk *caissons* (infernal machines) at sea, and skilful intrenchments on shore, contributed to the defence of a place strong by nature and bristling with ponderous batteries. A sort of fishing expedition was set afloat to catch the infernal machines; and the tars became so expert at this novel angling, that the machines were caught up without much injury being sustained. From two boats a long rope was held, the boats separating nearly to its length; the rope was then sunk ten or twelve feet by weights, but held suspended by empty casks. These floating buoys showed by their motion as the boats rowed away that a machine was entangled: they served as the corks to the angler's line; the instruments of mischief were then hauled carefully up. These "infernals" were kept floating at a certain distance beneath the water by anchors; they were loaded with powder, and a chemical preparation ignited upon a slight concussion and discharged the powder; the shock and damage to a ship might prove very great: several of the vessels were injured.

After much reconnoitring and many councils of war, the idea of attacking Cronstadt was given up. The fleet was sent out without the means of inflicting injury against the place. Admiral Seymour was dispatched to Narva, which he found protected with earth-works, the batteries well manned, and cavalry, infantry, and field artillery in position to prevent a landing. Seymour, leading the *Blenheim* and *Exmouth*, with the *Pincher* and *Snap* gun-boats, exchanged fire with the batteries, and sheered off, unable to effect anything.

While these proceedings were taking place,

an affair occurred at Hango, which will leave a deep stain on the Russian name and character, although it is to be regretted that the careless conduct of the English afforded the Russians a plausible pretext. Several merchant vessels had been captured by the British steamer *Cossack*. The crews of these vessels were generally Finns, and as that name showed friendly feelings to the English wherever it had opportunity, the British captain solved to land the men under a flag of truce. A boat was accordingly dispatched for that purpose, near Hango. A Finnish captain suggested that as there were no Russian troops there, the inhabitants would be found willing to sell provisions; it was arranged to attempt this—a palpable violation of the rights of a flag of truce. In the boats several muskets were stowed away unloaded; but there was considerable supply of cartridges—another palpable violation of a flag of truce.

The *Cossack* remained beyond cannon-range but did not exhibit a white flag, which the Russians allege that the laws of war require if the captain of that ship desired to speak with the shore. The captain alleged that he remained at the ordinary distance required in blockade, and did not suppose that he was bound to hoist a white canvas, as the boat sent ashore carried a flag of truce. Nothing in such cases, should be left to chance; the gallant captain of the *Cossack* was so to blame. In the boat itself a white handkerchief held on a stick, which was afterwards carried on shore, was the signal of truce very improperly relied upon; and this the Russians afterwards protested that they never saw—falsehood on their part, and proving that, their blood-thirstiness, they were willing to take advantage of any neglect or oversight on the part of the British. On the morning of the 5th Captain Fanshawe of the *Cossack* sent in the boat, with twenty-four men, to land the Finnish prisoners. The officer who commanded was Lieutenant Geneste, and Mr. Sullivan, master's assistant, directed the boat. Three stewards also went for the illegal purpose of purchasing provisions. Several intervening islands hid the boat as she rowed forward, so that Captain Fanshawe could not see whether the flag of truce had been properly displayed. When the cutter reached the shore there was no one visible. The officers landed holding up the white flag, or white handkerchief, whichever it was. On advancing a short distance, 500 Russians, who had been concealed behind rocks, suddenly rose and fired. Lieutenant Geneste, Mr. Sullivan, and Dr. Easton, were all struck, and fell, it was supposed, dead. The Finnish captain called out that they came under a flag of truce, to which the Russian officer replied in English, that I



THE DECK OF A SHIP



ould have nothing to do with the d—  
g of truce. Some of the English sailors  
nded to give assistance to their officers,  
it were, of course, instantly shot down;  
ditional volleys were poured forth from the  
ussian line, until not a man remained stand-  
g, and the boat was riddled with balls above  
e water-line. The Russians then entered  
e boat, and bore away whatever it con-  
ined. As several of the officers and men  
ere found to be only wounded, they were  
und-tied and driven away from the shore.

The cutter not returning, Captain Fanshawe,  
te in the afternoon, sent the gig in search of  
with another flag of truce, under charge of  
eutenant Field. As the gig neared shore,  
e cutter was perceived to move towards it  
a very helpless manner; and on bearing  
wards it, one wounded sailor was seen to  
skull it" along. When taken into the gig,  
he exclaimed—"They are all killed!" and  
inted. He was borne back to the ship, and,  
ter some time, stated that the Russians had  
ed upon the party, and afterwards rifled the  
at; but, as he lay insensible, did him no  
rther injury. His arm was broken by two  
usket-balls. This sailor, a man of colour,  
as intelligent and trustworthy; and it was  
his conviction that the whole party had  
rished. He signed the following state-  
ent:—"On the cutter, with a flag of truce  
ing, getting alongside the jetty, or landing-  
ace, near the village of Hango, the officers  
d liberated prisoners jumped out, and Lieu-  
nant Geneste held up the flag of truce to a  
umber of Russian troops, who had suddenly  
rung up from the cover of houses and rocks  
bout 500, dressed as riflemen, and armed  
th muskets, swords, and bayonets), and told  
em what it was they meant, and why they  
aded. They replied, 'That they did not care  
d—for flags of truce there, and would  
on show them how the Russians could  
ht;' or words to that effect. A volley was  
ten fired at the officers and liberated prisoners,  
d afterwards on the boat, until all were  
posed to be killed. The Russians jumped  
to the boat, and, after throwing several dead  
dies overboard, lying on the arms in the  
lthom of the boat, they found Henry Glid-  
n, A.B., who was only wounded; they took  
m out of the boat, and bayoneted him on the  
arf. John Brown, lying by his side, and  
rely wounded, feigned death: he was  
agged from one end of the boat to the other,  
t, luckily, not thrown overboard. They  
ten took the arms, magazine, colours, &c.  
e officers and liberated prisoners were shot  
wn first. Dr. Easton was the first who fell,  
ten the Finnish captain; the next who took  
e flag was Lieutenant Geneste, and, waving  
i shouted—"A flag of truce!" which had been

previously explained to them before they fired.  
The Russians spoke English; and the person  
who led them, from his dress and appearance,  
seemed to be an officer. The Russians yelled,  
and fired on the men before they could defend  
themselves; indeed, there was not an attempt  
made."

Captain Fanshawe opened fire from the ship  
at a distance of 600 yards; it was not re-  
turned, and, a dense fog falling, he retired to  
a safe anchorage.

When the affair was thoroughly investi-  
gated, it appeared that seven of the crew of  
the cutter had been killed, and the rest taken  
prisoners, most of them badly wounded, and  
that the Russians justified their firing, on the  
ground that they saw no flag of truce; and  
then that it being irregularly hoisted, they  
were not bound to respect it, but had every  
reason to believe that it was borne to cover  
surreptitious objects. This was true only so  
far as the purchase of provisions was con-  
cerned; but if true in every respect, the con-  
tinued fire of 500 men upon twenty-five, and  
those unarmed, was a cold-blooded and shocking  
murder. No summons to surrender was given,  
and all could have been captured without  
shedding one drop of blood.

Captain Fanshawe reported the occurrence  
to the admiral, who forwarded that report to  
the Russian general, De Berg, observing:—  
"In calling your attention to these facts, I hope  
I shall not be making a vain appeal to your  
honour, as an officer, to give me such explana-  
tions as you may deem suitable under the actual  
circumstances; and I am happy to take advan-  
tage of this circumstance to afford you the  
means of defending the character of your flag."

The polite suggestion that De Berg would  
be obliged to the admiral for the opportunity  
of clearing the character of his flag, was simple  
folly: the Russians merely laughed at the  
refined feelings of the allies, and steadily  
watched for every opportunity to execute a  
brutal and cowardly revenge upon the wounded  
or unarmed. The letter of Admiral Dundas  
received, however, a prompt reply, and as  
clear as prompt, from De Berg, who made  
ingenious use of every act of error and neglect  
on the part of Captain Fanshawe, connected  
with the dispatch of the cutter to the shore:—

*Helsingfors, June 5 (17th).*

"MONSIEUR L'AMIRAL.—Before replying to  
the letter of your excellency of the 3rd  
(15th) of June, I must observe with regret  
that the vessels of the English fleet hoist Rus-  
sian colours the more easily to capture any  
Russian vessel they come across. The journals  
have sufficiently made known how, from the  
commencement of the war, the flag of truce  
has been abused in every sea to take soundings

and to make military observations. The hostility displayed against inoffensive towns and villages, inhabited by peaceful populations, has been but too well proved by all that has taken place in the Baltic. On the 14th (26th) of May a cutter—I do not know from which ship—landed with a little white flag near the village of Twerminne. Not finding any troops stationed near the village, the crew of the cutter wantonly set fire to some huts and boats, despite the white flag. On the 26th of May (5th of June) another cutter, belonging to the corvette *Cossack*, made for the Hango coast. This boat had the British flag flying. The officer in command of her pretends to have hoisted a little white flag in her prow on a stick. Neither the men on duty at the telegraph on the neighbouring heights, nor the military post on the coast, perceived this pretended white flag. It was, consequently, quite natural that they should attack the cutter and its crew as soon as the latter landed. Lieutenant Louis Geneste pretends that a servant carried by his side a stick with the white flag on it. The soldiers and officers of our advanced posts, questioned as to the existence of this flag, affirm that they never saw it at all. M. Geneste pretends that he was sent with a flag of truce to give up some of the crew of merchantmen captured during that fortnight. If such had been his intention, it would have been a much simpler plan, as the *Cossack* came from the neighbourhood of Cronstadt, to have sent them to Sweaborg, or to have landed them on some island, from which they could easily have reached the coast. The captain of the *Cossack* ought to know that the bearer of a flag of truce cannot, and ought not, to be received upon the first landing-place, promontory, or rock, it may suit him to select. My outposts see, and will continue to see, in such missions only military reconnaissances, which use similar pretexts to make explorations and secure provisions. The hostile, and by no means truce-like character of this mission is, moreover, proved:—1st. By the loaded arms seized. Three muskets show, by their exploded caps, that the crew of the boat made use of them in the struggle. 2nd. By the care shown in providing the cutter with 360 cartridges, and a chest full of incendiary articles, which is actually in our possession.

“On the following day the *Cossack* kept up a heavy fire, during an hour, against the village of Hango and its peaceful inhabitants; and a few days later, the 1st (13th) of June, the attack was repeated, to set fire to the telegraph and to destroy some houses, instead of going to Sweaborg to demand explanations. Despite the superiority which steam and screws give to your vessels, they do not cease to hoist the Russian flag to seize our coasting-vessels.

In the same manner, some yards of white canvas have evidently been turned to account to take soundings and make explorations.

“I am willing to believe, M. l'Amiral, that this is done without your knowledge. Allow me to express the hope that you will in future prohibit the missions of such pretended flags of truce. The crew of Lieutenant Geneste's boat were caught in their own trap. Seven men were killed, four wounded, and the remainder made prisoners, as the list I enclose will inform you. The affair only lasted a moment. It was impossible to distinguish the English from the prisoner sailors they brought with them. One of them, Lundstrom, who spoke English, was the first man killed, and two others were wounded. The responsibility of the whole affair rests with the irregularity with which missions of this sort are made. It appears to me that it would be more suitable to make communications to Sweaborg, and entrust them to some vessel sent there, in the same manner as you sent your letter of the 3rd (15th) of June. The *Cossack* should not have deviated from the rule. Vessels wishing to enter into parley should hoist a white flag of large dimensions, and anchor beyond long range, and await a boat to receive their message in writing. We will never receive another. The *Cossack* did nothing of the sort. It seems to me that the honour of your flag ought to exact the most strict and scrupulous observance of the rules established on such occasions. The honour of my flag will never permit me to depart from them.

“I can assure you that the wounded are well taken care of, and the prisoners well treated.

“I have the honour to be,

“Monsieur l'Amiral,

“Your very obedient servant,

“DE BERG,

“*Aide-de-camp-general of his majesty.*”

On the 29th of June a Russian war-steamer bearing a flag of truce, rode out from Cronstadt to the allied fleet. An officer delivered to Admiral Dundas a message from Prince Basile Dolgorouki, minister of war, giving notice that in future flags of truce would only be received at Cronstadt, Sweaborg, and Revel, and refusing to receive any flags of truce unless a Russian boat first went out to receive the message in writing, the delivery of which the flag of truce was intended to cover. The British admiral remonstrated, reminding the minister of war that cases might arise requiring more immediate attention than such regulations would allow. The remonstrances of the admiral produced the desired effect upon the minister, who appointed as additional places Libau, Windau, Wasa, and Tornea, which

which modified the severity of the proposed action; that severity would have been principally detrimental to the Russians themselves. Admiral Dundas also demanded the liberation of the prisoners, which Dolgorouki refused, offering to treat the action of Lieutenant Geneste as a stratagem of war. Against this view the admiral afterwards urged the account which Lieutenant Geneste himself gave of the transaction, which was as follows:—

*Helsingfors, July 8, 1855.*

SIR,—In obedience to your orders, on Monday, the 5th of June, I proceeded to the meeting-place at Hango Head, in the cutter, flying a flag of truce, in order to land Russian prisoners, and communicate with the general at the telegraph station. We arrived at the pier, and no person being visible on shore except two or three women standing near the houses, I landed the Russian prisoners, and, in company with them and Dr. Easton, proceeded towards the house to communicate with the people and with the officer at the telegraph. The three stewards also accompanied us, in order, if possible, to procure fresh provisions; but all the boat's crew were left in the boat, with strict orders not to leave, as you had directed. We also carried with us a white flag of truce on a boarding-party. Lorton, the midshipmen's steward, carried it beside me. We had only proceeded about fifty yards from the boat, when suddenly Russian soldiers (who had lain concealed behind the rocks and houses, and of whose position we were completely ignorant) rose and opened fire on us and the boat from all sides. Taking the white flag from the steward Lorton, who was shot down by my side, I endeavoured to hold it in my hand, to prevent the soldiers from seeing the boat, and so called the attention of our officer, who came near me, to it. However, I regret to state that the firing did not cease until many of our people had been killed. As we were completely surrounded by Russian soldiers being within a few yards of the boat on every side; and seeing the inutility of offering any resistance, not having a loaded vessel in the boat, and the greater number of the small boat's crew of eleven men being killed and wounded by the fire of the enemy, no shot was fired on our side. We were all taken prisoner by the soldiers, taken to the houses, without a moment's delay, placed in cages, which appeared to me to be ready made, and transported to Eckness, where we arrived the same afternoon. I regret to have to state that we have lost six of our men killed, and our have been wounded badly, nearly all of them having slight scratches. Our Finnish captain was also killed, and two Russian

captains wounded. The wounded men were carried to Eckness, and placed in hospital there. I enclose a list of the killed and wounded. The fate of several of the killed I know only by the Russian report, as we were hurried away too quickly from the scene of action to ascertain it for ourselves; but I fear the report is too true, as we have six men missing, and they report seven dead bodies at Hango Head, which would be correct with our six men and the old Finnish captain, whom we saw shot down and bayoneted. We remained at Eckness during Tuesday, and on Wednesday Mr. Sullivan, myself, and the four unwounded men, were removed to this place, leaving the four wounded men at Eckness, with Dr. Easton to attend them. The wounded men were all doing well when we left Eckness. One of them, Gliddon, had to undergo amputation of his right arm, near the shoulder, which had been successfully performed. Since our arrival at Eckness we have received every attention and kindness from the Russian general and officers that our position would admit of. The wounded men have been treated with the greatest care and consideration. I requested General Möller, the officer commanding at Eckness, to send a boat on the day following this unfortunate affair with a flag of truce, to inform you what had happened; but he declared it to be impossible. I do not know how this letter will reach you, but the general will forward it by the first opportunity. As we were taken prisoners under a flag of truce, I presume we shall be shortly released; but am at present in perfect ignorance of their intentions with respect to us. I send this letter open and unsealed.

"I am, &c.,

"LOUIS GENESTE, *Lieutenant.*"

"*Captain Fanshawe, H.M.S. Cossack.*"

Admiral Dundas, in his correspondence with Dolgorouki, commented upon the fact of carts having been at hand to convey away the prisoners, proving that the boat had been seen to approach, and that the enemy had determined to disregard the flag of truce. The correspondence was finally terminated by Prince Dolgorouki declining further discussion upon the subject, insisting that all the evidence went to prove that Lieutenant Geneste landed without waiting for his flag to be legally recognised and admitted. Of this there could be no doubt. Lieutenant Geneste had no right to land on the enemy's territory under a flag of truce before the enemy chose to reply to it and recognise it. That constitutes no excuse for the cowardly waylaying and revengeful slaughter of a few men, who could as easily have been captured as slain. Captain Fanshawe and his lieutenant acted illegally and carelessly—the

Russians barbarously and cowardly, and altogether in a way only to be expected from savages. Even the cultivated Russ were little better than their Bashkir and Cossack slaves. "Scrape a Russian, and the Cossack is visible," was the *bon mot* of a French traveller, epigrammatically expressing the essential barbarism, under a superficial civilisation, of the Russian people. It was in keeping with this estimate of them that the press of St. Petersburg justified the cold-blooded atrocity of Hango. The *Invalide Russe* rejoiced over the foul deed, congratulating its readers that the enemies of holy Russia were thus treated. Captain Hall, a brave and enterprising sailor, subsequently inflicted a most retributive humiliation upon the Russians for this massacre. The incident is thus related by an officer:—"I have to tell an anecdote relating to Captain Hall, who has been hovering about Hango for some time, in hopes of having revenge for the massacre of the *Cossack's* men. After harassing in every way in his power the Cossacks stationed in the neighbourhood, he one morning landed all his marines, who at once formed a *cordon* round the village of Hango, placed the gun-boats close in shore, and, with a party of blue-jackets, carrying a flagstaff with an ensign half-mast on it, the band playing the *Dead March in Saul* in front of them, marched up to the place where two of the boat's crew and the Finnish captain who was to have been released were buried. On arriving at the graves, the chaplain of the ship read the funeral service. After that was over, a tablet, which had been neatly carved on board the *Blenheim*, was placed, by way of a tombstone, over the spot, with the following inscription:—'Sacred to the memory of the boat's crew of Her Britannic Majesty's ship *Cossack*, and a Finnish master of a merchant vessel, who were barbarously murdered by Russian troops, under the command of an officer, when under the protection of a flag of truce; and to that of the wife of the above-named Finnish master, who died of grief at Helsingfors, when she heard of her husband's death and her country's dishonour.' Having done this, the whole party re-embarked."

On the 20th of June the allied fleet returned to Cronstadt, after a brief, desultory, and useless cruise. When about three miles west of Tolbuken Lighthouse it divided, one division continuing its course along the north side of the island, until it anchored within five miles of the town of Cronstadt, where it was in sight of the domes and spires of St. Petersburg, which glistened beneath the summer sun; the other division remained in reserve between the lighthouse and the opposite coast.

Admiral Seymour and various other officers had a narrow escape of life from an infernal

machine. In examining one of them on the poop of the *Exmouth*, he tapped rather smartly a small projecting piece of iron, remarking, "This must be the way they are exploded;" the machine immediately burst, knocking down every person that was near, and severely injuring several. Admiral Seymour's face was burned, and his eyes so injured that the loss of sight was for a time apprehended. Lieutenant Lewis was struck by a fragment on the knee, and his hands and arms were burned severely; the signal man, who held the machine in his hands, was frightfully burned. The following description of these machines from a gentleman present when the fleet was before Cronstadt, will interest the reader:—"Each machine consists of a cone of galvanised iron, sixteen inches in diameter at the base and twenty inches from base to apex, and divided into three chambers; the one near the base being largest, and containing air, causing it to float with the base uppermost. In the centre of this chamber is another, which holds a tube with a fuse in it, and an apparatus for firing it. This consists of two little iron rods which move in guides, and are kept projected over the side of the base by springs, which press them outwards. When anything pushes either of these rods inwards, it strikes against a lever, which moves like a pendulum in the fuse tube, and the lower end of the lever breaks or bends a small leaden tube containing a combustible compound, which is set on fire by coming in contact with some sulphuric acid held in a capillary tube which is broken at the same time, and so fires the fuse, which communicates with the powder—about nine or ten pounds—contained in the chamber at the apex of the cone. At the extreme apex is a brass ring, to which is attached a rope and some pieces of granite, which moors the machine about nine or ten feet below the surface, so that the only vessels they could hurt (the gun-boats) float quietly over them; and now you know what they are, they have been disarming of all their dread."

The cruise of the *Harrier*, Captain Story, was very successful. On the 23rd of June the gallant captain discovered a number of the enemy's coasters of various tonnage under the guns of 700. These ships were lying at Taock near enough to the town of Nystad to be, in the opinion of their captains, secure. Several of them were that night destroyed, and one fine barque of 450 tons, carried off as a prize. The next day Captain Story perceived that a great number of ships—a perfect fleet of merchantmen—stood in so close to Nystad as to render capture or attack difficult. The boats of the *Harrier* were immediately armed, and so operated that day and the ensuing night that the whole of this fine fleet of coast-

destroyed. Forty-seven ships were sunk without the loss of a single man of boats' crews. Twenty thousand tons of shipping were destroyed at Nystad in thirty-hours.

With this successful feat the narrative of the operations, as to the present chapter, closes.

The following are the principal despatches of the period to which the chapter refers. Captain Shawe thus addressed the admiral on the 6th, from on board the *Cossack*, off Nargen:—

It is with the deepest concern that I have to report to you the destruction of a cutter's crew and the officers who went into Hango with a flag of truce yesterday, the 5th instant, in order to land the three prisoners who had been taken with some merchant vessels by her Majesty's ships *Cossack* and *Esk*, and also four others to whom I gave a passage to Nargen, after having received their liberty from the hands of the officers of the vessels captured by her Majesty's steam-ship *Magicienne*. The ship having arrived off Hango island yesterday forenoon, the cutter was dispatched at 11 A.M. in charge of Lieutenant Geneste, with orders to land above persons, and to return without delay, taking care that no one straggled from the cutter.

The officers' stewards were allowed to remain on the boat on the same conditions, as was at his request, Mr. Easton, surgeon of this cutter.

The enclosed statement of what occurred on the boats approaching the shore is that of the only man who has returned alive, and I have every reason to believe it correct. Finding that the boat did not duly return, I sent the first lieutenant, about half-past four P.M., in a gig, also with a flag of truce, to ascertain the cause of the delay; and, as neither had returned at the close of the day, I anchored this ship and the *Esk* in the inner roads.

The gig returned about half-past eight, after a search, having discovered the cutter hauled up on a small jetty, and containing the dead bodies of two or three of her crew. It being late, I made arrangements that the ships should weigh at half-past 2 A.M., and take station as close to the inner village and the telegraph station as possible; and, as I then learned that the rest of the crew and officers who had been made prisoners, I proposed to send in a boat to the nearest military authority, demanding that they and the boat should be given up. But while getting under weigh, the cutter observed to leave the shore, with one man at the stern, who was endeavouring to scull the boat. I therefore immediately sent a boat to her assistance, which brought her on board, where we found to contain the dead bodies of the crew, which were riddled with shot-balls.

"The man who came out in the boat made the accompanying statement of the details of this atrocious massacre; he is very dangerously wounded in the right arm and shoulder, and was left for dead in the boat; but the account he gives of what he saw before he was struck down is clear and consistent, viz.—that on the boat reaching the jetty, Lieutenant Geneste, Mr. Easton, surgeon, and Mr. Sullivan, master's assistant, and the Russian prisoners, stepped on shore and advanced a few paces, Lieutenant Geneste carrying and waving the flag of truce. On their landing, a large party of soldiers, commanded by an officer who spoke English, appeared suddenly and advanced in a threatening manner. The officers then pointed to the flag of truce, and claimed its protection, and also endeavoured to explain the reason of their landing, but to no avail. A volley of musketry was immediately fired at them, which killed them, and also some or all of the Russian prisoners; volleys were then fired into the boat, by which all were struck down, and the assailants then rushed into the boat and threw most of the bodies overboard, and then removed the arms and ammunition which were stowed underneath. Neither before nor during this indiscriminate slaughter was any resistance made, nor hostile intentions shown by the boat's crew with the flag of truce, the muskets that were in the boat not having been loaded, and being in the bottom of the boat, and therefore there appeared to be nothing to justify this barbarous infringement of the usages of war. I therefore opened fire with both ships upon the place at about 600 yards' distance, but it was not returned either with rifles or artillery; and a thick fog having come on shortly afterwards, I ceased firing, and withdrew the ships, the position which they were in not being one in which they could with safety remain at anchor.

"I enclose herewith the names of the officers and men who have met their deaths on this occasion."

The subjoined is a list of officers and cutter's crew who were killed at Hango on the 5th of June, as furnished by Captain Fanshawe:—

"Louis Geneste, lieutenant; R. T. Easton, surgeon; Charles Sullivan, master's assistant; Edward Thomson, leading seaman; Benjamin Smith, able seaman; James Cornwall, ordinary seaman; John Gliddon, able seaman; George Boyle, ordinary seaman; William Roskelly, ordinary seaman; Thomas Stokes, ordinary seaman, second class; John Haughey, stoker; Francis George, ordinary seaman; Owen Francis, able seaman; William Linn, captain's steward; William Banks, gun-room steward; John Lorton, subordinate officers' steward."

To this he added a postscript:—

"It is now said that the three officers are alive, though wounded."

The following report was signed by Mr. Wise, the paymaster, and Mr. McKenna, the assistant-surgeon of the same ship:—

"About a quarter to four o'clock, John Brown, ordinary seaman, after being taken to the sick-bay, stated, that on the cutter, with a flag of truce flying, getting alongside the small jetty at the village, the officers and liberated Russian prisoners jumped out, and Lieutenant Geneste held up the flag of truce, and told the Russians (who had assembled close to the water and on the jetty, to the number of about 500, dressed as riflemen, and armed with muskets, swords, and bayonets) what it meant, and why they had landed. The old Finn (meaning the captain of the prize *Johanna*) also explained to them, but they said they did not care for flags of truce there, and would show them how to fight the Russians, or words to that effect. A volley was immediately fired at the officers and liberated prisoners, and then into the boat. When all were supposed to be killed, the Russians jumped into the boat, and, after throwing the bodies of the men lying on the arms in the bottom of the boat overboard, took away all the arms, magazine, &c. Brown, though dangerously wounded (having received two shots through the right fore-arm, and one in the shoulder where the bullet lodged), managed in the morning to get up and scull the cutter out. He states that when about 200 yards from the jetty, about 200 men came running down from the telegraph.

"To Mr. Wise.—I am positive that the officers were shot down at once, and before they fired into the boat.

"To Mr. McKenna.—The Russian prisoners were also shot down while on the jetty.

"To Messrs. McKenna and Wise.—The boat went straight into the landing-place. The Russians spoke English, and the person who led them, from his dress and appearance, seemed to be an officer.

"Dr. Easton was the first officer who fell. The old Finnish captain took the flag of truce from Mr. Geneste, and waved it, shouting 'Flag of truce! Truce!' But the Russians yelled and fired upon them. Before the men could do anything they were fired upon, and the Russians, with cutlasses, jumped into the boat. They did not use the cutlasses."

A report of proceedings at Narva was drawn up by Admiral Seymour, as follows, dated June 19th:—"In obedience to your directions of the 15th inst., I quitted Seskar anchorage at 8 A.M. on Saturday, the 16th, anchoring at 7 P.M. under East Tyters Island, off a village situate

on its S.S.E. extremity, with a view of obtaining information respecting the River Narva but only succeeded in learning that a considerable body of troops were about Narva and vicinity. Quitting East Tyters on the evening of Sunday, the 17th, Narva Lighthouse was made out yesterday, at 2.30 A.M., with a broad extent of sandy beach that borders the bay. On nearing the entrance of the river, which is narrow, and has a bar on which the breaking shoal water was visible, a considerable number of troops, including a party of cavalry, were seen in active movement, and a large *caisson*, or construction of timber, was floated and sunk in the entrance of the river, and became the means of communication with either side; a few wood vessels and river craft only were visible inside the river, the banks of which are of sand, thickly timbered, and well adapted for defence by troops. An earth battery of twelve guns lies on the east side of the river's entrance, and one of ten guns near the lighthouse, with another in its rear, seen from the masthead, apparently to command the river, and two other guns were placed in position at the right extremity of the Lighthouse Battery. An opportunity was afforded to try the practical efficiency of the gun-boats *Pincher* and *Snap*, under the immediate charge of Captain Hall, and the *Blenheim*, who, with good judgment, added one of his maindeck 68-pounders to the armament of the former, and, until rain and squall weather interfered, their practice was good, and their constant change of position rendered the difficult objects to hit, though the fort guns were well served, using hot shot, which frequently passed near and over them. On the weather clearing, the gun-boats opened fire, and the *Blenheim* and *Exmouth* likewise took advantage of the opportunity of a couple of hours' practice, covering the gun-boats with good effect, who were ably manœuvred by Lieutenant C. A. De Crespigny, in command of the *Snap*, and Lieutenant Stewart, in command of the *Pincher*, in the former of which I had placed Lieutenant Travers, Royal Marines, with ten gunners of the Royal Marine artillery of the *Exmouth*, who did good service. Mr. Harper, assistant-surgeon of this ship, was likewise on board the *Snap*, he having volunteered for that service. As it was evident from the first that no serious attempt could be made on the enemy's position, and as a large expenditure of ammunition would have been useless, I considered that enough had now been done to occupy the attention of the troops in the neighbourhood, and no advantage appearing to offer itself for a longer continuance in Narva Bay, the signal was made to discontinue firing, and I proceeded in compliance with your orders, to rejoin your flag. I enclose a return of a casualty which I regret to learn, occurred to Captain Seagrave.

the *Blenheim*, the effects of which, I trust, will not prove serious."

The following is an extract of a letter from the admiral Hon. R. S. Dundas, to the secretary of the Admiralty, dated *Duke of Wellington* Tolbuen Lighthouse, July 7:—"I can conclude this letter without calling the particular attention of their lordships to the active exertions of Captain Story, of her majesty's ship *Harrier*, which led a few days later to the destruction of a large amount of shipping, dispersed afterwards in another anchorage near Nystad, as detailed in the enclosure to Captain Warden's report of the 2nd inst.:—"I have the honour to inform you that the boats of this ship destroyed forty-seven ships belonging to the enemy, varying from 700 tons to 100 tons, on the nights of the 23rd and 24th inst. On the first night the ships destroyed were one mile from the town of Nystad, and on the second three miles from the ship, and we were enabled to bring one bark, the *Victoria*, of 450 tons, off with us. On the following morning the steam was got up and we proceeded to sea, to anchor the prize off Enskov Lighthouse. At 5 p.m., however, we steamed towards the land, and anchored at about 7.30

p.m., and at 8 p.m. the boats were again dispatched. During the night and following day we discovered forty-two ships, the whole of which we either burnt or scuttled. I have the greatest pleasure in being able to state that these proceedings were so successfully carried out without any casualty. Owing to the distance we got away from the ship (ten or eleven miles), and the blowing weather, accompanied with rain, that came on during the morning, we were prevented from bringing any vessel out with us. We did not get back to the ship until after 6 p.m. this afternoon, the men having been on their oars twenty-two hours. I think, sir, I am only doing common justice to the men when I state how pleased I was to see the zeal and perseverance with which they worked for so many hours, neither can I omit stating my belief that this arose in a great measure from the good example of the officers, especially the senior lieutenant, Mr. Annesley, from whom I have ever received the most active assistance. Having, then, in two following nights and one day, destroyed the whole of the Nystad shipping (probably upwards of 20,000 tons), I trust these proceedings will meet with your approval."

## CHAPTER LXXXVI.

SEBASTOPOL PARLIAMENTARY COMMITTEE: EXAMINATIONS AND REPORT.—THE SEBASTOPOL MINISTERIAL COMMISSION: INVESTIGATION AND REPORT.

"Can such things be,  
And overcome us like a summer's cloud  
Without our special wonder."—SHAKESPEARE.

new events had such influence upon the progress of the war as the appointment of a committee was popularly called the "Sebastopol Committee," and the "Sebastopol Commission." In discussing home events, the occurrences were noticed, and the immediate effect of the former of these upon the state of parties in the British parliament; the downfall of the Aberdeen cabinet; the appointment of Lord Palmerston to the chief direction of affairs; the subsequent secession from his ministry of the Peel section of it; and the ferment among the public that the necessity should have arisen—from the action of incompetent government at home, and incompetent direction of the war at home and abroad—for its appointment.

Our readers have been reminded that, in consequence of the public agitation caused by neglect and improper management of the war in the Crimea, by those whose duty it was to have ministered to its wants and directed its affairs with discretion, two bodies of committees were appointed by two different authorities at home. One of these consisted of

Sir J. McNeil, Colonel Tulloch, and Dr. Gavin: they were appointed by the government to act as commissioners of her majesty, to proceed to the Crimea, and inquire on the spot concerning the actual state of the army, and the causes which had previously entailed such sad disaster. This commission of inquiry was to report to her majesty's government, and that report was to be private; but, on the demand of the Commons, it was eventually published. Its ostensible use was to guide her majesty's ministers in adopting governmental remedies against the recurrence of similar disasters.

The other inquiring body was composed of a committee of the House of Commons, appointed by that house, and its use was for the information of the Commons, and the people whom that house represented in the legislature, that such measures might be adopted by it as the exigencies of the case might demand. This body of inquirers, and the design of their appointment, were thus officially designated:—"The committee for inquiring into the state of the army before Sebastopol." The inquiry was to be conducted in one of the com-

mittee-rooms (Room No. 17) of the Parliament House.

It will be recollected by the reader of this History that on the 26th of January, 1855, Mr. Roebuck, M.P. for Sheffield, moved in the house for the appointment of this committee: on the 29th his resolution was carried. The change of ministry which followed, the consequent delay in the transaction of all parliamentary business, and the secession of an important section of the Palmerston cabinet, rendered it impossible for the committee to meet, for the conduct of the inquiry, before the 5th of March. The examinations of witnesses were conducted through the months of March, April, and May, communications of importance being occasionally made to the house. On the 18th of June the full report was made and read before the house. The committee consisted of Mr. Roebuck, chairman, Mr. J. Ball, Mr. Bramston, Mr. Drummond, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Layard, Colonel Lindsay, Sir James Pakington, General Peel, Lord Seymour, and Sir J. Hanmer. Strangers were admitted,—a resolution of the house having been passed, making it an open committee. The first day was signalised by the examination of two important witnesses—Mr. G. Dundas, who had visited the Crimea during the occurrences of many of the circumstances causing the investigation; and Lieutenant-general Sir de Lacy Evans, Bart. Their testimony was seriously inculpatory of the officials, civil and military. The next day the general was again examined. The main features of his evidence this day were the allegation that, notwithstanding bad food and the severity of the weather, the troops would not have sickened and died to such an extent but for the laborious work in the trenches, which, from the first, was far beyond the numerical force of the army. The government at home, in undertaking such an expedition with a force inadequate, and the commander-in-chief in consenting to occupy a position in the siege beyond the power of his army, were the parties to blame. The expectation of the Aberdeen government that the czar would not persevere in his demands against the armed remonstrance and demonstration of England and France, the general also considered the cause of the expedition having been unprovided with the necessities of campaigning; this threw the blame chiefly upon the Earl of Aberdeen and his cabinet. With the command of the sea possessed by the allies, it was the general's conviction that the authorities could have supplied the troops with every requisite, military and commissariat.

It would be impossible to insert even an abstract of the evidence, as it occupies a vast

blue-book, the contents of which would fill many numbers of this History. All that is possible in this respect is to give a portion of the evidence of a few of the more important witnesses as specimens of the character of the proceedings. It is scarcely necessary to say more than this for the information of the readers, as the evidence taken before the committee is frequently embodied in the narrative of events in the Crimea connected with the state of the army, and of the conduct of the war at home and abroad.

On the 12th of March, his royal highness the Duke of Cambridge was under examination. His mode of giving his evidence was frank, open, and manly, eliciting the admiration of the committee and the spectators. His evidence was substantially the same as that of Sir de Lacy Evans. The latter officer did not speak so highly of the staff of the army as his royal highness did, but considered the expectations of the public too high after long a peace.

On the same day that the duke was examined, Colonel Wilson gave startling and appalling evidence. He declared that ten men were literally killed by overwork in the trenches; that for a long time they had on three hours of the twenty-four off duty; that frequently they were on duty three nights successively without any sleep; on the fourth some rest might be taken, and then the painful round of sleepless nights began again. During these long watchings they were hard at work and often had to defend themselves against the arms of the enemy. In the field-hospital the men lay on the bare ground, which was often damp.

On the 13th of March Captain Kellock, of the *Himalaya*, testified that he brought charcoal for the troops, which would not be received at Balaklava; and he had to take it back to Constantinople, although he offered to land it at Balaklava with his own boats and by his own crew. He also stated that he had ordered to convey the convalescents from Scutari to join their regiments in the Crimea when the men were in the most wretched state of emaciation and debility; some, in answer to his remonstrances, were re-landed.

On the same day a non-commissioned officer was examined, whose presence attracted a great deal of attention; he had lost his arm at Inkerman. This witness was Sergeant Thomas Dawson. He, especially, bore evidence to the willingness of the soldiers to suffer rather than leave them behind, as they were compelled to do. One of the chief sources of suffering and sickness, in his opinion, was sleeping on the bare, damp ground with any shelter. When the men had tents, many as fifteen soldiers had to live in one tent.

Bulgaria, in the heat of summer, and the pestilence was raging. This witness presented that the stock caused the men to suffer on the march in warm weather, causing men to drop out when proceeding to the encampment to Varna. Examined

Mr. Layard:—"You worked in the trenches?"—"Yes."—"Did you hear any complaints of the tools?"—"Yes, often; the tools we had were very bad indeed. The bills could not cut a piece of wood—pieces chipped off the edges an inch long. The pickaxes were generally bad; they were always coming off the handles, if they did not break. The axes were worse than the picks."—"How did the men like the Minié rifle?"—"Very ill; only when engaged there is no time to think of the slides, and the men have to judge the shot by their own eye."

The examination on hospital subjects it is necessary even to glance at, as in the body of this work a full account of the history and condition of the hospitals in the East is given.

The Duke of Newcastle was one of the most important witnesses, and was under examination during the 23rd, 24th, and 25th of April. The main points of the duke's testimony were, that he deviated from established forms, to promote the efficiency of the service, whenever he dared; that he sought means of correcting abuses and overruling formalities, but that his office did not give him the power to do so efficiently; that there were so many co-ordinate departments controlling the army—such as the War-office, Colonial-office, the Secretary at War, Ordnance, the Horse-Guards, and the Treasury—that it was frequently impossible to know to which department a particular matter belonged; that the cabinet was kept in extraordinary ignorance of the real state of things, both in the offices at home and at the theatre of war; and that the reports made to different heads of departments distinctly contradicted one another; hence the contradictions of ministers in parliament, and their inconsistent statements concerning matters about which the country supposed them well informed.

The appointment of Lord Raglan to the command of the army in the Crimea, he being the master-general of the Ordnance, without making his resignation of that office dependent on his acceptance of the command, was the cause of many of the obstructions which the Duke of Newcastle had to encounter. A lieutenant-general of Ordnance was appointed, but in relations to the master-general, or the War-office, or the government, were never clearly defined, and therefore confusion reigned in every branch of the department. Almost all

the misadventures connected with the sending out of huts, their inopportune arrival, the dispatching of shells without fuses, and cartridges that would not fit the firearms for which they were intended, resulted from the absence of the master-general and the ill-defined relations of his lieutenant.

On the 1st of May another very important witness was placed before the committee—Lieutenant-general Sir John Burgoyne. As in the case of Sir de Lacy Evans and the Duke of Cambridge, he attributed the chief evils that befel the army to the great error of attempting a great undertaking with an utterly inadequate numerical force. The skilful and gallant old chief bore hard upon the inefficiency of all our arrangements for an army in the field.

Mr. Sidney Herbert, Sir James Graham, Vice-admiral Dundas, Lord Hardinge, and the Earl of Aberdeen, were all brought forward. The last witness examined was the ex-premier. He admitted that his first information concerning many of the painful facts which caused the committee of inquiry to be appointed was derived through the newspapers, and at first he did not believe them, and therefore adopted no means of remedying them. This evidence produced much sensation in the committee room, and afterwards throughout the country.

On the 18th of June Mr. Roebuck presented the report to the house; it was read by Sir Ducis le Marchant. Its spirit was most lenient towards individuals, but its language severe as to the working of our whole official system. It analysed the state of the army at Sebastopol, declining any opinion as to the propriety, in a military point of view, of engaging the men in an undertaking so disproportionate to their numbers. It declared that sufficient cause was not shown for the wants and sufferings of the men on the spot, nor were sufficient precautions taken against the calamities which, without such care, must under the circumstances be expected to occur.

The want of a clear understanding as to the relations of the commissary and quartermaster-generals, and of the former officer to the chief of the medical staff, was productive of general disaster; and the impossibility of the commissary-general obtaining from home or from the commander-in-chief in the Crimea instructions sufficiently definite, deprived him of the power in many cases of exercising the provision requisite in his situation.

The report dwelt on the inhumanity and folly of distributing green coffee berries to the troops; while the commissary and the home government were carrying on a lengthened correspondence as to the best way of preserving the aroma of the berry, and the advantages of the Turkish mode of packing!

The distribution of bad tools was denounced

as proceeding from the carelessness or the dishonesty of the officials at home.

The state of the hospitals on the Bosphorus was the subject of severe comment. The military superintendent was declared to be incompetent, and timid of all responsibility to a degree which injured the public service. Dr. Menzies, the chief medical authority there, was censured for reporting that neither medical appliances nor stores were wanting, at a time when the hospitals were nearly destitute of everything. The severity of this officer where the sufferings of the men were concerned was reprehended; but some apology was admitted for him on the ground that his duties were onerous beyond endurance, and finally broke down his health. Just tributes of respect were paid to Miss Nightingale, the Hon. and Rev. Sydney Osborne, Mr. Stafford, Mr. Macdonald, the *Times*' commissioner, the *Times* itself, &c. &c., for the humanity displayed to the sick, and the aid extended to them.

The management of the transport service was very strongly denounced. At Balaklava there were three authorities—the director of transports, the harbour-master, and the commander-in-chief (through his quartermaster-general)—perpetually in conflict, none knowing his proper province. At the Bosphorus Admiral Boxer worked hard, and behaved coarsely. His representations to the home authorities were valuable, but neglected by Sir James Graham, the first lord of the Admiralty. The want of proper regulations for the guidance of the transport service generally was denounced as an error of the government. Sir James Graham represented Admiral Dundas and Lord Raglan as having a concurrent jurisdiction, which appears to us to be the true view of the case. Lord Raglan never exercised any authority, except in especial instances; and Admiral Dundas refused, even when urged by the Duke of Newcastle for the sake of the service, to do so.

The committee were severe upon purveyors, and especially upon the medicine purveyor at the Bosphorus, who for months kept no accounts.

The state of the official departments at home the committee considered to be discreditable to the country. A mere formal routine took the place of all thought and considerate attention for the advantage of the country. There was no sufficient scheme of responsibility—no well-defined arrangement of the provinces of the various departments—such as the Horse-Guards, War-office, Ordnance-board, Board of Admiralty, &c.

The chief censure of the committee was directed against the cabinet of the Earl of Aberdeen. In the opinion of the committee, that government was faithless to its duty—it entered upon the war without a definite policy

—made no preparations for a contest—provided no army reserve near the seat of war—and militia reserve at home. It directed the Crimean expedition without any information as to the topographical peculiarities of the country as affecting military purposes, or the strength of the enemy. The ambassador the czar was ignorant on the subject—so was the ambassador to the Porte, although Russia had long been preparing such vast resources and appliances there for aggressive purposes. When the expedition landed, no provision was made for a winter campaign, although there was plenty of time to do so, and the government had abundant resources at command. Besides all this there was a general inattention and indifference shown by the government to the progress of the war, which exposed the country to peril. The report placed the responsibility of the misfortunes that had occurred chiefly upon the incompetency, indifference, and want of intelligence of Lord Aberdeen and his cabinet. The concluding passage of the report is instructive and impressive:—"Your committee, in conclusion cannot but remark that the first real improvements in the lamentable condition of the hospitals at Scutari are to be attributed to *private suggestions, private exertions, and private benevolence*. A fund, raised by public subscription, was administered by the proprietors of the *Times* newspaper, through Mr. Macdonald, an intelligent and zealous agent. At the suggestion of the secretary at war, Miss Nightingale, with admirable devotion, organised a band of nurses, and undertook the care of the sick and wounded. The Hon. Jocelyn Percy, the Hon. and Rev. Sydney Osborne, and Mr. Augustus Stafford, after a personal inspection of the hospitals, furnished valuable reports and suggestions to the government. By these means much suffering was alleviated, the spirits of the men were raised, and many lives were saved. Your committee have now reverted to the chief points contained in their replies to above TWENTY-ONE THOUSAND QUESTIONS; and, in noticing these various subjects, they have divided them under distinct heads in order fairly to apportion the responsibility. Your committee report, that the sufferings of the army mainly resulted from the circumstances under which the expedition to the Crimea was undertaken and executed. The administration which ordered that expedition had no adequate information as to the amount of the forces in the Crimea. They were not acquainted with the strength of the fortresses to be attacked, or with the resources of the country to be invaded. They hoped and expected the expedition to be immediately successful; and as they did not foresee the probability of a protracted struggle, they made

vision for a winter campaign. The patience and fortitude of this army demand the admiration and gratitude of the nation on whose behalf they have fought, bled, and suffered. Their heroic valour, and equally heroic patience, under sufferings and privations, have given them claims upon their country which will doubtless be gratefully acknowledged. Your committee will now close their report, with a hope that every British army may in future display the valour which this noble army has displayed, and that none may hereafter be exposed to such sufferings as are recorded in these pages."

The general feeling in the house upon the reading of the report was, that it was discreet and prudent, and, on the whole, a very good report. The general feeling of the country was, that the officials were protected by a majority of the committee, and that Mr. Roebuck and Mr. Layard were overruled and outvoted by that majority in the patriotic efforts of those two honourable members to bring to light the corruption and culpability that prevailed. Colonel Peel and Mr. Drummond were (perhaps unfairly) supposed to be the chief advisers by whom the two honourable members were exposed to abuses were thwarted and impeded. In all events, the report failed in giving satisfaction to the public; there was a desire to find one victim—to single out some one for punishment; and the qualified disapprobation expressed by the committee when the Duke of Newcastle, Sidney Herbert, and Sir James Graham, were concerned, was attributed to a desire to screen these persons from the punishment they deserved. In truth, the public did not know that, whatever the errors and incompetency of all or any of these administrators, the difficulties by which the system beset them were all but insurmountable. There was no remedy put forth by the public to reform "the system" at all adequate to the demands of the emergency; and neither peers, commons, nor cabinet, were as much in earnest in effecting reform as the outburst of feeling connected with the appointment of "the Sebastopol Committee" would lead men to expect. Some reforms did result from the disclosures made, and the suggestions and censures contained in the report, and the effect of the appointment of the Sebastopol Committee terminated. The report itself, however, still remains as a warning to the present generation, and will be a warning to posterity, to watch all governments with constitutional jealousy, and to insist upon the principle being carried out thoroughly in every branch of the public service—

"Palmarum qui meruit ferat."

The proceedings of the commission sent to the Crimea were scarcely less important than

those of the committee of the House of Commons. The commissioners, before reaching the Crimea, examined minutely the state of affairs at the Bosphorus, where it was discovered that stores of almost every kind were in great quantities at the very time that the sick in the hospitals were perishing for want of them, the storekeeping department having been managed without regularity or skill. The intelligence gleaned by the commissioners there, set them upon the right track of inquiry when they arrived in the Crimea. To this they bore testimony in the following language:—"The information we obtained at Scutari and Constantinople was of great importance to our future proceedings; we ascertained that the sick arriving from the Crimea were nearly all suffering from diseases chiefly attributable to diet, and that the food supplied to the army during the winter, consisting principally of salt meat and biscuit, with a very insufficient proportion of vegetables, was calculated, in the circumstances in which the troops were placed, to produce those diseases; it was therefore evidently desirable to increase the supplies of fresh meat and vegetables, and to substitute fresh bread for biscuit. Regarded merely in a pecuniary point of view, irrespective of higher considerations, moral and political, the most wasteful of all expenditure is the expenditure of men. There is hardly any conceivable price that it may be necessary to pay for what is required to preserve the health and efficiency of the soldier that is not advantageously laid out. Every soldier has cost a large sum before he is landed in the Crimea fit for duty, and it costs a like sum to replace him. The value of the other considerations cannot be estimated in money, for they are above all price."

When they arrived at Balaklava, every obstruction was thrown in the way of these gentlemen by certain officials there, but the commissioners were not the men to be deterred from their duty; they vigorously prosecuted it, and, although they found it extremely difficult to obtain proper information from some who ought, from their position, to have upheld the authority of the queen's commission, all essential information was procured. It is unnecessary to recapitulate that, as in the course of the narrative of events before Sebastopol it has been brought out. The commissioners, in the report, blamed "the system" rather than individuals; but they did not hesitate to fix upon certain persons much censure—Sir Richard Airey, the quartermaster-general; Colonel Gordon, his assistant; the Earl of Lucan, commander-in-chief of the cavalry; the Earl of Cardigan, the commander of the light cavalry; and other officers. All these noblemen and gentlemen denied the justice of the critiques of the commissioners' report, and de-

manded further investigations, which the government at home granted, and which resulted in a formal acquittal from blame of the individual officers. The "system" stood proxy for everybody upon whom any imputation rested. The following extract from the commissioners' report will depict the state of matters in the Crimea as it appeared to them, and appropriately close this chapter:—

"The sufferings of the army in the course of the winter, and especially during the months of December and January, must have been intense. We have not noted all the particulars related to us, many of which were unconnected with our inquiry; but we may state that it has been only by slow degrees, and after the frequent repetition of similar details, as one witness after another revealed the facts that had come under his own observation, that we have been able to form any adequate conception of the distress and misery undergone by the troops, or fully to appreciate the unparalleled courage and constancy with which they have endured their sufferings. Great Britain has often had reason to be proud of her army, but it is doubtful whether the whole range of military history furnishes an example of an army exhibiting, throughout a long campaign, qualities as high as have distinguished the forces under Lord Raglan's command. The strength of the men gave way under excessive labour, watching, exposure, and privation; but they never murmured, their spirit never failed, and the enemy, though far outnumbering them, never detected in those whom he encountered any signs of weakness.

Their numbers were reduced by disease and by casualties to a handful of men, compared with the great extent of the lines which they constructed and defended; yet the army never abated its confidence in itself, and never descended from its acknowledged military prominence. Both men and officers, when reduced that they were hardly fit for the lighter duties of the camp, scorned to be excused the severe and perilous work of the trenches, lest they should throw an undue amount of duty upon their comrades; yet they maintained every foot of ground against all the efforts of the enemy, and with numbers so small that perhaps no other troops would ever have made the attempt. Suffering and privation have frequently led to crime in armies, and in other communities, but offences of a serious character have been unknown in the British army in the Crimea. Not one capital offence has been committed, or even alleged to have been committed, by a soldier, and intemperance has been rare. Every one who knows anything of the constitution of the army must feel that when troops so conduct themselves throughout a long campaign, the officers must have done their duty, and set the example. The conduct of the men, therefore, implies the highest encomium that can be passed upon their officers. They have not only shared all the danger and exposure, and most of the privations which the men had to undergo, but everywhere found indications of their solicitude for the welfare of those who were under their command, and of their constant readiness to employ their private means in promoting the comfort of their men."

## CHAPTER LXXXVII.

NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE PACIFIC AND KAMTSCHATKA.—ESCAPE OF THE RUSSIAN FLEET FROM PETROPAULOVSKI AND FROM DE CASTRIES BAY.—DESTRUCTION OF THE RUSSIAN FRIGATE DIANA, AT JAPAN, BY AN EARTHQUAKE.—CAPTAIN AND PORTIONS OF THE CREW OF THE DIANA ELUDE THE BRITISH CRUISERS.—CAPTURE OF TWO HUNDRED AND EIGHT SEAMEN OF THAT SHIP BY THE BARRACOUTA.—NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE WHITE SEA.

"C'est trop tard."

DURING the years 1854 and 1855 the language of this motto might be with great justice applied to all the naval operations in which England was engaged. "Too late!" might be written over the doors of the Admiralty. A French politician of distinction taunted his government for their tardiness, by an eloquent iteration of these words through the medium of the press, and the Earl of Derby, in the British House of Peers, dextrously rounded the periods of an eloquent declamation against the Aberdeen government by a repetition of the same accusation of fatal and infatuated delay. It was always too late, whatever was projected in our naval plans, and

wherever their execution was attempted. In the Baltic, in 1854, nothing could be done because, as Sir Charles Napier declared, of the tardiness of Sir James Graham in supplying him with gun-boats, while Sir James related that all the mischief arose from the admiral being *too late* in asking for them. In the Baltic, 1855, the Admiralty actually sent out a reinforcement of mortar-vessels when Dundee was sending home the fleet. In the White Sea, in both years, the season was too far advanced for an effective campaign when the ships arrived there. In the Black Sea, in 1854, the action of the allied admirals and their responsi-

海軍大元帥の乗船

大日本海軍大元帥の乗船





re governments was *too late* to prevent the massacre of Sinope, or even to avenge it; and in 1855, the only action of the fleets—that at Pertch and in the Sea of Azoff—was a month *late* for all the purposes of the important objects contemplated, Canrobert being then the clog upon the fleets and armies. So in the Northern Pacific, in 1855, “too late” may be written under every separate procedure of the fleets of France and England. The conduct of a war through the previous year was marked by the grossest incompetency. Admiral Price led his part in the transactions by suicide; and the whole of the allied squadrons ended theirs by disgrace and defeat before the enemy. The conduct of the war in these parts in 1855 was also characterised by disgrace and defeat, not, indeed, in essays of arms, but by allowing inferior Russian forces to elude the vigilance of the naval chiefs who should have found, conquered, and captured them.

It will be recollected from our narrative in the previous chapter, that the allied attempt on the town of Petropaulovski was repulsed, and that the baffled squadrons sailed southward for winter shelter, the English having no port in these regions, while the Russians have no less than five ports where ships could winter. It is a provoking taunt for an American to write, but we fear it is a just one, that had the English possessions in the Northern Pacific belonged to the American Union, thriving cities and flourishing ports would arise even in these ungenial and remote regions, now sterile and unfrequented under the depressing influence of the Hudson's Bay Company and the English Colonial-office.

In the spring of 1855 the English prepared, under Admiral Bruce, to assume the offensive in the Northern Pacific. No means were taken to procure information there, or to send out information from home; while the Russians spent considerable sums in gaining a precise knowledge of the force and intentions of their enemies, principally by means of American captains and commercial men. From Russia, also, across the frozen tracks of Siberia, a journey of 7000 miles, the energetic, vigilant, and persevering government of St. Petersburg transmitted orders of intelligence with a rapidity which any other nation in the world, except perhaps the American, would have deemed impossible; and which, although Englishmen would have undertaken and executed, an English government would never have tried to accomplish.

In the Pacific Ocean at the opening of 1855 there were two English squadrons—one was the Chinese seas, under Admiral Stirling; the other in the Northern Pacific, under Admiral Bruce. The former protected the commerce of the allies on the coasts of China and Australia; the latter was to cruise by the

western coasts of America. Before the end of March the allies had assembled in the Chinese seas five frigates, five sailing sloops, seven war-steamer, and a number of tenders, steam and sailing vessels, making a force of 300 guns, and ten times as many men. This fleet detached ships and squadrons in the different directions where it was expected the Russians would be met with, where they were to be joined by detachments from the other fleet off the American coast. The month of April had advanced before these squadrons and ships were dispatched, long before which time the Russians had orders from St. Petersburg, and intelligence from their American emissaries in these seas, which enabled them to take their measures to insure, if possible, security, notwithstanding the odds against them. Admiral Stirling frankly stated before the season commenced that he had no intention of attacking any of the Russian ports.

On the 7th of April the *Sibylle*, a 40-gun frigate, the *Bittern* brig of war, and the *Hornet*, a fine steam corvette, left Hong-Kong, under the orders of Commodore the Hon. C. Elliott. The destination of this squadron was the Amoor. On reaching the Japan Isles fogs intercepted the navigation. Passing through the Corea Straits and the Sea of Japan, the squadron steamed through the Strait of Sangar, and anchored off Hakodadi, in the island of Yeszo, on the 27th of April. Here the ships remained until the 7th of May, losing time after the fashion of Admiral Price at Honolulu the previous year. On the 7th of May the commodore quitted Yeszo, and passed into the Gulf of Tartary, sailing northward to the mouth of the Amoor. This river rises in Mongolia, and falls into an arm of the Oekhotsk Sea, called the Gulf of Saghalien, opposite the north end of the peninsula which bears that name. This peninsula is generally represented to be an island, but it is connected with the main-land by low sand-banks, skirted with immense beds of sea-weed. Over this bank the sea at certain periods flows, just covering it, which can hardly cause the peninsula to be properly called an island. This peninsula (or island, if such a name be applicable) was carefully examined by La Perouse, the French navigator. He believed he could sail round it, but on making the attempt was unable to bring his vessel far up the gulf, because of the sand-banks. He then sent forward boats, which were unable to proceed, owing to the shallowness of the water. The officers in charge of the boats could observe no signs of the slightest current, and concluded that the notion of the projecting land facing the gulf being an island was erroneous. Captain Broughton afterwards went nine miles farther up, and found the passage closed by low sand-banks. There are

therefore, no sufficient grounds for the description of Findlay, when he says, "It is not absolutely determined whether Saghalien be a peninsula or an island." This peninsula is not much short of 700 miles in length, stretching parallel with the coast of Chinese Tartary; between either shore lies the Gulf of Tartary and the Gulf of Saghalien. In the Gulf of Tartary is a bay called De Castries. While Commodore Elliott was sailing northward to the Amoor, he looked into the Bay of De Castries, and there found a Russian frigate, three corvettes, a brig, and a small steamer: this was on the 20th of May. The commodore found it impossible to obtain a safe entrance to the bay, and his force was inferior to that of the Russians. After reconnoitring and repeatedly exchanging fire with the enemy, he resolved to communicate with his admiral, then 1500 miles away, and for this purpose sent the *Bittern*. The commodore had the egregious folly to accompany her three days' sail, and when he returned after a week's absence, the Russian squadron had escaped—he was "too late."

In an agony of chagrin and anger, the commodore beat about, not knowing where to go or what to do. It never occurred to him that the enemy would take advantage of his absence to escape to a place of greater security. He seems to have imagined that the Russians should have stayed where they were, until it suited his convenience to attack them with advantage. The commodore contrived to get in when the enemy had got out, where he found the remains of a Russian settlement, which the people had evidently deserted, accompanying the squadron. There was discovered a package of Russian documents, which might have been of importance, and thrown some light upon the course which the Russian squadron had taken, if it acted under any especial directions from St. Petersburg, which was in fact the case. One would suppose that a squadron would hardly be sent to sea, whose duty it was to go in quest of an enemy along his own coasts, without some person being appointed to accompany it acquainted with the language of that enemy; but nothing seemed to be thought of at home or abroad connected with naval matters until *too late*. When it was *too late* a person was found to translate the documents. Very little information could be wrung from the British Admiralty concerning any of these transactions, and few despatches were published. The government was evidently ashamed of everything connected with these operations, except to promote the commodore to the honourable office of a naval aide-de-camp to the queen, in common with the practice all through the war, of promoting persons of high influence and connexion, whatever the disasters which attended their want of vigilance and skill. The information so

difficult to obtain from English sources was in this case supplied by the enemy.

The *Morski Sbornik*, a naval magazine published at St. Petersburg, gives the following narrative of how the Russian fleet in the Pacific escaped the English cruisers:—"As soon as Admiral Savoiko, commander of Petropaulovski received orders to destroy the fortifications of that town, and to proceed to the liman of the Amoor, he made his preparations for evacuating the place, had a passage sawn through the ice in the Bay of Avatscha, and went to sea on the 17th of April, with the corvette *Olivouska*, the *Aurora* frigate, and three transports, *Dwina*, *Irsysk*, and *Baikal*. The squadron counted about 300 souls, including women and children of all inhabitants of Petropaulovski. After most trying passage the squadron cast anchor in Castries Bay (51° 27' north latitude), and the admiral placed his ships behind some banks and shallows, so as to prevent their being turned by the enemy. On the 20th of May a frigate, a corvette, and an English brig made their appearance; the corvette approached and threw some shells against one of the Russian vessels, but the whole enemy's squadron soon went to sea again. As Admiral Savoiko had been informed that Cape Lasareff, situate more north at the mouth of the Amoor, was free from ice, he took advantage of the departure of the English vessels, weighed anchor, and, after a perilous passage, his vessels reached their destination one by one, between the 1st and 6th of June. Batteries were thrown up on the shore, and a few weeks later all the vessels were placed in shelter behind the bars of the Amoor. During the run from Castries Bay to Cape Lasareff an American vessel, the *William Penn*, was spoken. She had on board 150 Russians of the crew of the *Diana*, wrecked, it will be remembered, on the Japanese coast, and shortly after his arrival at Cape Lasareff, Admiral Savoiko was joined by Admiral Paniutin; the latter had made his escape in a very bold and enterprising manner. After the shipwreck of the *Diana*, he conceived the idea of making his crew build a schooner. The undertaking succeeded so well that, after ten weeks' hard work, to which the Japanese and their government gave an assisting hand in providing materials, sails, &c., a vessel of the desired size was launched and named the *Khida*, after the port where it was constructed. Forty men and seven officers formed the crew of the schooner, which reached Petropaulovski on the 22nd of May. Finding that place abandoned, the admiral lost no time in leaving Avatscha Bay, which was watched by hostile cruisers, and he succeeded in reaching the Prouse Straits, between the islands of Saghalien and Yeszo. Here he was nearly surprised one night by a vessel of the enemy, which passed within 700 yards of him. He was given

ase to; but the admiral escaped, and continuing his course northwards, he joined, as already stated, the rest of the Kamtschatka fleet at Cape Lasareff. Thence he proceeded shortly to the Nicholas Station, the chief and well-fortified point of that territory, and deposited there all the *materiel* which the squadron had brought from Petropaulovski."

Meanwhile the *Bittern* found Admiral Stirling, on the 29th of May, near the coast of Japan, whither he had transferred his headquarters. On the next day he set sail in the *Winchester*; the *Spartan* and the *Tartar* joined the *Winchester* and the *Bittern* in the Strait of Nargar. The admiral was at this time within a couple of days' sail of the commodore; but he was in no hurry; it was not the custom in this war for British admirals to make haste, in any way or for any purpose. It was the 7th of June before the admiral and the commodore formed a junction. For ten days they did nothing, or next to nothing, to discover the enemy, and the entire month of June was consumed without any development of skill or energy. A letter afterwards published contains the following passage concerning the occupation at this juncture of some of the ships from the fleet by Admiral Bruce:—"In the Gulf of Tartary, lat. 48° 56' a large and convenient bay was discovered on the Corea, affording an excellent anchorage, and in the bay were found the remains of a Russian man-of-war, which had been recently burnt. Two batteries had been erected to protect the vessel in her berth, and numerous huts, &c., were on the shore. From the inscriptions on various tombs it appears the Russians had been there about two years, and the natives gave our fleet to understand that the Russian sailors had left on sleighs about seven weeks before their visit. There seems no doubt that the vessel was the frigate *Ullas*, as her figure-head was found. She must have been there about two years undiscovered by our men-of-war, who, we are informed, were by their orders prevented from searching that coast."

At the close of 1854, orders had been sent to Bruce to watch Petropaulovski, as soon as the season for operations should open. At the beginning of April he found himself at the head of a powerful armament, consisting of the *President*, 50; *Encounter*, 14; *Barracouta*, 6; *Albatross*, 40; *Trincomalee*, 24; *Amphitrite*, 24; *Albatross*, 18; and *Brisk*, 14. The French admirals, Manros and Fournichon, had a small squadron, and the whole fleet, whose headquarters were at Valparaiso, numbered twelve ships, carrying 354 guns. The *Barracouta* and *Encounter* were dispatched to watch Petropaulovski. About the middle of April they arrived near Kamtschatka, and stayed there until it was too late to watch Petropaulovski. The British

officers all through seem to have regarded the Russians as a dilatory race, whose modes of action were formed by the rules and regulations of the British Admiralty. *These two ships "watched Petropaulovski" at a distance of between sixty and eighty miles, until the end of May, when Admiral Bruce, not being in any greater haste than his subordinates, or co-operating admirals and commodores, leisurely arrived off Kamtschatka, and found the "watching" ships waiting for him. The fleet proceeded to the place where they hoped the enemy would have remained until their arrival, in order to be caught. The admiral found all that he deserved to find—a deserted town and an empty harbour. Petropaulovski had been fortified after the conflict of 1854, and so strongly, that the admiral and his fleet would have met from its batteries and the ships, had they remained there, a formidable reception. The Russian orders, however, which arrived across land early in March, were for the ships to escape to the Amoor early in the year, and for the fortifications to be defended by the troops and the inhabitants to the last extremity. The *Diana* frigate, the governor was informed, would bring him a supply of ammunition, and land some heavy guns and mortars. The *Diana* not having arrived at the appointed time, the governor feared that she had encountered the enemy, and he therefore dismantled the batteries, buried the guns or carried them away, and removed the troops and the inhabitants. The fate of the *Diana* was singular. She put into the chief port of Japan, and was wrecked by an earthquake there. Her energetic commander sent a portion of her crew in an American ship to Petropaulovski, which arrived in time to accompany the fugitives thence to the Amoor. He afterwards built a sloop, and in it reached the same place in safety, escaping the vigilance of all the English cruisers. Had a tenth part of the energy and foresight of this one Russian been displayed by any of the British or French admirals or commodores, not a Russian ship in these seas would have escaped. All the Russian authorities, wherever acting on these shores or waters, showed the utmost zeal for their country's service, the most untiring vigilance, the quickest celerity and promptitude, a sagacious foresight, and careful precaution.*

Admiral Bruce found a Russian whaler, which had been snugly moored in a quiet and sheltered creek. This had been retained to convey away the governor and his family, who had fled to the interior. Bruce contrived to open communications with him, and exchange some prisoners. After these exploits, the admiral, with puzzled and disappointed mind, considered whither he should go to find ships, batteries, or anything belonging to the foe.

The fairest months of summer had been spent: three admirals, two commodores, and a score of captains, had been roaming about the Pacific, unable to come up with anything Russian, without any well-concerted plans of action, and without knowing how to dispose of the large forces under their command with any advantage to their respective countries.

During the months of July and August the time was consumed by the fleets in cruising about in a bewildered way—some of the ships in and out of the Sea of Ockhotsk; some trying to get into the Amoor, from which a barrier of sand-banks kept them, and no spirited or skilful efforts were put forth to penetrate the intricacies of these obstructions.

When the gallant captain of the *Diana* escaped with a portion of his men in the sloop he had himself built, there were about 280 of his sailors left behind; these procured a Dutch ship to take them to the Amoor, but were intercepted by the *Barracouta*, and captured; the only piece of good fortune that fell to the allies during the season, unless the taking possession of the little island of Urup, a Russian possession, may be also esteemed such. This little isle is the centre of the trade of Russia in the Kurile Archipelago; and the French thought it of sufficient importance to change the name to "Alliance." A tolerably good prize was found there—a vessel laden with furs.

A letter from San Francisco, dated the 5th of September, gave a succinct account of some of the proceedings of a portion of the allied fleets which we have not noticed elsewhere:—"Her majesty's frigates *President*, 50, Captain Burridge, and *Amphitrite*, Captain Fredericks, are both in the Bay of San Francisco, anchored off Sancelito. The *Dido*, 18, Captain Morshead, arrived at San Francisco on the 18th of last month from Vancouver's Island, and sailed on the 1st inst. under sealed orders, but supposed to be for the Sandwich Islands, Tahiti, and Valparaiso. The *Monarch* is hourly expected with the admiral from Vancouver's Island. The *Amphitrite* arrived on the 21st of August from the Russian possessions of Ayan and Sitka. It will be remembered that this vessel sailed from Petropaulovski after the French and English found that place abandoned by the Russians, for the river Amoor, to join the combined French and English squadrons which had previously sailed from China to the Amoor. From the Amoor the *Amphitrite* was to have brought to the admiral at San Francisco news of the attack upon the Russian fortifications believed to be built upon that river. To our surprise, it turns out that the representations which had floated about over all the countries of the Pacific respecting these fortifications were fabulous. None such

exist; at any rate, not at the point near the mouth of the Amoor where rumour had located them. I will endeavour, from such meagre materials as I possess, to condense the *Amphitrite's* cruise. She left Petropaulovski on the 13th or 14th of June, in company with the war-steamers *Encounter* and *Barracouta*, and the man-of-war *Pique*, and arrived at Ayan on the 7th of July. Ayan is situated upon a small island off the mouth of the Amoor. It is a neat little town, containing thirty-five houses, and a church, built of wood. The place was found almost deserted by its Russian inhabitants, who had left their houses and furniture in good condition. A Russian iron steamer, belonging to the government, which was found lying at Ayan, was blown up and destroyed by the crew of the *Amphitrite*. This was the only act of hostility committed; and a proclamation was issued, declaring that private property would be respected. Everything was accordingly spared except this steamer. The *Amphitrite* lay at anchor for five days in the channel leading to the entrance to the Amoor, during which period soundings were taken, from which it was found to be impossible for a ship of war or any large vessel to enter the river. It was found that there were no fortifications at the mouth of the river. From several whalers spoken by the *Amphitrite* in the Sea of Ockhotsk, it was ascertained that the English and French fleets destined for the Amoor had been fallen in with (on their way to the north) in the Gulf of Tartary, whither the two English steamers *Encounter* and *Barracouta*, and the *Pique*, sailed from the Gulf of Saghalien to join the allied fleet; and the *Amphitrite* sailed from Ayan on the 15th of July, and arrived at San Francisco on the 21st of August, as already stated. There was nothing new at Sitka, and the town was in its usual quiet state."

The weather at last became unfavourable: it was *too late* in the season to do anything, and each division of the fleet sought its respective rendezvous.

Thus 1855, like 1854, was wasted by the incompetency and impromptitude of those to whom the country's interests were committed in those waters.

#### NAVAL OPERATIONS IN THE WHITE SEA.

The proceedings of the allies in the White Sea in 1855 were expected to commence much earlier than in 1854, when much time was lost, for which there was the excuse that it was the commencement of the war. The conduct of the English Admiralty was as dilatory in 1855 as in the former year. Sir James Graham was still at the head of the Admiralty when it devolved upon the board to prepare an expedition. By the end of April a squadron

s ready, which, from some cause or other, own only to the Admiralty, did not set sail til May, and did not arrive off Archangel til the month of June. The French government and marine, still more dilatory in their operations against Russia, did not dispatch a squadron until later. When the English arrived, they found that the squadron had been sent out too late; these seas had been long open, and even entirely free from ice, and enemy and neutral states had all taken advantage of the absence of hostile cruisers to trade, and to convey troops and munitions of war from one port to another. The blockade was not established until the 11th of June, at least a month too late. This blockade included all the ports and harbours in the White Sea from Point Orlofska, in long. 22°, to Cape Kanoushin, in long. 43° 49'. The ports of Archangel and Onega were the special objects of the vigilance of the allies, their commercial importance being the greatest. Indulgence was extended to all trading vessels already in those ports; and they were very numerous, the tardy procedure of the allies having encouraged the traders on these coasts to an unusual degree of enterprise. The commercial fleet in these seas which took advantage of the absence of the allied cruisers belonged to Swedish, Norwegian, Dutch, German, and American ports. The English squadron was under the command of Captain Elliot; the French under that of Captain Lambert.

During the winter the fortifications exposed by the British in 1854 were strengthened; and where difficulty of access was then found, it was greatly increased by piles, stakes, and sunken boats, and trading-hulks. The defence of Archangel was very ostentatious, for could be seen in the neighbourhood a large force of Cossacks, and other light cavalry, 1000 regular infantry, and perhaps half that number of militia. The Russians expected early in the season a powerful naval and military demonstration would be made there by the allies. This arose from certain questions put in the British House of Commons early in the year, the answers to which were very bellicose, intimating that as soon as the White Sea was free from ice squadrons would be sent, and vigorous action taken. Admiral Schtscheff was governor of Archangel and the circumjacent province; the inhabitants reposed entire confidence in his skill and courage, so that the squadrons were regarded with more curiosity than alarm in the principal towns. It does not appear that the allies attempted anything but a blockade for a month after their arrival. On the 9th of July an English steamer anchored before the village of Koutsa, near Onega, and sent four boats with

armed parties on shore. According to the St. Petersburg press, the boats were fired upon by the peasantry, under the guidance of an old soldier, and compelled to return to the ships, which immediately opened a broadside, discharging grape and canister, while the boats, returning armed with guns and rockets, also opened a heavy fire. After three hours' cannonade, two of the boats pulled in shore. The peasantry, although only thirty-two in number, led by the priest, prevented their landing, and the boats once more retired to the ship, which again opened a formidable cannonade, throwing this time round-shot. This firing was continued all night; the next morning the vessel sheered off. Several of the men in the boats had been killed and wounded by the well-directed fire of the villagers, but only one of the latter was hit, and he was only slightly wounded. The Russians suffered the usual loss, only on this occasion it was not a poor Cossack, as there were none of that class at hand to receive the honour. Such is a specimen of the reports made through the St. Petersburg journals of the operations on these coasts.

The simple truth was that the *Phoenix*, cruising off these coasts, sent two boats, with a flag of truce and an interpreter, in order to obtain provisions, the villagers spoke them from the shore, consenting to traffick with the sailors, and when, unsuspecting, they were about to land, a murderous fire was opened on them. The boats were signalled to retire, and the *Phoenix*, to punish the base treachery, flung shot and rockets into the village, scattering the houses as dust. Thus everywhere—in the Euxine, the Baltic, and the White Sea—flags of truce were fired upon by the treacherous and sanguinary foe.

After this event the squadron was more active, and was less disposed to treat the enemy with leniency, various villages were burnt; timber-yards, boat-houses, small docks for building coasting-vessels, &c., were burnt and destroyed. Jack, ever generous to a manly or a helpless foe, resented with mortal antipathy the perfidy and cruelty of enticing men ashore under a flag of truce to murder them. The *Phoenix* and *Meander* were very active in searching all the creeks and bays where there was the slightest chance of discovering a ship, or boat, or any ship-building *materiel*, or government stores. During the season, the villages of Kouzoff, Shelná, Zaiatski, Megra, Solovetz, Kemi, Kollovara, and at least as many more small places were attacked, and some injury done to them. All these villages were well armed, a regular coasting navy to convey arms and ammunition having been in action while the allies were leisurely tarrying in their own ports at home, or slowly

making way to their posts of duty. The trade of those coasts was, however, effectually stopped from the arrival of the cruisers until the ice began to set in. Great injury was the result to the people of these shores, to whom the coasting-trade is vital; and so great has been the increase of late years of the commerce of Archangel and Onega with even remote countries, that the blockade was felt as a severe visitation. By means of a strict blockade upon the Russian coasts, with continued incursions of marines and light troops up the rivers and bays by which these shores are indented, an amount of chastisement could be in a few years visited upon the government through the sufferings of the people, which would make the czar feel it to be his interest and the interest of his dominions to come to terms of peace. At the close of the season the squadrons returned home, not having effected anything great, but, on the whole, a good deal that was useful. The blockade had been more rigorously maintained than in the previous year; but the captures were fewer, and of little value. The duties were not harassing to the squadrons, Jack having just sufficient excitement to arouse him, and keep him busy.

The importance of a demonstration of British power in the White Sea was not small, as from its ports Russia has long meditated a descent upon the coast of Norway. A writer, well acquainted with that sea, and the designs to which Russia wishes to make her power in it subservient, thus wrote on the subject:—"Suppose some new European convulsion, when Western Europe has home difficulties to contend with, what is there to prevent the

Russian fleet of the White Sea from securing the best harbours in Norway, and that Cronstadt from taking possession of Gothland instead of merely asking for it, as in 1834. This is no chimerical fear; and that the English government may not be again surprised by some audacious invasion of an unguarded port in an allied country, it may be well here to recapitulate the resources of our crafty neighbour. Russia possesses in the White Sea 400 transports, of about 15,000 tons burthen most of them manned by sailors acquainted with every nook and cranny of the rocky coast of Finmark, as well as every shoal in the fiords. They are so constructed that they can easily be adapted to convey not only troops but artillery; and such a fleet could carry 10,000 men, with heavy guns and stores for three months' campaign. Such an expedition might disembark anywhere between the Gulf of Waranger, at the north-eastern extremity of Finmark, and the Gulf of Drontheim, on the south-western; that is to say, along nearly 800 miles of coast, without meeting with a single military post. Russia already shows symptoms of sinister designs on the islands of Gothland and Bornholm, as well as the deep bays of Finmark. Scientific expeditions now, as in 1841, are set on foot by the Russian government, and military roads are being constructed leading towards the coveted points of Lapland. The Norwegian journal of Cromsoe complains bitterly of the number of armed boats which have come this year to Vadso, in the Bay of Waranger, perhaps to fish—perhaps to lay the foundation of some future Sebastopol—within 200 miles of the British coast."

## CHAPTER LXXXVIII.

JUNE BEFORE SEBASTOPOL.—THE THIRD BOMBARDMENT.—SUCCESSFUL ATTACK BY THE FRENCH UPON THE MAMELON AND THE WHITE WORKS, AND BY THE BRITISH UPON THE QUARRIES.—DESPERATE ATTEMPTS OF THE ENEMY TO RETAKE THESE POSITIONS.

"It is no time to discourse: the town is besieged, and the trumpet calls us to the breach."

SHAKESPEARE.

DURING the first week in June no incidents of importance occurred in the active prosecution of the siege until the capture of the Mamelon was attempted, and happily accomplished. The English endeavoured to throw some "carcasses" into the works of the enemy; but these means of offence had been lying for a great number of years in England before they were sent out, and were consequently useless: they were, unfortunately, so far effective as to fall and burst in the British advance trenches, killing and wounding a number of our men; Lieutenant-colonel Mundy was among the latter. Thus, in almost every cannonade, and at every step during the progress of the war, the unfaith-

fulness of the departments at home exposed our brave soldiers to unnecessary sacrifice. It was affirmed that these carcasses *had been lying in store more than half a century.*

Admiral Boxer, to whose rough energy the harbour of Balaklava was indebted for improvement, died on the 4th of cholera. His nephew to whom he was much attached, died three days previously of the same disease, and it was believed that the shock rendered Admiral Boxer's system more susceptible to that malady.

An event occurred about this time, so utterly discreditable to certain authorities of the British army in the Crimea, that were the relation of it less worthy of credit, every generous

and would refuse to believe it. Mr. Woods, a talented correspondent of the *Morning Advertiser*, was attacked with the Crimean or ergoum fever (as the Russians call it), and was admitted into the Marine Hospital at Balaklava, where the persevering skill and care of Dr. Edward Derryman were the means of his recovery. Colonel Hurdle, of the *Times*, was also a generous benefactor of this *littérateur*. After the recovery of Mr. Woods, and his return to England, Colonel Hurdle and Dr. Derryman were both severely rebuked for allowing the correspondent of the *Times* to enter into the hospital! One would suppose that any Englishman, so far from home or help, in such a deplorable condition, would find a cheering arm in every other countryman; but the staff of the British army (not including the generals of division or brigade in the term) was composed, for the most part, of narrow-minded, prejudiced, and vindictive men, hating every liberal idea or institution, and cherishing a morose hostility to any one connected with the press. The neglect, blunders, callousness, incompetency of these officers, were exposed to the country first through the instrumentality of the correspondents of the London press, who accordingly stretched their brief authority as it respected the literary gentlemen in Crimea, with an eager, personal, and personal animosity, which faithful history cannot denounce. Mr. Woods has spared the names of these tyrants who acted to him so cruelly, although, soon after, another agent of the press was allowed to lie down and die, without any medical help, because the prohibition of these authorities prevented the gentlemen in charge of hospitals from extending assistance. On the 6th of June the third bombardment of Sebastopol commenced. The English opened 157 guns and mortars; the French with nearly twice as many. The English pieces were generally of larger calibre, and were more fully and vigorously worked, so as to be less effective in the cannonade than the batteries of their allies. The peculiar characteristic of the fire, as compared with that of the April bombardment, was the power and number of the mortars; more than sixty large mortars vomited their shells rapidly and incessantly upon the enemy's works. The fire extended momentarily along the whole line after the discharge of a blank signal-gun, at three o'clock in the afternoon. The day was excessively warm, not a breath of air was moving, the smoke-wreaths settled upon the enemy's lines, adding to the picturesque effect of the cannonade, as the flashes of the guns were revealed through the looming volumes of smoke, like lightning through the dark clouds of a stormy sky. The Russians were as effectually taken by surprise as they were in the first battle.

second bombardment, and scarcely answered the guns of the allies for the first half-hour, and then only feebly. A large portion of the garrison had been detached to the heights overlooking the Tchernaya valley, in observation of the Sardinians and French, whom Canrobert and Marmora had led to the positions described in a former chapter. The allies in neither of the previous great cannonades directed so sustained and ponderous a shower of shot upon the Russian defences. Into the Malakoff, and still more into the Mamelon, shells poured in a constant and fiery current, slaying the garrisons of these forts, and rendering everything that offered resistance to their disintegrating force. The English used their long guns with extraordinary rapidity and unprecedented certainty; every shot appeared to tell. A new trench had been cut by the Russians in front of the Redan, connecting their system of rifle-pits, of which a description was given in a previous chapter. Into the works of this trench the English sent destruction from cothorns, which they had placed in their advanced works. Great numbers of the Russian riflemen were cut to pieces in that trench. In this way the cannonade continued, until the shades of evening hid the defences from view, and then the shells were flung with unrelenting fury, especially from the English batteries. As the day closed a distant thunder-storm lighted the horizon with other flashes, producing a strange effect, as if heaven and earth were warring around doomed Sebastopol. When the morning of the 7th dawned, the English long guns recommenced the murderous practice of the preceding evening, and throughout the day threw their dark missiles upon the crumbling ramparts of the enemy. The terrible Redan gave signal evidence of the success of the British artillery practice; its embrasures were broken in every direction, yet its disfigured face still looked frowning and formidable.

On the evening of the 7th the allied chiefs had resolved to storm the Mamelon. Lord Raglan had been anxious for this during the command of Canrobert, but that general would not consent to adopt so vigorous a course. Pelissier, who fell in more cordially with his lordship's plans, resolved to signalise his new command by this grand undertaking. To Lord Raglan it was a necessity, as it was impossible for him effectually to push on his works in the direction of the Redan while the Mamelon commanded the approach. Pelissier and Raglan agreed upon their plan of action at the beginning of the month; it was in brief this:—After a bombardment of two days, the White Works (which had been constructed by the Russians so early as the 27th of February), were to be stormed by the French, also some

smaller works towards Careening Bay, while the English were to force the Quarries, in front of the Redan, which were, in fact, regular works, but still called the Quarries, according to the aspect they presented when the English first broke ground near them. To this undertaking the French general of engineers was opposed, as he believed the fortress could only be subdued after a complete investment. The English engineers, on the contrary, urged the bombardment and storming of each separate work by a series of sieges, as it were, until one defence fell after another, according to their concentrative or connecting relation to one another in the defence. Pelissier, himself an engineer officer, fell in with that opinion. The principal difficulty in the way of this new undertaking was the fact that the French advanced parallels were still between 300 and 400 metres from the point to be attacked, and it must be approached under fire of certain of the enemy's batteries, unless he should be taken by surprise. A council of war was held at Sir Harry Jones's quarters, when various plans were proposed, and certain diversions in the direction of the M'Kenzie Heights advised. General Niel and General Jones were not of the same mind, but Pelissier, Raglan, and Jones concurred in the course to be adopted.

Another council of war was subsequently convened: the officers present were Generals Bosquet, Niel, Thiry, Lebœuf, Beuret, Dalesme, Frossard, Martimprey, and Trochu, on the side of our allies; Generals Sir H. Jones, Dacres, Airey, and Colonel Adye; Major Claremont and Captain de Polignac, of the Artillery. At this council the commander-in-chief did not permit the project to be discussed, but only the *modus operandi*, and the hour. It was decided to open the bombardment on the 6th, and to storm the works on the 7th. The council were generally of opinion that shortly after dark would be the fittest time; Pelissier, Raglan, Jones, and the English artillery officers were in favour of an attack by daylight. Lord Raglan's troops preferred seeing their enemy and the work before them; Pelissier considered that the task itself could be more satisfactorily executed by daylight, whereas the consolidation of the position, if conquered, or the retreat, if vanquished, could be best conducted under the darkness of night. To this opinion, in which the English officers especially concurred, all deferred, and five o'clock on the evening of the 7th was the hour designated. The details were committed to General Bosquet, an officer to whom every description of service seemed to be equally easy, so felicitous and varied were his talents. It was the desire of Pelissier and Raglan to have the assault so conducted that the enemy might be taken by surprise. The French did not keep their own secrets well on

such occasions, and accordingly many hours before that named for the attack, the whole French army knew what was contemplated, and the English heard from their allies that great project had been upon the *tapis*, and would that night be brought into practical force. Happily, no adventurous deserter crossed the lines with the tidings to the enemy. For a few hours before the moment appointed the cannonade of the allies was dreadful; the English smote the Redan with unintermitting fury, and a fiery deluge overwhelmed the Mamelon. Soon after five o'clock the forces designed for the assault were collected in the trenches, and a death-like stillness reigned throughout the lines, as on every point groups of officers and men were gathered to behold the terrible tournament. They spoke but little, and that little in whispers. "It was no time to discourse; the town was besieged, and the trumpet called them to the breach."

The French force was very large, and was composed of Imperial Guards, Zouaves, Indigènes, Chasseurs, and regiments of the line, which, with the reserves, made a muster of 20,000 men.

The storming party consisted of three companies, of 200 men each,—of Chasseurs, Indigènes, and Zouaves; two columns of support amounting to 10,000 men, sustained the companies. The remainder of the French and 3000 of Osman Pasha's Turks, remained in reserve.

Nothing was left undone by Pelissier and Bosquet to secure the success of the attack. Both officers reconnoitred the ground from the British position at different times in the evening of the 6th. Pelissier, about five o'clock that evening, proceeded to the Lancaster Battery, where he remained a considerable time; as he retired, the British soldiers issued forth from their tents, lining the way the general took, throwing their caps in the air, and shouting; the officers, catching the *furor* of the men, waved their swords. The general was deeply affected by the enthusiasm of his allies; and a French officer in the general's confidence has thus expressed himself:—"General Pelissier was much moved by this sudden and voluntary expression of respect and kindly feeling, and never mentions the episode without emotion." Meanwhile Bosquet named the second, third, fourth, and fifth divisions for the attack—all from the second *corps d'armée*.

At four o'clock on the evening of the assault Bosquet addressed each battalion as it filed passed him, and was elated by the acclamations of the gallant men in whom he reposed confidence. At half-past four the attacking column descended into the ravines of the Careenage and Karabelnaia, which afforded them shelter both from the observation and the fire of the foe.

former direction the chief operations were committed to Lieutenant-colonel la Bousserie. The point of attack on the right was the White Works, which the Russians called the Volhynian and Selinghinski Redoubts; on the left the Quarries, which the English called the Ravine; in the centre, the main point of conflict was the *Mamelon Vert*, as our allies called it, and which the enemy named the *Antschatka* Redoubt. The two ravines separated the first-named works from the Mamelon on the one side, and that from the English point of attack on the other, so that in each case the ravine might be made a way of stealthy approach as well as of effective shelter to the French.

Near the Careening Battery Generals Mayran and Dulac drew up the third and fourth divisions; Generals Camou and Brunet, at the head of the second and third divisions, commanded the Mamelon. General Bosquet took command of the English battery called the *Lanciers*. The signals ascended from the British battery, and the rockets gave their fiery warning to the host which silently awaited their summons. Brigadiers Faily and Lavarande precipitated themselves upon the White Works; Brigadier-general Wimpffen advanced against the base of the Mamelon.

The former attack was the more speedily successful, although, in proportion to the time consumed, more sanguinary. The Russians were watchful at the White Works, and both redoubts which composed them were well garrisoned. The advancing French were taken in flank and front by a terrible fire of artillery; and as the space over which they had to pass was very considerable, their loss was great. With cries of "*Vive l'Empereur!*" they scaled the redoubts, and put their dependance on the bayonet. Colonels Rose, Polkes, and Brancion greatly distinguished themselves; Brancion stood alone for some moments waving the flag of France upon the parapet of one of the two redoubts, until he fell covered with wounds. Lavarande's brigade arrived in the trenches of the Careening Works a little later, and dashed on for the other redoubt—that is, to the French as the work of the 22nd of February (the other was known as the work of the 27th), of which he made a speedy and bloodless conquest. The French immediately pursued the enemy, who took refuge in and around a battery erected by them on the 2nd of May, to protect the head of the ravine of the Careening. After a close conflict the battery was captured, and the guns spiked. In accomplishing this, the enemy rallied his powerful reserves, and returned to the attack; the French were driven back as by a main force, but General Mayran, deservingly the hero of the Russian supports, caught

the advancing column in flank with the bayonet, causing death and confusion, many falling prisoners into his hands. The French re-entered the redoubts, the Russians, complete fugitives, abandoning every post of defence. At this moment Lieutenant-colonel Larouy d'Orion, with two battalions, emerged by the right bank from the ravine, where he had been concealed in support, and cut off the retreat of the flying enemy. Four hundred prisoners, including twelve officers, were taken, and many killed and wounded.

The grand attack was upon the Mamelon, where the defence was most obstinate, and the victory most important. About half-past five the French columns were found at the entrance to the ravine which divided the extreme right of the English from the new French positions at Inkerman. At the head of one of the French battalions was a *vivandiere*, who was on horseback, and wore a white hat and feathers. She carried, slung by her saddle, a little keg containing brandy. This lady appeared to belong to the Zouaves. Another honoured the Chasseurs by her presence; she was both handsome in features, and elegant in general appearance; she, too, was mounted, and had her little keg slung by her saddle. The bearing of these ladies was as free from alarm as if riding on a parade, notwithstanding the probability that their path would soon be strewn with the dying and dead. The troops descended the ravine, but after a short time they suddenly emerged, and rushed upon the works of the Mamelon. The Russians apprehended no attack; they were not on the *qui vive* as were their compatriots at the White Works. The French surmounted the parapets, and fired down upon the garrison, who, panic-struck, fled, but not until the Zouaves, dropping down from the parapets, or entering through the embrasures, plied the bayonet with terrible activity. The pursuit was hot, and as the Russians retreated upon the Malakoff thither the pursuers followed. It was the intention of the officers only to make a demonstration against that work, in order to give time for the engineers and sappers to turn the Mamelon to account as a temporary advanced work against the enemy; but the men, in their furious courage, attempted to scale the face of the Malakoff; many of them did so, and fired down into it, but fell dead before the superior fire of the enemy. That vast work opened the fire of all its guns, while the infantry plied their muskets through the embrasures; the space around this work was speedily strewn with its prostrate assailants, a column of the enemy instantly emerging while the French were in confusion from so irresistible a fire, pursued them in turn. The French retreated upon the Mamelon, where a shell from the

enemy exploded a magazine, shattering the whole work, and leaving it a heap of ruins. The French literally fled to their supports, leaving the track of their flight covered with their dead and wounded. Colonel de Brancion had already fallen, Lieutenant-colonel Lablanc fell under the iron shower which the enemy threw upon the retreating force. General Bosquet saw all this with deep anxiety, and poured brigade after brigade to the contested point to retrieve the disaster. They advanced under a heavy fire, for now the enemy put forth all his power and vigilance. The fresh troops rushed forward, as did the former columns, and were also successful; the enemy lost all his vantage ground, and once more retreated upon the Malakoff. It was then half-past seven; the position was secured, and the setting sun shed his parting rays upon the victorious eagles of France as they were waved above the Mamelon. The engineers lost no time; the works of the Mamelon and Mount Sapoune were put into such a state as would enable them to be held against a renewed attack of the enemy. Three times during the night his columns assaulted the captured works, and were each time received by a close fire of musketry, and repulsed. The French captured 502 prisoners, and "sixty-three live bomb-shells" fell into their hands. On the following morning General Lavarande, a very young general of brigade, whose valour and skill contributed much to the victory at the White Works, was killed by a shot from the Russian batteries.

The attack upon the Mamelon would have certainly proved a failure, but for the presence of mind and vigilance of Bosquet; the rashness of the French soldiers in pursuing the enemy to the Malakoff endangered the whole of the operations. This they did contrary to an order of the day from General Pelissier, forbidding any attempt to carry any other work than those upon which the assault was directed. "The enemy," wrote the general-in-chief on the 9th of June, "has only made ineffectual demonstrations against the conquered works. He has abandoned the battery called the 2nd of May; he has also completely abandoned to us the right bank of the Careening Bay; and the vessels in the harbour take shelter in Artillery Bay, where, nevertheless, our heavy shells can reach them."

While the French were thus signally engaged, and signally successful, the British performed their part with their accustomed heroism. Detachments from the light and second\* divisions, not exceeding 1000 men, were directed against the Quarries. The plan

was to conquer the works so-called, and advancing towards the Redan, find shelter, keep up a fire which would engage the attention of the enemy while a body of 800 men with picks and shovels, threw up a parapet towards the city, thus turning the Quarries into an advanced work of the English. British rushed forth against the enemy's works in their usual style, and the enemy fled without firing a shot, or feeling the point of the bullet. The British then advanced towards the Redan, and, encountering no opposition, pressed on and entered the Redan, which they found without defenders, the garrison having gone to assist in the defence of the Malakoff. The soldiery were afterwards much disappointed that the Redan was not occupied; they did not understand how completely it was commanded by the guns of the Malakoff. Eventually the Russians returned to the Redan, and attacked the British, who fell back with loss upon the conquered Quarries. The obstinate reluctance of the British to retire before the superior force which pressed upon them, and their impression that the Redan might have been retained, cost many valuable lives, some of our officers having fallen within that work itself. The Russians, increasing in numbers, advanced to retake the Quarries; but the English reserves coming up, they were driven back with slaughter upon the Redan. Six times during the night the Russians renewed their attack upon the Quarries, so anxious were they to reconquer the post; but although the English were few in number, they defended it with the most daring courage, and when morning dawned they were the victors. Considerable anxiety was felt for their safety, as throughout the short night the flashes of musketry could be seen. "Sometimes," says Colonel Hamley, "a burst sounded shrilly in the still night; once or twice there was a cheer; and these sounds and the rattle of the small arms showed the chief part of the combat in which so many of our comrades and friends were darkly engaged. Sometimes the sounds of strife died away, and then were renewed. These sudden outbreaks marked the onsets of the Russians. Toward morning they advanced on our trenches, penetrated into some of the approaches, were driven out without loss. The next morning the Russian works, beaten into mere heaps, were almost silent, firing only an occasional shot." The English report of casualties upon the 9th of June on the morning of the 8th was 100 killed, and 270 wounded. The 7th Rifle Fusiliers (commonly called the "Flourishers," from having worn that insignia on their caps) and the 88th, or Connaught Rangers, were the regiments which bore the brunt of the baffled efforts of the Muscovites, and these two corps had the heaviest loss; but

\* The Baron de Bazancourt says, "of the 2nd regiment of the line." That is a mistake; the 2nd regiment of British infantry was not in the Crimea.

es of the British from three o'clock on the ten in the morning of the 8th, was 11 ers and 112 men killed, 30 officers and 522 n wounded. The French had 1700 men ed and wounded; the Russians 2000, ex- sive of those lost in the struggles on the ning of the 7th and the night which fol- ed.

Ir. Stowe relates the following incident con- ted with the conflict:—"Among other strations of character which came out ing the recent struggle, it may be told that of our sailor artillerymen being desired to p under cover, and not put his head out to pt a rifle bullet, grumbled at the prohibition, ng to his comrades loud enough to be over- d, 'I say, Jack, they wont let a fellow go look where his own shot is: we ain't id, we ain't; that's what I call hard lines.' s due to Lance-corporal Quin, of the 47th, ake public the bravery which he last night bited, and which has already brought him er the notice of General Pennefather. In of the attacks made by the enemy on the ries, after they were in our possession, Russians experienced some difficulty in ing their men again to the scratch. At th one Russian officer succeeded in bringing ur men, which Corporal Quin perceiving, ade a dash out of the work, and with the end of his musket brained one, bayoneted ond, and the other two taking to their e, he brought in the officer a prisoner, hav- dministered to him a gentle prick by way ickening his movements. After deliver- im up, he suggested to his comrades that e were plenty more to be had."

he same writer thus describes the scenes h met his eye the morning after the e:—"The ammunition waggons, the am- ce carts, the French mules, with their iers full freighted, thronged the ravine r our light division, which is the straight- ther the crooked—road down to the attack e right. Troops of wounded men came y up, some English, the greater portion h, begrimed with the soil of battle. On ft a party of Zouaves had stopped awhile t their burden, it being the dead bodies ee of their officers. A little lower an sh soldier was down on the grass ex- ed, and well-nigh unconscious from some n seizure. A party of French were ed round him, supporting him on the and offering water from their canteens, he wildly motioned aside. On the right, a deep bay in the gorge, was dotted over e of ground a French reserve with their ts piled, attending the signal to move d. They were partially within view of alakoff, and the round-shot and shell plumping down into the hollow, produc-

ing every minute or so little commotions of the *sauve qui peut* order, replaced the next moment by the accustomed nonchalance, and the crack of stale charges, fired off by way of precaution. A lively and even pretty *vivandiere* came strid- ing up the ascent, without a symptom of ac- knowledgment to the racing masses of iron, and smiling as if the honour of her corps had been properly maintained. At ten o'clock the little incidents of the halting war perceptible through the telescope from the crown of the hill below the picquet-house were these:— At the head of the harbour the Russians were busily engaged burying their dead; outside the abattis of the Round Tower several corpses of Zouaves were to be distinguished; about the Mamelon the French troops were hard at work, some of them stripped, for coolness, to their drawers, and were seen creeping down the declivity on the side towards the Malakoff, and making themselves a deep shelter from its fire. Our people, meanwhile, on the right attack, were calmly shelling the Malakoff in a cool matter-of-business sort of way; but the eternal gun on its right, which has been endowed with nine months of strange vitality, launched an indirect response into the Mamelon. From after eleven o'clock the Russians, as usual, slackened fire, nor was there any duel of artillery on a great scale until after dark. Lord Raglan in the afternoon went round the hospitals, and many a procession crossed the plain bearing some officer's body to its resting-place. Our loss in officers killed has been great. The 88th have been the severest sufferers, having three officers killed, one missing and conjectured to be killed, and four wounded—all, indeed, who were engaged. The four senior officers of the 62nd were put *hors de combat*."

The following despatches, relating to the operations before Sebastopol up to the 9th, were sent home by Lord Raglan. The first of these was written on June the 5th:—

"I have the honour to inclose a letter from the inspector-general of hospitals, forwarding the weekly state of the sick of the army. The cholera has sensibly diminished in the camps before Sebastopol; but it has attacked the Guards and the 31st regiment, near Balaklava, and some of the new batteries, as well as the followers of the army in that town. It is hoped that the disease will pass from them as it has from the stations where it first appeared. I am grieved to have to say that it has fallen heavily on the Sardinian contingent, and that General La Marmora is in great anxiety about it. I am rendering him all the assistance in my power. While writing to your lordship, an officer has brought me a letter from him, announcing that his brother, General La Mar-

mora, who commands his second division, has been very severely attacked. He has been accommodated with a quarter at Kadikoi, and every attention shall be paid him."

The following bears date June the 9th:—

"I have the great satisfaction of informing your lordship that the assault which was made upon the Quarries in front of the Redan, from our advanced parallel in the right attack, on the evening of the 7th inst., was attended with perfect success; and that the brave men who achieved this advantage, with a gallantry and determination that does them infinite honour, maintained themselves on the ground they had acquired, notwithstanding that during the night, and in the morning of yesterday, the enemy made repeated attempts to drive them out, each attempt ending in failure, although supported by large bodies of troops, and by heavy discharges of musketry, and every species of offensive missile. The French on our right had shortly before moved out of their trenches and attacked the *Ouvrages Blancs* and the Mamelon. These they carried without the smallest check, and their leading column rushed forward and approached the Malakoff Tower; but this it had not been in contemplation to assail, and the troops were brought back and finally established in the enemy's works, from which the latter did not succeed in expelling them, though the fire of musketry and cannon which was brought to bear upon them was tremendous. I never saw anything more spirited and rapid than the advance of our allies. I am happy to say that the best feeling prevails between the two armies, and each is proud of and confident in the gallantry and high military qualities of the other. I apprised your lordship, by telegraph on the 6th, that our batteries reopened that afternoon. The fire was kept up with the greatest energy until the day closed, when it was confined to vertical fire; but the next morning the guns resumed the work of destruction, and the effect was such that it was determined by General Pelissier and myself that the time had arrived for pushing our operations forward. Accordingly, soon after six o'clock on the evening of the 7th, the signal was given for the assault of the works I have enumerated, and the result was most triumphant. The troops employed in storming the Quarries were composed of detachments from the light and second divisions, and at night they were supported by the 62nd regiment. The command of these troops was intrusted to Colonel Shirley, of the 88th, who was acting as general officer of the trenches, and he was assisted in the arrangements, and guided as to the points of attack and distribution of the troops by Lieutenant-colonel Tylden, of the Royal Engineers, the directing engineer officer

of the right attack. Although nothing could be more spirited than the attack of the Quarries, or more creditable to every officer and man engaged in the operation, yet I cannot refrain from drawing your lordship's especial attention to the energy and determination with which they all displayed in maintaining and establishing themselves after their first successes. They were repeatedly attacked during the night, and again soon after daylight on the 8th, and it was in resisting these repeated efforts on the part of the enemy that a great portion of the heavy loss the army has to deplore was sustained. The mode in which Colonel Shirley conducted this very arduous service, and carried out his orders, entitles him to my highest commendation. I have great pleasure in mentioning the following officers who are stated to have distinguished themselves on the occasion, viz.—Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, of the 90th, who commanded the storming-party; Major Mills, Royal Fusiliers; Major Villiers, 47th; Major Armstrong, 49th, who are all severely wounded; Lieutenant-colonel Maxwell, of the 88th; Major Bayle, of the same regiment, who was unfortunately killed; Lieutenant-colonel Grant, 49th; Major Simpson, of the 34th; Lieutenant-colonel Johnston, of the 33rd; Major Herbert, of the 23rd; Captain Lowry, of the 47th; Captain Turner, of the 7th; Captain Lowndes, of the 47th; Captain Nason, of the 49th; Captain Le Marchant, of the 49th, who was wounded; Captain Wolseley, 90th; and Lieutenants Chifford and Eustace, of the 49th; and Palm Irby, and Waddilove, of the 47th; and Captain Hunter, 47th; and Lance-corporal Quinlan, 47th, who took a Russian officer prisoner in the most gallant manner. I also feel it my duty to solicit your lordship's notice to the eminent services of Lieutenant-colonel Tylden, of the Royal Engineers; he has been indefatigable in the discharge of his peculiar duties from the commencement of the siege, and he has always been at hand to aid in the repulse of the enemy when they have assaulted our trenches. I eulogise the conduct of Captain Browne, of the Royal Engineers, Lieutenant Elphinstone, of the same corps; Lieutenant Anderson, 90th foot (acting engineer), who is wounded; and he laments the death of Lieutenant Lowry, R.E., who conducted the storming-party, and was afterwards killed by a cannon-shot. Notwithstanding the frequency of the endeavours of the Russians to regain possession of the Quarries, and the interruptions to the work which these attacks gave rise, Lieutenant-colonel Tylden was enabled to effect the lodgment, and to establish the communication with the advanced parallel, and this redounds greatly to his credit and that of the officers and men employed as the working-party; and I can





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at this opportunity to express my approbation of the conduct of the Sappers throughout the operations. The exertions of the Royal Artillery, under Brigadier-general Dacres, and those of the Naval Brigade, under Captain Washington, R.N., in serving the guns, cannot be too warmly commended. The accuracy of their fire is the theme of universal admiration, and the constancy with which they applied themselves to their arduous duties under all circumstances, however dangerous, cannot be too strongly placed upon record. It is deeply to be lamented that this success should have been followed by so heavy a loss as is shown in the accompanying returns, which, however, are still incomplete; but I have the assurance of the principal medical officer that many of the wounds are slight, and that by far the greater portion of the sufferers are progressing most favourably. I have just learnt that the enemy have abandoned a work in the rear of the *Tranchées Blanches*, which they constructed at the commencement of the month of May. The French took possession of it on the 7th, but

did not retain it. In the other works they captured sixty-two pieces of artillery, and they have fourteen officers and about 400 men prisoners. We have a few prisoners, and among them a captain of infantry, who was wounded, and taken by Corporal Quin of the 47th regiment."

On June the 8th he wrote as follows:—

"I have the honour to inclose a letter from Dr. Hall, inspector-general of hospitals, inclosing a return of the casualties, so far as they had been ascertained when he visited the hospitals yesterday morning, which took place in the attack and continued occupation of the Quarries on the evening of the 7th and morning of the 8th. I visited most of the wounded yesterday, and was much pleased with the attention of the medical officers to the sufferers, and with the patience and resignation of the latter; and I am happy to say, while there are some very serious cases, the greater portion has every prospect of recovery, and many of the wounds are slight."

## CHAPTER LXXXIX.

### SECOND EXPEDITION TO KERTCH.

"Our ship now goes with a pleasant gale,  
Give it to her, boys, now give it her!  
For she's the craft to carry sail,  
Give it to her, boys, now give it her!"—*Sea Song.*

On the 22nd of May the second Kertch expedition departed. On the morning of the 24th a flotilla doubled Cape Takli, where a sinuosity of the coast presented a good place for anchoring; this place was called Kamich Bay. The lighthouse of the cape was the appointed rendezvous. On the right lay the island of Ak Bournou and the citadel of Yenikale marked the extremity of the deep bay, where an ancient town of Kertch displayed its spires, which seemed as if War never rolled his dark cloud above it. Admiral Bruat, in his despatch to the French minister of marine, thus describes the approach of the fleet:—"On the 24th of May, at daybreak, the two squadrons were assembled at the place of rendezvous, five miles to the south of Cape Takli. The frigates, barges, and paddle-box boats were anchored, and the steamers ranged themselves in line, and took their course towards the bay, which is formed by the low point of Kamich, which extends towards the east. All arrangements had been made for throwing on shore, in a single operation, at least 3000 infantry, who were to be strongly supported by three pieces of artillery, and the half of a rocket-party."

As soon as the fleet came in sight, the Cosack videttes along the coast gave the alarm; the enemy had not sufficient force to resist, and therefore retired; the boats immediately landed the detachment. By half-past three o'clock in the afternoon all the allied troops were landed. Before the Russians retired, they blew up all their batteries, and ruined the defences. Scarcely had the troops begun to land, when dense columns of smoke ascended from Ak-Bournou, which were succeeded by repeated explosions.

The steamers of the two fleets passed through the strait and entered the Sea of Azoff, where a large fleet of merchant coasters of that sea were crowding all sail to escape capture. The wind and current were against them, even if they could have otherwise had any hope of escaping the steamers. The gun and mortar-boats, and other light vessels belonging to the allies, pursued and made prizes of many barques, brigs, schooners, and other small craft of various designations. A Russian steamer of war rushed out of the Bay of Kertch, and made for Yenikale; she was pursued by a gun-boat, gave battle but for a moment, and again sheered off. Another came to her assistance; the con-

sort of the gun-boat also arrived, and continued the pursuit. Batteries on various sand-banks opened on both; reinforcements of British and French steamers silenced the batteries, and the pursuit was sustained by the vicious little gun-boats, until the enemy, seeing resistance hopeless, surrendered.

Where the allies landed, provisions of every kind were found in abundance, to which they helped themselves, and where any opposition was offered the farm-houses were given to the flames. The proceedings of the troops were not creditable; the private property of unoffending farmers was taken or most wantonly destroyed, and quiet homesteads were reduced to ashes. The men seemed roused to vengeance by the treachery and vindictiveness which the Russians had hitherto shown in the war.

The retreat of the enemy was for the purpose of choosing a more efficient line of defence. They hoped to be able to make the old Turkish castle at Yenikale tenable; it was solidly built and very strong. Gun-boats, some small vessels of war, and floating-batteries increased the defence in an imposing manner. The allies directed their attention at once to this place. The *Fulton* British steamer opened fire, supported by others, and the cannonade was returned. Soon, however, the defences suddenly became silent; the old fortress on the instant was wrapped in a column of flame; and a shock produced by an explosion was felt far out at sea, so that vessels three miles off were shaken by the concussion of the waters around them. The enemy at the same moment retreated from the town. The allied troops advanced upon it, and passed by Kertch and partly through it at early dawn, and before mid-day entered Yenikale without opposition. A letter was found, which had been written by Prince Gortschakoff to General Wrangel, informing him that the reinforcements he demanded could not be sent, and ordering him to evacuate the neighbourhood and bring all his cavalry to Sebastopol.

The rapid and easy conquest of these places need excite no surprise, when the powerful forces sent into these parts is considered. Independent of the troops already referred to, and who were so apportioned from different arms of the military service as to constitute a very complete although small army, the naval armament was overwhelming. The admirals had under their command the following ships. Sir Edmund Lyons, with his second in command, Admiral Stewart, had at their disposal the *Royal Albert*, *Hannibal*, *Algiers*, *Agamemnon*, *St. Jean d'Acre*, *Princess Royal*, *Sidon*, *Valorous*, *Leopard*, *Tribune*, *Simoom*, *Furious*, *Highflyer*, *Terrible*, *Caradoc*, *Sphinx*, *Spitfire*, *Gladiator*, and *Banshee*. The French fleet, under Admiral Bruat, comprised the *Montebello*, *Napoléon*, and *Charlemagne*, men-of-war; the

*Pomone*, *Caffarelli*, *Mogador*, *Cacique*, *Descartes*, *Asmodée*, and *Ulloa*, steam-frigates; the *Véloce*, *Primauguet*, *Phlégethon*, *Berthollet*, *Roland*, and *Caton*, steam-corvettes; the *Lucifer*, *Mégère*, *Milan*, *Brandon*, *Fulton*, and *Dauphin* steam-sloops; the *Vantour* steam mortar-boat, and few other vessels—the troops being distributed among the various ships. Besides the above there was a flying squadron, consisting of a few very small French steamers, and the following British vessels of light draught—the *Miranda*, *Vesuvius*, *Stromboli*, *Medina*, *Ardent*, *Arrow*, *Beagle*, *Lynx*, *Snake*, *Swallow*, *Viper*, *Wrangle*, and *Curlew*, the whole under the command of Captain Lyons, son of the admiral, who hoisted his flag on the *Miranda*. Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown, and the French General d'Autemarre, who commanded the troops, were officers signalised by their promptitude and daring, and this the enemy well knew. The troops who accompanied them were also known to the enemy to be very fine corps. The 19th, 26th, 39th, and 74th French regiments of the line, and the 8th and 14th battalions *chasseurs-à-pied*. The British were the 42nd, 71st, 79th, and 93rd regiments—a splendid body of troops. Means of land transport as well as of marine transport, were well provided. Engineers, sappers and miners, with abundance of material for throwing up defences were also conveyed with the expedition. The whole fleet amounted to sixty ships of war. When they arrived off Kertch it was the queen's birthday, and the ships were therefore gaily hung with flags. The loyal feelings of the British, and the courteous manner with which their allies regarded that loyalty and respected the day itself, gave an air of alacrity and enthusiasm to every movement of the men of both fleets and armies.

The march to Yenikale, on the 25th, was like a holiday affair; the spirit of the soldiers was exuberant of joy, although the weather was oppressively hot, and there was no water; so they suffered severely from these causes. The inhabitants of Kertch at first remained, confident in the honour of the invaders; at Yenikale, not only did the garrison retire, but the inhabitants also—terrible tidings of rapacity and violence had reached them. Their fears were well founded, for very soon their own town was plundered of everything movable, and the ships of war were receptacles for the plundered property. General d'Autemarre made his headquarters at Kertch, and, on examination of the authorities and perusal of documents, it was discovered that General Wrangel had commanded 6000 troops in Kertch and its vicinity, and on resolving to abandon the place had consumed the granaries and provision stores from which the army at Sebastopol had received constant supplies. He destroyed half a million

n pounds weight of flour, and nearly four millions and a quarter pounds weight of corn, chiefly wheat. The only danger incurred by the fleet was from the narrowness of the straits, and from infernal machines placed in them, which were connected with the shore by galvanic wires. The courage of the Russians evaporated too quickly to allow them to fire the infernals." The land batteries, or strand batteries, as they may be with stricter propriety called, offered but little mischief, and that to gun-boats only.

In Mr. Wyld's map of the country between Kapa and Kaffa, including Kertch and Arak, there is a plan of the attack on Kertch and Mikale, by Lieutenant Bingham, of her Majesty's ship *Terrible*, which shows at a glance the skill and facility with which the enterprise was conducted. The number of ships under Wrangel, although considerable, were not sufficient, even with the utmost zeal and bravery on the part of the inhabitants, to render any effectual resistance; besides, with the exception of the cavalry, the troops were of inferior quality, the infantry being mostly raw recruits, and the artillery engineers, &c., penitents and retired veterans, who were all *d'age*. "Discretion was the better part of valor," and the enemy practised it to advantage, destroying what they could not carry off, leaving, as they thought, a barren victory to their foes. This was not so, however, at Kertch no less than 17,000 tons of coals were stored, which the enemy failed to set on fire, and this useful capture supplied the members of the fleet with fuel. The importance of the conquest of this town may be judged by the reader from a single circumstance discovered by the allies after their occupation. Several days previous to the capture, General Wrangel had sent 1500 waggons, each loaded with half a ton weight of flour or grain, to the various parts of the Crimea, especially at Sebastopol.

It is to be regretted that the French general command of the place allowed the soldiers to plunder not only the houses, but the persons of the inhabitants. It is true that these distasteful acts were chiefly perpetrated by the Tartars, and by the Tartars their friends, who were united with them in hatred to the Russians; but these excesses could not occur without the sanction of the general, and they were not suppressed until his garrison had disgraced itself. The respectable inhabitants, filled with terror,

George Brown made Yenikale his headquarters; and when he found that similar deeds were being enacted, he issued an order of the stern in its severity, and took steps to punish and flog any soldier found aiding in any of the scandalous outrages.

The French general captured in the neighbourhood of Kertch 250 oxen, and as many sheep, half of which he presented to the fleets. At the same time a foundry was destroyed, in which shot, shell, and Minié balls, were manufactured; and it is to be regretted that the proprietor was an Englishman: he was arrested.

Our readers will regard with curiosity the light in which these successes of the allies were placed by the enemy, always so dextrous in glossing over defeat, and pretending that victory crowned his arms when he sustained signal discomfiture. In this instance he preserved some truthfulness. The following is a translation of the report addressed to Prince Gortschakoff by Lieutenant-general Baron Wrangel, commanding the troops in the eastern district of the Crimea:—

"On the morning of the 24th of May the enemy's fleet, of seventy vessels, appeared in the Strait of Kertch. On account of the fog, it was not observed till it was abreast of the lighthouse of Takli. Later, I received a report from the commandant of Theodosia, announcing the passing of a large hostile squadron making for Kertch, and information from Aide-de-camp General de Kotzebue that about seventy vessels had left Sebastopol with 25,000 of the enemy's troops. The enemy, who was soon abreast of the village of Kamich-Bourno, brought to with his larger ships out of reach of the Paul Battery, and ran in his steamers and gun-boats close to shore, and then proceeded immediately to land his forces under the protection of the fire of his ships. Whilst this was going on, one of his gun-boats ran in close to the battery, but being received with a round of cannon-shot, soon got out of reach again. In the meantime the assailants had disembarked six columns of infantry, who advanced in the rear of the battery. Yielding to the decided superiority in number, the troops defending it spiked the guns, and retreated in the direction of the post-station of Soultanovka, after having destroyed all the munitions of war.

"The enemy then, with a part of his steamers, rapidly advanced into Kertch Bay. Seeing the evident impossibility of resisting this attack, I gave orders for the immediate destruction of the depots of flour and forage situate at Kertch, and also for that of the vessels that might fall into the enemy's hands. In consequence, there were burnt—the war-steamer *Mogoutchy*, which was under repair, and with her machinery out, and the private steamers *Berdiansk* and *Donets*. I do not know what became of the steamer *Argonaut*, except that she succeeded in doubling the cape.

"The fortifications of Kertch and Yenikale kept up till evening a well-sustained and very successful fire against the enemy's steamers, which were proceeding towards the Strait of Yenikale. It was not till night that attention was turned to rendering the cannon unserviceable, and to the destruction of whatever might fall into the enemy's hands, which being done, the garrison left the fortifications, under favour of the darkness.

"All the troops at Kertch and Yenikale effected their retreat with the most trifling loss. I have learnt that the garrison defending Yenikale was obliged to follow not the road to the Soultanovka post, but a parallel road on the right, and nearer the Sea of Azoff.

"I have arrived to-day at the village of Arguine, where all the detachment is concentrated, and where it will be joined by the regiment of hussars of the Grand-duke of Saxony, the regiment of dragoons of Prince Emilius of Hesse, and No. 26 battery of horse-artillery. It was impossible for me to halt nearer to Kertch, on account of the want of water in that part of the country, and also to be able to furnish assistance to Theodosia, in case the enemy should determine to attempt anything against that town. When I have received reinforcements I shall act as circumstances may require."

The following despatch, written by the vigorous pen of Admiral Bruat, gives a clear and succinct account of what was accomplished at Kertch and Yenikale. It was dated the 26th of May, from the *Montebello*, before Kertch, and was addressed to the French minister of marine:—

"As I had the honour to inform you by my telegraphic despatches of the 22nd and 25th of May, a new expedition to Kertch was resolved upon on the 20th. The embarkation commenced on the evening of the 21st; the expedition sailed on the 23rd; it landed on the 24th at Kamich-Bourno; and on the 25th occupied Yenikale, having passed Kertch, and taken possession of the batteries situated in the vicinity of Ak-Bourno. On the 25th, Admiral Lyons and myself entered the Sea of Azoff, whence we sent a squadron to Berdiansk and Arabat. It left during the night, and consisted of four French steamers, and ten English steamers, some of which are gun-boats.

"The complete success of this expedition, where our troops, led with great decision by General d'Autemarre, displayed their usual ardour, is also due to the rapidity of its execution. In this respect I must acquaint your excellency how complete and cordial, under all circumstances, the co-operation of Admiral Lyons has been.

"On the very day we cast anchor, the land of the French troops commenced in order under the direction of Captain Jurien de Gravière, of the navy, the chief of my staff.

"Having assured myself of the promptitude with which the landing of the troops was effected, I hoisted my flag on board the *place*, and proceeded to reconnoitre the batteries of Cape Ak-Bourno, the powder-magazines of which the Russians had already blown up. Perceiving they would be turned, the enemy lost no time in blowing up the others, evacuating their positions. Shortly afterwards an English gun-boat, of a light draught of water, made for Yenikale, to cut out a Russian steamer which had left Kertch, and was trying to gain the Sea of Azoff. A sharp encounter soon commenced between the two vessels, in which the batteries of Yenikale took part. I ordered the *Fulton* to hasten to the aid of the gun-boat, which arrived with all speed at the scene of combat, and had to withstand a heavy fire. I ordered the *Mégère* to support her, and Admiral Lyons, on his part, ordered succour to be given to the gun-boat. Nevertheless the enemy's steamer, which knew had the treasury of Kertch on board, escaped, leaving in our hands two barges containing precious objects and a portion of the military and civil archives. But the confidence of the Russians, attacked unexpectedly by land and sea, became so great, that they soon relinquished all thoughts of further resistance, and did not even take care to remove the wounded from Sebastopol, who were in the hospital in the citadel. In the course of the day they set fire to considerable store-houses they possessed at Kertch. Finally, before evacuating Yenikale, they blew up a powder-magazine containing about 30,000 kilogrammes of powder; the shock was so great, that many houses were destroyed, and vessels anchored ten miles out at sea felt it severely. To sum up, the enemy has lost up to the present—160,000 sacks of oats, 360,000 sacks of corn, 100,000 sacks of flour. A carriage-factory and a foundry were burnt down; three steamers, one of which was a war-steamer, were sunk by the Russians themselves. Some thirty transport ships were destroyed, and at least as many taken. In the different explosions about 100,000 kilogrammes of powder were destroyed. A great store of shells and cannon balls no longer exists.

"I shall send your excellency later a statement of the condition of the guns which have fallen into our hands. They are sixty or eighty in number. These guns are highly finished, and of large calibre."

The British admiral's despatch was not so full as that of Admiral Bruat, but it contained

the report of Lieutenant M'Killop, who, for his spirited and efficient conduct, was made a commander. Admiral Lyons wrote from on board the *Royal Albert*, in the straits, on the 1st of June.

"In my letter of the 26th ult., I stated that we had captured fifty of the enemy's guns. It now appears that more than 100 guns have fallen into our hands in the different sea defences, many of them of heavy calibre, and remarkably well cast. Those which may not be required for the land defences which the allied armies are now constructing, will be shipped and sent to England and France.

"It has been ascertained from the Custom-house returns, that the enemy on evacuating Kertch, on the 24th ultimo, destroyed 166,000 lbs. of corn, and 508,000 lbs. of flour. This quantity, taken together with what has been destroyed by the allied squadron in the Sea of Azoff, comprises nearly four months' rations for an army of 100,000 men; and it seems that, shortly before our arrival, the enemy had commenced sending towards Sebastopol daily convoys of about 1500 wagons, each containing half a ton weight of corn or flour.

"Sir George Brown confidently expects that by the 7th inst. Yenikale will be in such a state of defence as fully to justify his leaving in charge of the Ottoman troops now here, under the command of Hadji Reschid Pasha, and that the British and French forces will be at liberty to proceed to the attack of Anapa, Soujuk-Kaleh, in order to drive the enemy from his last holds on the coast of Circassia."

The following is the official account of the action with Russian steamers, given by Mr. M'Killop, of her majesty's ship *Snake*, off Yenikale. It was dated the 4th of May:—

"I have the honour to inform you that in obedience to your signal granting me permission to intercept a Russian war-steamer, that she proceeded into Kertch Bay, exchanging shots with the batteries at Ak-Bourno in passing. I succeeded in cutting off the steamer and engaging her, but not until she had placed herself under the protection of the forts of Yenikale. For a sharp fire on both sides for three quarters of an hour, I was fortunate in succeeding in setting her on fire with Lancaster shells, which she blew up—the crew with difficulty getting away. She had apparently no men on board. During this engagement the forts at Yenikale hulled the ship, and kept up a well-directed and continuous fire the whole time, which was returned with apparently good effect with our heavy shell.

Three steamers also came down from the Sea (to the Sea of Azoff), and opened fire with very long-range guns, their shot

frequently passing over us at about 4000 yards. I continued to engage the batteries and steamers after the arrival of the ships sent up to my assistance, until recalled by signal from the *Miranda*.

"The whole of the sailing vessels standing towards the Sea of Azoff were intercepted, and afterwards captured; two steamers, also intercepted in Kertch Bay, were blown up by their own crews, and a gun-boat sunk. The batteries along the coast, which fired upon us while chasing the steamer, also were blown up.

"I should feel I was neglecting my duty unless I mentioned the zealous and creditable manner in which the officers and crew performed their duties; being very short-handed, rendered working the guns for so many hours a work of great labour. I beg to recommend, for your favourable consideration, Mr. N. B. Herbert (Second Master in charge), who with much skill conducted the ship through the intricate and comparatively unknown passage, under the guns of Ak-Bourno, and inside the shoal of Yenikale, without any accident. I am equally indebted to Mr. Sydney E. Wright, assistant-paymaster (an officer of long and meritorious service), for his assistance as a volunteer executive, who, with Dr. Roche and Mr. George Wilson (senior engineer), manned and worked the 12-pounder howitzer, sinking a gun-boat.

"I am happy that no casualties occurred, and the *Snake* received but little damage—one shot through the mizen-rigging carrying it away, and one through the hull at the water-line."

Lord Raglan's despatch, like that of Admiral Lyons, was only interesting for its inclosure, the report of Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown. The brave old man wrote as well as he made war. Everything he undertook was completely performed, from a drill to a battle, from an order of the day about wearing stocks to the conduct of a separate corps of the army. His report to Lord Raglan was written not only with military perspicacity but with picturesque effect. Lord Raglan's letter was as follows:—

"Sir Edmund Lyons' telegraphic despatch of the 25th, which was forwarded from hence on the morning of the 27th, and one from me that immediately followed, will have informed your lordship that the allied expedition to Kertch reached its destination on the morning of the 24th, and the troops having landed without delay, and the war-steamers drawing little water having pushed on towards Kertch and Yenikale, that all the objects in contemplation were accomplished in twenty-four hours, without any resistance on the part of the enemy, who blew up the fortifications on

both sides of the passage and retired, thus leaving us masters of the Sea of Azoff, to be speedily occupied by a French and English flotilla.

"I have now the honour to lay before you a copy of the report of Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown, commanding the allied troops, and in congratulating your lordship, which I do most cordially, on the complete success of the operation, I have the greatest satisfaction in drawing your attention to the promptitude with which the disembarkation was effected; to the efficient measures taken by the lieutenant-general to insure his position and attain the objects in view; and to the just tribute which he pays in his interesting narrative to the judicious arrangements of Admirals Bruat and Sir E. Lyons; and to the zeal and energy displayed by the officers and men of the allied fleets in carrying them out under their vigilant superintendence, as well as to the cordial co-operation and assistance of General d'Autemarre, commanding the French division, and Reschid Pasha, commanding the Turkish troops."

The following is General Brown's report:—

"The expedition to this place so far has proved entirely successful, and we have got possession of all we proposed without striking a blow, and almost without firing a shot.

"On leaving the anchorage of Sebastopol, on the 22nd, the night came so foggy that the fleet made but little progress towards its destination, but the whole of the ships and steamers reached the rendezvous, four leagues off Cape Takli, soon after daylight on the morning of the 24th, when it was speedily determined to run at once in for the spot at which, as your lordship is aware, it was originally proposed to disembark, and which is a fine smooth bay, round a low point running out immediately under the village of Kazatch-Bourno.

"The water in the straits is so shallow, that large ships cannot ascend higher than about three miles from this spot; but the steamers and vessels in which the whole of the British infantry and artillery were embarked could get at least a mile nearer to it." All the vessels got as high up as the depth of water would permit, and came to an anchor about eleven, when the English and French troops began to get into the boats; and small steamers, which were assigned to them, towed them to the shore, and the gun-boats and smaller war-steamers were stationed to scour the beach, and protect the disembarkation. Although we had observed some six or eight pieces of light artillery following us along the shore, no opposition was made to the disembarkation, and the first of the troops reached the shore at ten o'clock, which, as soon as they were formed, were pushed on

to occupy the village on the rising ground bordering the marshy plain, on which they landed for the purpose of covering the remainder of the disembarkation. As they were the most numerous, and as your lordship had done so on a former occasion, I placed the French on the right, and the British troops on the left, intending to hold the Turkish contingent in reserve. Soon after the disembarkation had commenced, several loud explosions were heard, and it was soon discovered that the enemy had blown up the magazines of his batteries on Cape St. Paul, and was retreating by the road leading to Theodosia or Kertch. It therefore became exceedingly desirable that I should advance to the ridge of which the cape is the continuation; but as only a few of the Turkish troops had yet landed, and but little of the artillery, I contented myself by requesting General d'Autemarre to patrol to the east and towards Kertch, and took up the best position I could find for the security of the troops and the protection of the disembarkation of the necessary *matériel* and horses during the night, just before dark, which, in an open steppe, where we were exposed to the attack of cavalry, was an operation of some difficulty.

"In the course of the evening several more loud explosions were heard, and it was soon discovered that he had also blown up and abandoned the whole of his works here, along the coast between this and Kertch, and spiked all the guns. He had also set fire to and destroyed some large corn-magazines at Kertch, as well as two steamers in the harbour; and the Cossacks, as usual, burnt the forage and farm-houses in their way.

"As soon as the batteries on Cape St. Paul were abandoned, or soon before, some of the smaller war-steamers were enabled to round Cape Ak-Bourno, and enter the Bay of Kertch, when they engaged and endeavoured to cut off some of the enemy's steamers attempting escape into the Sea of Azoff. They succeeded, I believe, in capturing a small one, but the other two managed to get through.

"The disembarkation of horses, guns, and *matériel* went on during the whole night, and the zealous and active superintendence of Rear-admiral Houston Stewart and Captain S. Thomas Pasley; but, with all this, there was a good deal to be done at daylight this morning, and I was ultimately compelled to proceed with only three of the guns of the Turkish contingent, and without any of their officers or horses. Under the circumstances, however, I considered it imperative to proceed, and the whole force marched off this ground at six this morning, the French in contiguous columns followed by their artillery; the British in echelons of columns, covering their flank, and their own artillery and baggage; and the

turkish troops in contiguous columns of battalions, covering the rear of the whole, until they approached the precincts of Kertch, when the whole of the troops broke into an ordinary column of route. The town of Kertch is clean, and remarkably well built, and the troops passed through it with the greatest regularity, and without the slightest disorder; subsequently the day became excessively hot, and the march being a long one, the men suffered greatly from fatigue and want of water, which was only to be found at occasional wells. We managed to get in here, however, by one o'clock, where we were soon after visited by the three admirals, and found a large squadron of small steamers and gun-boats, ready to proceed into the sea of Azoff, under the command of Captain Lyons, of the *Miranda*.

"The result of these operations, besides the opening of the passage into that sea, and the destruction of the enemy's works, has been the capture of upwards of fifty of his guns, many of them of the largest calibre and the best construction; and if the enterprise has, from circumstances, not added greatly to her majesty's arms, it has, as already stated, so far been attended by complete success. That success, however, is mainly to be attributed to the judicious arrangements of Admirals Bruat and Sir E. Lyons, and to their indefatigable attention in carrying them out, as well as to the able and willing assistance they have received from the captains and other officers of the French and British navy under their respective commands; nor must I omit to mention the invariable and willing assistance I have on all occasions received in the course of my service from General d'Autemarre, commanding the French division, and from Reschid Pasha, commanding the sultan's troops.

"I omitted to state that, in passing through Kertch this morning, observing that an iron foundry there had been employed in the manufacture of shot and shells, as well as in casting shell bullets, I caused it to be destroyed, with its new and expensive machinery."

Few places in any land are more interesting to the archæologist and natural philosopher than the places of which the allies had thus taken possession. In connection with the Cimmerian Bosphorus, historians and antiquarians have always found themes of curious and also useful discussion. On p. 408, vol. i. of his History, a brief sketch was given of the historic interest of Kertch, which was there described as "a poor substitute for the glories of the once mighty Panticapæum." Nevertheless, Kertch was a handsome city when in May, 1855, it was submitted to the allies. Its public buildings were large and elegant, and both as to their number and architectural pretensions,

were superior, in proportion to the number of the population, to those of any other town or city belonging to the Russians in the Black Sea. The site of Kertch is peculiarly pleasant; its sea-views are varied and picturesque, and in the distance the mountains of the Caucasian range display their lofty grandeur. The antiquity of Kertch extends even beyond the ancient Panticapæum. It is supposed that some rude town existed even in the days of the Cimri, but history fails to trace the character of the occupation of these regions in an antiquity so remote. In looking back through the revolutions of ages to such periods, we must be satisfied with the discoveries of the first indications of civilisation, and with tracing the glories of its early progress. In doing this the imagination is apt to betray the judgment, and invest with fictitious interest the earlier triumphs of social progress.

"Thus will memory oft in dreams sublime  
Catch a glimpse of the days that are over,  
While looking back through the waves of time,  
That their long faded glories do cover."

Whoever the Cimmerians were, their history is lost in the darkness of the long past; they were succeeded by a race more barbarous—the Tauri, a race of Anthropophagi, fierce, bloody, and relentless. They seem to have excavated abodes from the solid rock, occupying a *heaven city*, so to speak, in the vicinity of Kertch. They were, in turn, subjugated by the Scythians, a people who appear to have descended from the mountains of Thibet, a brave, severe, stern race, dauntless in battle, and of undiminished spirit. These were afterwards known by the name of the Tauro-Scythians. It is not improbable that the present race of Tartars occupying that country are descended chiefly from them, although there is a large admixture in the race of other Tartar tribes, and of the ancient Huns. The Milesians expelled the Scythians, and have obtained the credit of marking those realms with the first traces of civilisation. History has scarcely done justice to the Scythian race, many of which remained among both the Ionic and Doric settlements, or on the shores of the Cimmerian Bosphorus and of the Black Sea, and were a stable and hardy element in the vigour of these infant colonies.

Kertch was the site of an ancient settlement of the Ionic branch of the ancient Greek race, as the Chersonese was of their rivals of the Doric branch. The country at that time was covered with fine forests, and hence the settlers dedicated it to the sylvan god Pan; the abundance of wine produced led to the worship of Bacchus, and the city, founded by this ingenious people 500 B.C., was designated Panticapæum.

The ancient city occupied a range of heights

from Mons Mithridates (formerly a precipice above the sea, which has now considerably receded) to a large artificial mound, which became the tomb of Milesian princes, and probably was previously the burial-place of Scythian chiefs. The country abounds in large mounds of a similar creation, and used for a similar purpose; they resemble the cairns of Ireland and Scotland, but are of vastly larger dimensions (showing the wealth and population of these Milesian colonies), and are objects of inquisitive interest to the learned. Herodotus refers to these vast piles for sepulture in these terms:—"The tombs of the Scythian kings are seen in the land of Sberri, at the extreme point to which the Borysthenes is navigable. Here, in the event of a king's decease, after embalming the body they convey it to some neighbouring Scythian nation. The people receive the royal corpse and convey it to another province of his dominions, and when they have conveyed it through all the provinces they dig a deep square fosse, and place the body in the grave on a bed of grass. In the vacant space around the body in the fosse they now lay one of the king's concubines, whom they strangle for the purpose, his cupbearer, his cook, his groom, his page, his messenger, fifty of his slaves, some horses, and samples of all his things. Having so done, all fall to work throwing up an immense mound, striving and vieing with one another who shall do the most."

The Russian government of late years explored many of these "tombs of the kings," and removed many beautiful relics to the Hermitage at St. Petersburg. Among these trophies, gathered from the graves of antiquity, were—personal decorations, implements of war, and instruments of worship, carvings, engravings, &c. Duplicates of all these were deposited in the Museum of Kertch. The French Chasseurs not only permitted the Turks and Tartars to destroy these relics of long-past ages, but joined in the barbarous demolition and dispersion; and such English sailors and marines as found opportunity participated in the barbaric work. Some bas-reliefs were secured by Dr. Macpherson, of the Turkish contingent, and a few other officers of taste, and sent to England to the British Museum.

About fifty years before Christ the Romans assumed authority in the Tauric Bosphorus; the Huns overran the country 375 A.D. For 900 years Huns, Goths, and other barbarous races, continued to overflow that fine realm, gradually defacing the traces of its once glorious civilisation. The Genoese then became its conquerors, and held it for a period of 200 years: they were expelled by the Tartars and Turks, who retained it for 300 years, until the Russians expelled them, who continued undisputed lords until the lion standard

of England and the eagle standard of France scared them away. In October, 1855, when the Turkish contingent occupied Kertch (will be seen in a future chapter), Dr. Macpherson above alluded to, made excavations in several of the sepulchral monuments which cover the vicinity, and discovered various interesting objects. In a paper read by a doctor before the Geographical and Ethnological section of the British Society for the Promotion of Science, the following interesting information was presented, which we take substantially from notes of a report of the proceedings of that section:—"Dr. Macpherson's duties at the late seat of war have led him to Kertch, he was induced, by hearing of the former discoveries of the Russians, to commence excavations, which eventually led to the discovery by him of so many interesting traces of the ancient city of Pantapæum. There are few spots so replete with interest as the Cimmerian Bosphorus, once one of the most flourishing settlements of the ancient Greeks, and the extreme limit in the parts of the colonization of this wonderful race. Here the archæologist and the searcher in natural history will still find a wide field for exploration. Dr. Macpherson was stationed there from October, 1855, to June, 1856; but the severity of the weather rendered explorations impossible, and his public duties, as principal medical officer over a force of 20,000 men, so continually occupied his time, that he was unable to prosecute his researches. Assisted by Major Crease, Royal Engineers, Dr. Macpherson has carefully explored these tumuli. In some, the tomb was found under the natural surface, and in many beneath it. Some were arched in the Egyptian, others in the modern style. Square flags, resting on each other in the centre, and supported by a niche in the side wall, supported a few others had flat roofs, while occasionally no masonry was discovered. Fragments of brackets, which were exhibited in the room, were found in one of the tumuli. Having descended many feet under the natural surface, he came upon the bed of ashes. The bones of a horse, human skeleton, and other remains, were all met with; and, on removing the masonry, fibulæ and bronze coins were picked up in niches between the stones. Having worked at this tumuli for two months without success, he turned his attention to Mons Mithridate. The whole of this hill, from its base to its summit, and the spur extending from it to a distance of three miles, is composed of broken pottery and debris of every description, to a depth of from 10 to 100 feet over the natural clay hill. The height and size of this Milesian work are so enormous, that it is scarcely possible to believe it to be the result of human

our, and it must have been the work of ages have conveyed the surface soil from the ins below to raise it and the neighbouring ghts to the present elevation. On the top his hill is a rude chair, cut out of the rock, a hollow resembling a sacrificial altar. He menced his operations on the sides of these ks, and came to excavations cut out of the es, and probably the abode of the Tauri, which had been converted into tombs by Milesians. These tombs had, however, a explored; but he secured several speci- es of the handles of amphoræ, with the es of Greek magistrates stamped thereon, a few coins with the effigy of Pan, or the ek ruler for the time being, represented a them, with the figure of a griffin, which the emblem of the city, on the reverse. far from Mons Mithridates he came upon rtion of an aqueduct, which probably con- ed water to the acropolis. It was formed oncave tiles, and one of them he exhibited e meeting. After describing the result of e of his labours, he proceeded to state, that ath an extensive sloping artificial tumulus, ing at right angles with the ridge, ex- ing northwards from Mons Mithridates, ame upon a mass of rubble masonry, be- which was a door leading to an arched ber built under the side of the mound. led to a larger chamber, which was also ed. The walls of the larger chamber marked off in squares, with here and flowers, birds, and grotesque figures. the entrance to this chamber were ed two figures of griffins rampant. Two men—one a person in authority, and ther his attendant carrying his spear— rudely sketched on one of the walls. some exploration, the skeleton of a as was found, near which lay a human ton; and, continuing his researches, he k upon a tomb cut out of the solid rock. ar from this a smaller excavation in the as was discovered, and, clearing the surface, ck was found to be hewn out three feet ith and twelve in length. Here he came the skeleton of a horse, and, a few feet er on, an upright flag, four feet high, ound placed over the entrance of a tomb ut of the calcareous clay. The tomb f a semi-circular form, and he found, on ng, that the floor was covered with iful pebbles and shells, such as are now on the shores of the Sea of Azoff. The f the human frame, possessing still the f man, lay on the floor. The bones had led into dust, and the space occupied by ad did not exceed the size of the palm e hand, the mode in which the garments ped the body, and the knots and fasten- y which they were bound being easily

traceable in the dust. Several bodies were discovered, and at the head of each was a glass bottle, and in one of these bottles was found a little wine. A cup and a lacrymatory of the same material, and a lamp, were placed on a small niche above each body. A coin and a few enamelled beads were placed on the left hand, and on the right a number of walnuts. Other similar tombs were explored, and various specimens of pottery, personal orna- ments, vessels of glass, coins, beads, and other objects of interest, were found."

It is much to be regretted that so few of these valuable antiquities were brought to England. It was the good fortune of the British Museum to obtain some spoils of value. A lion and lioness, full-sized figures in marble, exquisitely sculptured, had been at the en- trance of the Kertch Museum: these were sent to England. The *Firefly*, a hired transport, by which they were conveyed, afterwards brought home some marble slabs, of a very remote anti- quity, covered with figures of the early kings of Pontus.

On the evening of the 25th, Captain Lyons (son of the admiral) prepared to cross the Sea of Azoff to its northern shores, which he effected on the 26th. A part of his squadron cruising about captured coasters and gun-boats. At three o'clock on the 26th, they arrived at the Spit of Berdiansk, the rendezvous for the French and British. In half an hour the whole squadron anchored off the lighthouse which is on the spit; this was done in such a manner that while some of the vessels can- nonaded the merchantmen in the harbour, others cannonaded the beach, so as to render it impos- sible for the enemy to assemble either infantry or artillery there. Commander Osborn took the command of the boats, French and British, and attacked the ships in the harbour; the gallant officer dispatched a portion of his boats a distance of four miles, where some Russian coasters found anchorage: the whole were set fire to and consumed. The necessity of great celerity in accomplishing the work committed to Captain Lyons compelled him to forego capture, and to consume what other- wise would have constituted valuable prizes. From this anchorage, and while yet the work of destruction was going on, Captain Lyons dispatched some of his fleetest steamers in pursuit of other vessels descried at a distance, which were captured. Before dark, the work of capture at sea and destruction in the har- bour was completed. At dawn of the 27th, the captain conducted his squadron up to the town of Berdiansk; by consulting "Wyld's Map of the Sea of Azoff, and the surrounding Shores," the reader will perceive that the Spit of Berdiansk projects a considerable distance into the sea, the lighthouse and port being at

its extremity. On that point the work of the preceding evening was accomplished; the *town* of Berdiansk was at the other extremity of the spit, where vessels of an inferior draught could go in; the difference of draught could not, however, be great, as four small war-steamers, which had escaped from Kertch on the 24th, made for the town of Berdiansk, and found a haven of security there, as their commanders hoped. The approach of Lyons' squadron to the lighthouse at the other end of the spit removed that hope, and the steamers were burned to the water's edge when, on the 27th, Commander Lambert, to whom Captain Lyons intrusted the duty, arrived at Berdiansk. The commander summoned the governor to surrender, who complied; private property was spared; the inhabitants, who were descended from Greek and Genoese colonists, were friendly, and readily gave any information the allies sought. All government property was destroyed—this included corn to the value of £50,000. A beautiful 8-inch 62-cwt. gun was carried away. While these proceedings took place, Cossack videttes reconnoitred; they were sent out from Petroiskoi, a town five miles off: they did not venture upon any hostile demonstration.

On the return of the commander with the boats, Captain Lyons, with his characteristic promptitude and skill, directed a combination of movements which, suddenly executed, embarrassed and distressed the enemy. He sent a portion of his squadron to the entrance of the Putrid Sea, stationed a swift ship off the estuary of the Don, and directed the remainder of his force upon Arabat. He arrived off that place on the 28th, which he immediately attacked. There was shoal water, and the wind was on shore; but the ships, French and English, were so well handled that every shot upon the batteries told. The vessels were ordered to keep at shell range. One shell made a lodgment in the magazine, blowing it up, and producing great destruction of life and *materiel*. The fort at Arabat mounted thirty guns, and the fire of the ships was answered with great spirit and resolution. With the destruction produced by the explosion the gallant captain contented himself, as it was impossible to conquer the batteries with the force at his disposal, as there was a large body of troops on shore. There was a vast store of grain on the Spit of Arabat, near the town, but no effort was made to destroy it; the reason for not making the attempt being, that the boats would be exposed to a dangerous cannonade. To expose ships or boats, in any sea, to a dangerous fire from the forts or batteries of the enemy, had gone out of fashion. No doubt our ships would have been matched against ships at any odds; but our commanders

everywhere during this war had the honor of bringing their ships safe out of the way land defences. The force under Captain Lyons was so considerable, that we can hardly doubt a spirited attempt to destroy the granaries the spit would have been successful, not indeed without loss;—but the English people had no notion, in sending out their fleets, that important exploits could be performed with immunity from loss of men or *materiel*. It may be that the captain perceived that to advantage, if obtained, would not compensate for the loss which was certain to occur. After the affair at Arabat, Captain Sedaiges and his fine ships left the squadron and returned to Kertch. This seems to have been very unaccountable every way—it was another instance of the uncertainty of co-operation from the French fleet, everywhere that the command of a French general-officer could reach the sea. Sedaiges was as amenable to General d'Aumare as Bruat was to Pelissier; and the result was that the operations of the French navy were so completely subservient to the convenience of the army that, as in the case of the first expedition to Kertch by Canrobert, and in the instance of the abandonment of Lyons by his French coadjutor, there was no calculating upon their consistent and continuous action. While Lyons was bombarding Arabat, the little squadron at the Strait of the Putrid Sea was not idle. The entrance to the sea is not more than fifty yards wide, between the low cliffs of Genitschi (or Yenitschi) commanded it. The *Swallow* and *Wren* were the vessels which performed there the duty entrusted to them by Captain Lyons; they took three vessels as prizes, and destroyed several others; but the majority that were at Genitschi took refuge in the Putrid Sea. This was the state of affairs when Lyons, steaming along by the spit from Arabat, arrived at Genitschi. On the morning of the 29th, the captain sent a flag of truce to demand the surrender of all the government stores at Genitschi. This was refused: the governor pointing to the force at his disposal, expressing his determination to resist. That force was considerable; besides the batteries (which were inferior), there were six field-pieces, 200 artillerymen, a battalion of infantry, and several sotnias of Cossacks drawn up in a favorable position to protect them in case of landing. Captain Lyons, after giving the governor more time for reflection than he deserved or was necessary, began to act. A loss of time allowed might have been fatal to the expedition, for if the enemy had changed his position, so as to cover with his force the passage into the Putrid Sea, the boats would not have effected an entrance, which was the chief object Captain Lyons desired to attain.

could not bring his ships nearer than long range, because of the deficient depth of water; therefore shelled the town, spreading devastation everywhere, and while the panic and confusion created by such a bombardment, the boats passed in behind the Arabat, and attacked, burned, and destroyed twenty-five ships. There were within the town considerable granaries; most of these were given to the flames. Lieutenant Mackenzie, who commanded the boat expedition, effected the demolition of most of the houses and ships without losing a man, retired. Captain Lyons, however, was not satisfied that the whole of the stores and ships were destroyed; and, notwithstanding the danger of enterprise, the boats were again sent in to check the shipping, while three volunteers undertook the daring feat of firing the remaining stores. These three intrepid men were Lieutenant Buckley, of the *Miranda*; Lieutenant Burgoyne, of the *Swallow*; and Mr. Roberts, gunner of the *Ardent*. Seldom have men served better of their country than these three fearless men. They landed and accomplished their purpose, escaping through showers of grape-shot, and having been in imminent danger of being cut off from the boats. Meanwhile Mackenzie succeeded in burning seventeen merchant ships, making a total of ninety. The stores and corn were at least worth £150,000. The value of stores, ships, houses, and other property consumed was such as to inflict a vast amount of injury upon the enemy. Already the squadron of Captain Lyons entered the Sea of Azoff, there were captured or destroyed six war-steamers, 246 merchant-vessels, and stores to the value of £150,000. On the morning of the 21st of May to the evening of the 29th, this ruin to the property of the enemy, and the capture of the cities of the straits, and all the stores within them, were effected. Had the expedition to the Putrid Sea been any longer delayed, it would have been too late, as the enemy intended to sink ships across the strait, and thus actually protect the property within it. There was a great store of coal at Genitschi, which was burned by the shells from the ships. It will doubtless amaze our readers, much as they have seen in these pages of the lying letters of the Russian chiefs, to learn that once Gortschakoff informed his imperial minister that the allies had met with a series of defeats, unless the devastation of private property and defenceless towns was, in the estimation of the Western powers, victory. The vice admiral boasted in his despatches that he had seen this enterprise of the enemy, and had prepared against it; that other modes of communication having been provided, little injury befell the Russian communications or

the Russian supplies, and that, in fact, he had ordered his troops everywhere to give the enemy such a reception as would severely chastise him for his temerity. When reading all this boasting and arrogance, one is tempted to exclaim—

“Now, in the names of all the gods at once,  
Upon what meat does this our Cæsar feed,  
That he is grown so great?”

On the other hand, we have the despatches of Captain Lyons, recounting deeds of the utmost importance, and concerning which he was entitled to say—

“Et quorum pars magna fui;”

and whoever contrasts the modesty of these despatches with the vaunting effrontery of Prince Gortschakoff, will admit that the British officer appears to immeasurable advantage. The first of these was dated May 28th, off the town of Arabat; the second, May 29th, off Genitschi:—

“I have the honour to inform you that, on hauling down your flag on the afternoon of the 25th, I proceeded with the steam-vessels under my orders, and the French steamer *Lucifer*, towards Berdiansk; at dark we stopped for the French steamers *Megère*, *Brandon*, and *Fulton*. These having joined, at 3 A.M. on the 26th, we all went on in company; at 3.30 P.M. on that day we anchored off the lighthouse on the Spit at Berdiansk, in such a position as to command the harbour and beach and a large number of merchant vessels. I then sent the boats of the squadrons, under Commander Sherard Osborn, accompanied by the boats of the French ships, to destroy these vessels, as well as some lying about four miles off, and a storehouse. All this was completed by dark. During this time steamers of the two squadrons were chasing and destroying vessels in other directions. At daylight of the 27th I weighed with the ships under my orders, accompanied by the four French steamers, and anchored off the town of Berdiansk, the *Miranda* in fifteen feet, and the gun-boats in proportionally less water, in a position which effectually commanded the town and beach. Here we found run on shore and burnt to the water's edge, and abandoned, the four steamers of war which had escaped from Kertch, under the command of Rear-admiral Wolff, whose flag was flying in the *Moloditz*. I now landed the small-arm men and marines of the squadron under Commander Lambert of the *Curlew*, accompanied by those of the French ships, with orders to destroy all shipping and government stores, but to respect private property. This was done without molestation, although we had information that 800 Cossacks with guns were at Petroskoi, five miles off. Many vessels were destroyed,

and corn stores to the estimated value of £50,000. An 8-inch and 62-cwt. gun was also recovered from the wreck of one of the Russian steamers, and is now on board the *Miranda*. Immediately the boats returned, the squadrons weighed for Arabat; I at the same time detached the *Swallow* and *Wrangler* to Genitschi, to command the entrance to the Putrid Sea, and the *Curlew* to cruise between Krivaia Spit and Sand Island, and thus prevent vessels escaping us by getting up the Don.

"On the morning of the 28th we arrived off Arabat, and engaged the fort (mounting 30 guns) for an hour-and-a-half, at the end of which time a shell blew up the enemy's magazine; the ships having been ordered to keep at shell range, and being well handled, had only one casualty, the chief engineer of the *Medina* being slightly wounded by a splinter. The French senior officer's ship received two shots in the hull, but fortunately no one was hurt. The enemy must have lost many men, from the precision with which the shells burst in his works, independently of that caused by the explosion.

"The commanders of the vessels employed deserve every credit for the skilful manner in which they manœuvred their vessels in a very strong breeze and shoal water without a single accident, and I may be permitted to say none were more distinguished than our gallant allies. The large garrison at Arabat rendering any attempt at landing out of the question, I now proceeded for Genitschi, parting, with regret, from Captain de Sedaiges and his squadron, who left at the same time for Kertch. I take this opportunity of mentioning the efficient, cordial, and hearty co-operation I received on every occasion from M. de Sedaiges and the ships under his orders, and my hope that it may again be my good fortune to have him for my colleague.

"The allied squadrons have destroyed upwards of 100 vessels during the three days they have been in this sea, principally laden with provisions for the Russian army in the Crimea. Had we sent these vessels in as prizes we should have lost much valuable time, and not been able to effect so many captures. The active and zealous way in which the officers and ships' companies perform their duties, and the cheerful manner in which they suffer this pecuniary loss for the benefit of the service, will, I trust, meet with your approbation."

"I have the honour to inform you that I arrived here shortly after dark last night, with her majesty's ships under my orders, and joined the *Swallow* and *Wrangler*, which ships had already destroyed or captured all the vessels in

this neighbourhood outside the Straits of Genitschi; but a very great number had passed the straits, which are only fifty yards wide, and are commanded by the low cliffs on which the town is built, and were moored inside under the cliff. At six o'clock this morning I sent Commander Craufurd with a flag of truce to demand the immediate surrender of all the vessels, and of the immense corn stores for the supply of the army in the Crimea, and of all government property of every description, stating that if these terms were complied with I would spare the town, and respect private property; but, if not, the inhabitants were immediately to leave the town. Commander Craufurd was met by an officer of apparent high rank, who refused to accede to the terms, saying that any attempt to land would be resisted. The enemy at this time had a field-piece in position, and about 200 men with them, and, visible from the mast-head, drawn up behind the town, a battalion of infantry, besides Cossacks.

"Having allowed till 9 A.M. for the reconsideration of the refusal to deliver up the vessels and stores; and receiving no answer, at that time hauled down the flag of truce, and placed the steamers as near to the town as the passage into the Putrid Sea as the depth of the water would allow, but they were unable to approach within long range. Seeing that if the enemy, who had removed their guns from their position, could place them in the town, so as to command the passage, and that if he could place his infantry in a similar manner it would be impossible for the boats to pass the channel, and destroy the vessels and stores, I directed the ships to shell the town, which they did so effectually that the boats, under the command of Lieutenant J. F. C. Mackenzie, got safely through the passage, and set fire to the shipping (seven in number) and the corn stores. The service was ably performed by Lieutenant Mackenzie, and the boats returned without accident.

"The wind having shifted about two hours after the boats came off, some of the corn stores did not catch fire; conceiving the destruction of this corn, as well as of some more distant vessels, in so favourable a position for supplying the Russian armies in the Crimea, to be of the utmost importance, I sent the boats again, commanded and officered as before, although I was aware that, from the enemy having had time to make preparations, it would be a hazardous enterprise. The ships accordingly resumed their fire upon the town, and the boats proceeded. Lieutenant Cecil W. Buckley of this ship, Lieutenant Hugh T. Burgoyne of the *Swallow*, and Mr. John Roberts, gunner of the *Ardent*, volunteered to land alone, and

stores; this offer I accepted, knowing the imminent risk there would be in landing a party in presence of such a superior force, and of gun-shot of the ships. This very dangerous service they most gallantly performed, bravely escaping the Cossacks, who all but took them off from their boat; at the same time Lieutenant Mackenzie pushed on, and burned the remaining vessels, the enemy opening a fire from four field-guns and musketry, placed most within point-blank range of the boats. Everything being now effectually accomplished, the boats returned. Although several of them were struck by grape and case-shot, most fortunately only one man was slightly wounded. Lieutenant Mackenzie speaks in high terms of the coolness and excellent behaviour of all employed under his orders; and I trust I may be allowed to bring to your notice the conspicuous merit of Lieutenant Mackenzie himself on this occasion, when more than ninety vessels, and the corn for the Russian army of the value of £100,000 were destroyed, owing to his gallantry and ability, with so trifling a loss as one man slightly wounded.

Since the squadron entered the Sea of Azov, four days ago, the enemy has lost four frigates of war, 246 merchant-vessels, also a large quantity of gunpowder and flour magazines to the value of at least £150,000."

It has been related that the *Curlew* was stationed at the estuary of the Don while Captain Lyons was engaged at Arabat and Genuchi. At the termination of these exploits the squadron steamed towards Taganrog, taking the *Curlew* in its course, and anchored about five miles off. This city was founded by Peter the Great; but since his time the importance of the position has passed away; the approaches have been filled up by sand; and when the wind blows from the land it is very difficult for vessels of any draught to come up to the town. With great labour ships were brought within three miles of Taganrog. As soon as they approached, a vessel was seen on fire in what is called the Merchant Harbour (a plan of Taganrog in the old map will reveal the position). The difficulty of bringing up the ships caused the garrison to resort to the expedient of rafts to carry 32-pounders, his ships' boats bearing arms heavier than 24-pounder howitzers. A detachment reached the shallows; and, unfortunately, at this juncture an auxiliary flotilla arrived which had been dispatched by the Russians to Captain Lyons' aid. The reinforcement consisted of twenty launches, armed with 32-pounders and rocket-mortars. Captain Lyons, of the French marine, rejoined Captain Lyons with these new succours. A flag of truce was sent to the governor, demanding

the surrender of all government property. The governor refused. Commander Coles, of the *Stromboli*, led in forty craft of various descriptions, and opened fire with such rapidity, that ships and stores were soon in flames. This was followed up by a landing of marines, who extended the destruction already caused by the rockets and shells. The marines had to fight their way in accomplishing the object. All the officers regretted the necessity they were under to do so much harm to a city so beautiful and so pleasantly situated. Many ladies in their carriages watched the approach of the flotilla, as if its purpose were peaceful. They were under the delusion that the troops would sink it, or cause it to put about. Several superb stone buildings became the prey of the devouring element; and the beautiful gardens, for which Taganrog is famous, were to a great extent destroyed. This was the favourite residence of Alexander I., and where he died. When the invaders attempted to burn the great store-houses, 3000 soldiers were drawn up for their defence. These men behaved bravely; but no troops could maintain a position beneath the hurricane of rockets and shells that fell upon them. The buildings had an enormous frontage along the beach, which rendered an effectual defence impossible. A huge raft lay close by, which was loaded with timber; and this catching fire, burned so fiercely, that the troops could not descend the beach to take aim with rifles or musketry, and not a man in the boats was killed. What loss of life was caused to the Russians it is impossible even to guess; but it is to be feared that not a few non-combatants—even women and children—were victims to the obstinacy of the governor. This personage, in his despatch, alleged that he offered to meet the allies outside the town, and to allow the fate of Taganrog to depend upon the result of the battle. It is scarcely necessary to say he made no such offer; and if he had been so foolish as to do so, no notice would have been taken of it. The official account of the loss by the enemy, irrespective of the wounded, reports the ever-recurring lie of *one Cossack killed*.

The arrangements and progress of the defence were, according to the commander-in-chief of the garrison, General Krosnoff, as follows:—

"The defence of the principal approach by the rough ascent leading from the quay to the street of the Greeks was intrusted by me to Major-general Count Tolstoi, who had shown a noble readiness to contribute to the defence by his experience and military acquirements. The half-battalion of the garrison of Taganrog had been posted near the ascent (*escarpement*) with about 200 inhabitants, who had been

hastily armed. In case of an attack, Count Tolstoi, with his infantry, supported by three sotnias of Cossacks of the regiment of the Don, No. 68, was to charge the enemy at the point of the bayonet, and rout them, while the regiment d'Instruction was to take the assailants in flank, and decide the affair. But, instead of the expected descent, the allies, having taken up a position with their steamers and fifty vessels differently armed with cannon opposite the timber-yard, commenced an infernal (*sic*) cannonade, which lasted till half-past six o'clock. At the same time seven large ships of the enemy, armed with heavy Paixhan guns and congreve-rockets, anchored at a distance, and commenced firing at an elevation upon the town. There was one uninterrupted noise of shells bursting, fuses, and grape, accompanied by fire-rockets, and rifle-balls. A conflagration burst out in the town, especially near the Exchange, the street of the Greeks, and at the Gostenoi-Riad; and at half-past three o'clock the assailants landed about 300 men, whom they advanced towards the high ground, upon which is the church of the Czar Constantine. This detachment opened an irregular fire of rifle-shots from behind the bushes, but at this decisive moment Count Tolstoi intrusted a company of the half-battalion of the garrison to the retired Lieutenant-colonel Makedonsky (who, under these difficult circumstances, had again offered his services to his country), and ordered him to drive back the enemy. This distinguished superior officer spread out his company in an inclosure covered by an orchard, in a moment forced the enemy's sharp-shooters to fall back, and then charged them vigorously at the point of the bayonet, routed them, and drove them back to their boats. The squadron then opened a terrible cannonade, but which only lasted a quarter of an hour. The allies, convinced that no cannonade would impose upon the Russian troops, withdrew to fifteen versts' distance from the town, and on the 25rd of May (the 4th of June) went again to sea, steering in the direction of Mariopol.

"Thus ended this new act of powerless animosity directed against a peaceful commercial city, which during so many years had provided the West with its magnificent grain; against a town which ought to be sacred to England, to France, and especially to Sardinia, in memory of the last days of the Emperor Alexander, who had conferred so many benefits upon them.

"By the special grace of God, our loss during this bombardment was very slight. One Cossack was killed; Lieutenant Volkoff, attached to the half-battalion of the garrison of the town, was seriously wounded by two rifle-balls in the chest and head; Baron Franck, assessor of the college, attached to the military

governor, Count Tolstoi, received a contusion on the head, occasioned by the fragment of a grenade; and Major Bozenko, police-master of Taganrog, who had his horse shot under him, also received a contusion: twelve men were wounded. A report is being made of the inhabitants killed and wounded, and also of the houses burnt or destroyed."

We shall reserve Captain Lyons' despatches until the close of the narrative, as the remaining operations require but little notice.

From Taganrog the squadron made for Mariopol, a good port situated on the extreme north of the Sea of Azoff, just within the Gulf of the Don. In this place considerable stores of grain were usually laid up in the service of the Russian armies in the Crimea, and even south of it. The flotilla appeared off Mariopol on the 4th, and its commander summoned the governor in the same terms as at Taganrog, and met with a similar reply. Early on the morning of the fifth the boats prepared for action, but no opposition appearing, a landing-party destroyed the granaries and all the government stores. A place called Eijsk on the opposite side of the gulf was next visited, and the whole of the government property which it contained reduced to ashes. The storage of hay and straw found at Eijsk was enormous. There was also a vast quantity of corn, particularly rye. From the nature of these commodities, the commutation was speedy, and the work of destruction soon over.

While these operations were going on within the Sea of Azoff, others were being conducted without the Kertch Straits on the shores of the Black Sea. On the 28th of May, the Russians abandoned Soudjuk-Kaleh, first spiking sixty guns and mortars, blowing up the magazines, and setting fire to the barracks and public buildings. On their retreat they demolished a fort on the coast between Soudjuk and Anapa. On the 5th of June they evacuated Anapa, the most important of all their possessions on these coasts. The allies had intended to dispatch portions of troops at Kertch and Yenikale, under d'Autemarre and Brown, with squadrons of the fleet under Stewart and Claiserau, to conquer and occupy Anapa, and co-operate with the Circassians. The Russians saved them the trouble of a military expedition. Rear-admiral Stewart, however, visited and inspected the place, and found it for the most part a smouldering heap of ruins. The admiral was surprised at the great strength of the position. There had been eighty long guns, fifteen mortars, twenty-one howitzers, and a garrison of 8000 soldiers. This force made a sanguinary resistance to any detach-

was brought against them, but the proceeding of Captain Lyons in the Sea of Azoff rendered it impossible for them to hope for supplies of provisions, and compelled them to retreat. On their retreat before they crossed the Cuban, they were harassed by the native Circassians. The Circassians were permitted by the Russians to occupy the place.

On the 13th of June the allied admirals and generals resolved on returning to Balaklava and Kamiesch; but garrisons of Turks were sent to occupy Kertch, Yenikale, and Fort St. Catherine, while a light squadron of the fleets was sent to the Sea of Azoff. The active efforts of the expedition terminated with the 13th of June; but the utility of the light steamers and gun-boats was again to be tested before the summer was over; an account of their exploits will be reserved for the appropriate place in the order of our narrative. The following extracts were the official record of the services rendered at Taganrog, and on the eastern coast of the Black Sea. In Lord Raglan's letter, June the 12th, reference is made to the services before Sebastopol, which although not mentioned in the other portion of his letter, were intact, especially as it brings out the deeds and sufferings of men who took part in the glorious feats of arms recorded in the last chapter on the siege. On June 6th Admiral Lyons thus addressed the Admiralty:—

*Straits of Kertch, June 6th, 1855.*

Captain Lyons of the *Miranda*, having informed me that the squadrons under his orders would be ready about the 2nd or 3rd instant, to commence operations in the shallow waters of the Gulf of Azoff, Vice-admiral Bruat and I considered that the moment had arrived for reinforcing them with gun-boats, which would have embarrassed them in their previous movements in deeper waters; we therefore dispatched twenty launches of the line-of-battle ships armed with 24-pounders, howitzers, and rockets, and their lordships will be pleased by Captain Lyons' letter, of which I enclose a copy, that their presence on the spot was most opportune and attended with the happiest result; for, under the management of the officers who commanded them, they mainly contributed towards the capture of 3500 of the enemy, and the destruction of the public buildings and government magazines of provisions at Taganrog.

Captain Lyons' account of the operations is clear, and his appreciation of the merits of the officers acting under his orders on this important occasion so just, that I feel that it would only be weakened by any observations or recommendations of mine."

My reports of proceedings at Taganrog, by Captain Lyons, of her majesty's ship *Miranda*,

in Taganrog Roads, on June 3rd, was as follows:—

"I have the honour to inform you that I was anchored in eighteen feet water, with the squadron under my orders, in Taganrog inner roads, at about eight and a half miles from the town, on the evening of the 1st instant, without any accident, although the enemy had removed the light-vessels and beacons. During the night an easterly wind sprang up, and the water fell three feet, with every appearance of still falling; we were, therefore, obliged to remove a mile and a half further from the town.

"The 2nd was employed in reconnoitring the town, which I was enabled to do satisfactorily in the *Recruit*, Lieutenant Day, commanding that vessel, having found a passage during the night. I had arranged to proceed at 3 A.M. the following morning, to summon the town, and in the event of a refusal to surrender, to endeavour to destroy the immense stores of grain and other government property in that place. Matters were in this state, when, at sunset, to my great satisfaction, the *Sulina*, *Danube*, and *Medina*, with the twelve armed launches of the line-of-battle ships, hove in sight; this most welcome and opportune reinforcement of exactly the description of force required for the purpose in view, rendered success certain; and not long after, the French steamer, with launches in tow, arrived. Having concerted measures with Monsieur de Sedaiges, commanding the French steamers, I proceeded at 3 A.M. in the *Recruit*, with the vessels and boats, and accompanied by the lightest French steamers (M. de Sedaiges being on board one of them) towing their launches. Having anchored the *Recruit* at 1400 yards from the Mole Head, and collected all the boats astern, I sent Lieutenant-commander Horton with a flag of truce, accompanied by a French officer with similar orders from M. de Sedaiges, to demand the surrender of all government property, of every description whatsoever, and of all grain, flour, and provisions (which I considered as contraband of war, knowing that even in the event of its not being government property, that it could only be intended for the supply of the Russian army in the Crimea), the whole to be delivered over to us to destroy; the troops to remove, during this necessary destruction, to a place five miles from the town, and within sight of the ships; the inhabitants to withdraw, except those appointed by the authorities to open the stores and assist us; any approach of troops, or any infraction of these terms, if accepted, to be considered as cancelling them, and to be punished with instant bombardment; one hour to be allowed for a decision, and no modification of the terms to be entertained. At the expiration of the

hour, Lieutenant Horton and the French officer were informed that the governor refused the terms, and that, having troops at his disposal, he intended to defend the place. On this, these officers came off, and the flag of truce was hauled down from the *Recruit*. Shortly afterwards the *Recruit* commenced firing, and the boats proceeded, under the command of Commander Cowper P. Coles, of the *Stromboli*, in tow of one another, and accompanied by the French boats, until, having arrived in the required position, the tow was cast off, the boats' heads pulled round to the beach, and so heavy a fire opened that, although the enemy made repeated attempts to get down to the houses lining the beach, so as to save the long range of store-houses from destruction, they never succeeded in doing so in sufficient numbers. Lieutenant Mackenzie (the senior lieutenant of this ship) had charge of a separate division of gun-boats, with rockets and one gun, to cover the approach of Lieutenant Cecil Buckley, of the *Miranda*, who, in a four-oared gig, accompanied by Mr. Henry Cooper, boatswain, third class, and manned by volunteers, repeatedly landed and fired the different stores and government buildings. This dangerous, not to say desperate service, when carried out in a town containing upwards of 3000 troops constantly endeavouring to prevent it, and only checked by the fire of the boats' guns, was most effectually performed. The *Recruit*, from her light draught of water, was enabled to take an effective position at 1400 yards, and so was the *Mouette*, French steamer, and the *Danube*, with 24-pounder howitzer and rockets, was very useful. By 3 P.M. all the long ranges of stores of grain, plank and tar, and the vessels on the stocks, were in a blaze, as well as the Custom-house and other government buildings, and unfortunately, but unavoidably, the town in many places; and our purpose being amply effected, the boats returned to the *Recruit*. The loss of the enemy in men must have been severe, as many were seen to fall; they deserve credit for the obstinacy with which they endeavoured to gain positions to prevent our effecting the object we had in view, but it was impossible to face the continuous and well-directed fire kept up. Their loss in grain of different descriptions I cannot estimate; but as it comprises all, or very nearly all, in store at Taganrog, it must be enormous. The only casualty in carrying out this service was one private, Royal Marine Artillery, severely wounded in the face by a musket-ball.

"I must now beg to be allowed to bring to your notice the very meritorious conduct of Commander Coles on this occasion, in command of so large a force of boats; and I cannot speak too highly of his energy, decision, and ability,

which left me nothing to desire. He speaks the highest terms of all under his orders, particularly of Lieutenant J. T. C. Mackenzie, in charge of a separate division, who behaved with his accustomed spirit and judgment; of Lieutenant Buckley, who so well carried out the hazardous service he volunteered. All the officers and men employed conducted themselves to my entire satisfaction; but those above mentioned were in such conspicuous situations, I trust I may be pardoned for submitting their names to your favourable consideration. I cannot refrain from bearing testimony to the admirable conduct and co-operation of our allies, under the personal direction of M. de Sedaiges; the boats being under the immediate command of M. Lejeune, *capitaine de frégate* and first aide-de-camp of Admiral Bruat. A Russian sergeant who volunteered, and gave himself up to a French boat, states the number of troops in the town to have been 3200, of which 800 arrived last night. A Russian war schooner, which had been on shore near the town and abandoned, was set fire to and burnt, and so was a large raft of timber. The wreck of a large vessel (a *guard-ship*), which we observed to have been by the enemy and blown up on our first appearance in Taganrog Roads, was visited, and was found to be already effectually destroyed. Many large buildings had the black flag hoisted as a sign, I presume, of their being hospitable; these were most carefully respected by us, as were the churches, and, so far as possible, the private houses."

Concerning the evacuation of Anapa, Admiral Lyons wrote, in a letter dated June 11th, from the Straits of Kertch:—

"My telegraphic message of yesterday, which I have had the honour to inclose in copy, will have informed the lords commissioners of the Admiralty that Admiral Inglefield and I had received intelligence of Anapa having been evacuated by the enemy on the 10th instant. I have now the honour to inclose in copy of a report which has just reached me from Rear-admiral Stewart, whom I sent to Anapa to act in concert with Rear-admiral Charner, to prevent the possibility of the anchorage being occupied by a Russian force, leaving the political part of the question in the hands of Mr. Longworth, the agent of her majesty's government, whom I sent to the spot in the *Hightflyer*, a few hours before Rear-admiral Stewart left this anchorage."

The report of the Rear-admiral, dated the 11th of June, on board the *Hannibal*, was as follows:—

"SIR,—In pursuance of your orders of yesterday's date, I have the honour to inform you that I arrived at this anchorage at 10 A.M. to

; Rear-admiral Charner did not arrive till at 1 P.M., Admiral Bruat having last night ordered me not to wait for the *Napoléon*.

I inclose a return of the guns, by far the better part of which have been rendered quite useless by the Russians themselves; the remainder of them are being made unserviceable thrown over the cliffs, under the direction of Lieutenant Arthur, the gunnery officer of this

The Russians have exploded nearly all powder-magazines in the place, and those which remain are empty. The barracks were burnt by the Russians, as also a good number of buildings, and all the coal and grain, which used to have been in considerable quantities. The garrison is estimated by the Circassians at between seven and eight thousand, and they are on the Cuban River, which they crossed by a bridge, destroying the latter between them."

Lord Raglan's letter to the War-office was written:—

In my despatch of the 5th instant I informed your lordship that the Russians had evacuated Soujuk Kaleh on the 28th of May. We now have the satisfaction to acquaint you that they withdrew from Anapa on the 5th instant, and thus they have abandoned their stronghold on the coast of Circassia. Intelligence of this event was brought to Sir E. Bulwer-Lytton by Captain Hughes, who, in his zealous endeavour to give the admiral the earliest intimation of it, went from Soujuk to Kertch in an armed boat, and on passing Anapa, observed it burning, it having been set on fire by the Russians. Captain Hughes, who arrived yesterday, entertains no doubt that the Russians have retired across the Cuban. The abandonment of Anapa is one of the fruits of the attack and capture of Kertch, and one of the brilliant operations of the allied naval forces in the Sea of Azoff, where no flag now flies but that of England and France.

Nothing material has occurred here since the honour of addressing your lordship on the 11th instant; both our allies and ourselves are making advantage of our success to push forward our advances, and erect new batteries on the ground which was gained upon that occasion, and I hope I shall soon be able to report further progress.

We have had a second report from Colonel Bulwer-Lytton, in which he begs to draw my attention to the services of officers whom he omitted to mention in the first instance, and whose names I have now the honour to bring to your lordship's notice. They are the following:—Major Macdonell, Rifle Brigade, who commanded a portion of that corps, and of the 41st, 49th, 77th, and 90th regiments, detached

from the guard of the trenches; Captain Ambrose, who had charge of 200 men of the Buffs, and was himself wounded; and Captain Dixon, also wounded, who commanded a large detachment of the 41st; Captain Shiffner, of the 34th; Captain Hunter, and Lieutenants Lucas, Gaynor, and Stokes, of the 47th; Lieutenant Beresford, of the 88th, who succeeded to the command of a part of that regiment, his seniors being either killed or wounded; Lieutenant Pearson, of the same corps; and Lieutenant H. M. Jones, of the Royal Fusiliers. Colonel Shirley likewise eulogises the conduct of the 62nd, under Colonel Shearman; and here I must be permitted to express my deep regret at the death of that officer, who fell mortally wounded; and of Major Dickson, of the same regiment, who was unfortunately killed upon the occasion. Both these officers are serious losses to her majesty's service.

"I inclose returns of the killed and wounded from the 4th to the 7th, and those of the casualties that have since occurred up to the 10th instant. These lists, I much lament to say, are very heavy.

"The *Alma* has returned from Kertch, having on board the 72nd and 63rd, whose services ceased to be required, as soon as it was known that Anapa had been abandoned."

The operations of our naval and military forces, above recorded, became of increased importance as the season advanced, and their effects were severely felt by Russia throughout the war. From Sebastopol to the entrance of the Putrid Sea, and all around the eastern shores from Azoff to the Isle of Taman, every city, town, and fort was captured or burned. Nearly 400 ships of commerce, six ships of war, and a large number of passage and grain-boats were destroyed, many of them laden with flour and wheat. Supplies for an army of 100,000 men for nine months were cut off from the Russian commissariat. During winter, the Sea of Azoff is always frozen, and communications are carried on across the ice; these were rendered difficult, either for purposes of information or aid, by the allies continuing to hold all the prominent places, such as Mariopol, Taganrog, Kertch, Yenikale, &c. In dry seasons, and during the heat of very hot summers, the northern extremity of the Sea of Azoff is passable, and both on horses and by foot considerable intercourse takes place on such occasions. If we had merely made a naval demonstration in that sea, we could not have cut off the Russian intercourse between the two shores, to intercept which proved of so much importance to the war in Asia. We should in winter have been shut out by the ice, and in summer from insufficient depth of water; but, occupying

military positions on all the most valuable points, and garrisoning them with Turkish rather than with French or British troops, we effectually barred the access from one shore to the other. The Cossacks had no ill-will to the Turks, the Tartars had a friendly feeling to them, and the Turkish garrisons more easily established amicable relations with the natives. The rivers which empty themselves into the Sea of Azoff were not only commercially useful to Russia—they were the highways from the interior. The Don was especially necessary to Russia as a means of communication, and the command of its mouth was of more importance as to the general issue of the war than the destruction of one thousand soldiers. These operations in the Sea of Azoff had, as their necessary complement, successful operations on the north-eastern coast of the Black Sea. The position assumed by Russia there, made her more formidable to Turkey and Persia, and even to England, than any other which she occupied. The character of the Russian navy in the Black Sea was such as to make it unsuitable for the transport of a large army from Sebastopol to the Bosphorus, or even to the northern side of the Baltic in the Black Sea—as, for instance, to Varna. The sudden descent of a large army upon Constantinople, however possible a great many years to come, was not within the power of the Russian navy at Sebastopol to execute. There were other and more dangerous uses to which it might be put, viz., in support of an invading army entering Bulgaria, or advancing from Bulgaria to Roumelia. But so practicable is the defence of the Danube by any army commanded by Europeans, and disciplined according to the European school, and so weak is the defensive system of the same river on the Wallachian side, that an army on the southern shores, numerically equal, can always dislodge an army from the opposite line of the river, and drive it back upon Bucharest, so that, even when in possession of Wallachia, Russia can be combated upon the Danube with success. The line of the Pruth, however dissimilar to that of the Danube, affords an effective defensive system on its southern side, but with an indifferent one upon its northern side—again affording a double advantage to the Turks, if they made their stand upon their proper boundary. From the junction of the Pruth with the Danube, the defensive system of the latter becomes exceedingly strong on the Russian side of the river, rendering an attack upon Bessarabia in front by no means feasible for the Turks; they, however, occupying Wallachia, would always hang upon the flank of a Russian army in Bessarabia, and thereby render the Russian hold upon the Danube insecure. But, by occupying the Caucasian shores of the

Black Sea, Russia could always give powerful support to her armies acting upon the European side; while, by her possession of Mingrelia, Immeritia, Georgia, and the line of the Araxes (and she is actually in possession of territory south of the Araxes), she can always march into Turkey by way of Asia Minor; she can march on rapidly to Persia, and she can, by the route indicated to the Emperor Alexander by the Emperor Napoleon I., push her step by step, to India. We know that the Russians “pooh-poohed” most fashionably; but we know that it is practicable, and that it is a part of the schemes of her ambition. To march an army from her present frontier, by way of Khiva and Bokhara, would be deemed impossible; but to bring these nations into Central Asia within her frontier, and there her basis of operations, is not impossible, nor is such an undertaking so very distant. The future of Russian aggression as some persons imagine, if she be only allowed to follow at the rate of the conquests of the previous century in that direction. Since the treaty of Adrianople, Russia has had from the Porte the title (which, indeed, the Porte had no right to give) to the eastern shores of the European Sea from Anapa, near to the Strait of Tamar, more than 200 miles, to Fort St. Nicholas. Nearly all that territory was most gallantly contested with her by the Circassians, or properly Caucasians, as the Circassians but one tribe of many inhabiting the Caucasian range. The Russians owned nothing but a series of forts on the line of coast—the shores of the Caucasians swept them away from the Caucasians. These forts could always be supplied from the Sea of Azoff, and reinforced at ease. Our occupation of that sea then, had, as its first-fruits of victory, the abandonment of all that line of coast by the enemy. The communications between the sea government and the Asiatic territory south of Georgia would be over the eastern port of the Caucasus, and by the slow route of the Caspian Sea, where, on every step from Russian Armenia and Georgia, northward and westward, Russian troops or couriers were met with enemies. Anything like vigorous operations by Turkey upon her Asiatic frontiers would have driven back the Russians from the Caucasus; that they had torn from her there; and Persia to descend upon the Araxes with 30,000 men, led by European officers, the cavalry might ride in victory over the territories lately wrested from her. All Russian Armenia, and Georgia, and the country of the Caspian would have been abandoned as spoils as the Russian forts on the Caucasus; the Daghestans, Lesghians, and Avarians, pouring down in alliance with advancing Turkish and Persian armies, would

pared the whole country, from the Caspian sea along the line of the Terek; and every mile from the northern slopes of the Caucasus moving forward simultaneously, the line of the Cuban would have been occupied with ease; the Cuban Cossacks driven away, or taken into the alliance of the independent tribes; and beyond the Cuban, step by step the Dón, there would be found races to fight in the tide of wild horsemen that could be rolled on against Russia in that direction. The vast territory lay at the mercy of the allies, not only south but also north of the Caucasus—a region bounded on the north by the river Don, on the east by the Caspian Sea, and on the west by the Sea of Azoff. Our readers will comprehend, from these considerations, how important were the injuries inflicted upon Russia by the operations, conducted with such skill and success, on the coasts of the Sea of Azoff. For seventy-five years Russia had

warred for what she lost in a few days. For this she had sacrificed at least a million of lives, and the allies, without loss of a ship, but with prizes and profit, drove her from it all. Heart-sickening at St. Petersburg and Berlin were the tidings of Sir George Brown and Captain Lyons' proceedings; while along the whole range of the Caucasus, from the Straits of Taman to Georgia, the hills were lighted up with fires—the symbols of rejoicing among the free sons of the mountains. Since the English public had begun to watch the war, and inquire into its conduct, much more vigour marked the proceedings of our fleets and armies: still there was, in the courts and cabinets of Western Europe, consideration for the feelings of the Russian army and nobility—but none for the plundered Armenians, and none for the nobler races who had guarded their mountain-homes, and kept at bay the power of Russia, while our statesmen were its abettors or its dupes.

## CHAPTER XC.

### SEIGE OF SEBASTOPOL: FOURTH BOMBARDMENT.—DEFEAT OF THE ALLIES IN A COMBINED ASSAULT, JUNE 18TH.

"Night closed around the conqueror's way,  
And lightning showed the distant hill,  
Where they who lost that bloody day  
Stood few, and faint, and fearless still!"—MOORE.

AFTER the capture of the Mamelon by the French, and of the Quarries by the English, the fire of the allies relaxed; but their labours were not. It was necessary for the English to strengthen the Quarries as an advanced position, and to turn against the enemy the guns which they had there captured. The French had a more laborious task at the Mamelon (now called by them the Brancion Redoubt). They found only a heap of ruins as the fruit of their labours, and works of magnitude had to be constructed to make the place an outwork of attack. Thus nothing of consequence in the way of conflict occurred until a renewed bombardment was opened, preparatory to a general and almost general assault.

It was agreed by the two commanders-in-chief that the fleets should co-operate, and accordingly, on the night of the 16th, they opened a heavy fire at a closer range than they had previously discharged their cannon since the bombardment of the 17th of October. On the sea-defences and the town itself suffered from the fiery fall of rockets and shells. The cannonade was returned with vigour from the sea-batteries, and several of the ships had men killed and wounded.

The new batteries had been completed the day before, but did not open fire until the 17th. The bombardment, still more terrible than any of the preceding, was then directed against

the place. The Russians at first replied spiritedly, but their cannonade died away; and in the evening it slackened to such a degree, that the French were convinced such languor resulted from the disabled state of the batteries; and accordingly Pelissier resolved, at three o'clock in the morning of the 18th, to storm the great defences of the place. This had not been the original design of the allied generals, who had agreed upon a more protracted bombardment; but Pelissier was so satisfied that the batteries of the enemy had been rendered powerless by the day's cannonade, that he took this resolution. Lord Raglan remonstrated, observing, that by maintaining a fire which had proved so superior to that of the enemy, they would *make sure* of rendering his batteries unserviceable, and, besides, breach the abatis of each of the great works to be assaulted, opening a way for the assaulting columns,—thus securing success, and at a less sanguinary cost. The impetuous Pelissier would not be guided by these prudent counsels; he resolved upon an assault. This was not the first time that the views of Lord Raglan proved to be more sagacious and comprehensive than those of the French generals; but the latter had always the advantage over him in their capacity to handle large bodies of men.

On the night of the 17th the sea-defences

were again bombarded by a squadron of the allied fleet, and with such success, that many guns were silenced, many men slain, and much injury done to the town itself. The ships came in nearer, and the conflict was close and fierce. The following frigates and sloops were more particularly engaged:—the *Tribune*, *Highflyer*, *Terrible*, *Miranda*, *Niger*, *Arrow*, *Viper*, and *Snake*. Captain Lyons, who had so recently distinguished himself in the Sea of Azoff here won fresh glory. His command of the *Miranda* elicited admiration. On the night of the 17th the *Princess Royal* and the *Sidon* lost several men, and a considerable number received slight wounds. Captain Lyons was amongst the wounded. A letter from an officer who served in the Black Sea fleet thus related the issue of the misfortune which befel that brave and useful man:—"The wound was only a flesh one, and would not at all justify the surgeons in operating; but mortification set in, and closed the scene. This was to be feared, as he had been for a good while an invalid; but at the first every hope was entertained of his recovery, with a useful limb. His death was like his life—calm, good, brave, and amiable. He heard of his doom with a smile, made his will, left messages for his officers and men, spoke of his passionate fondness for his father over and over again, dictated messages and wishes, the most minute, about his servants, as well as others, and retained his senses until nearly the last. He said, 'How fortunate he was to have lived so long; that he was thirty-six the day before; had been fortunate in the service; and though he did not inflict as much damage upon the enemies of his country as he wished, that he was happy in doing something.' At another time he said—"This is the way the captain of a man-of-war should die were he not killed at once." When death drew near, and his fine mind was clouded by suffering, he thought he was on the deck of his ship taking her into action, and in this way his duty occupied him until the last. The last words he spoke were in a loud voice—"Steady! ease her! stop her!" and so he gave up his great spirit to Him who gave it, and to whose mercy he had previously commended it. His remains are now in the church-yard of Therapia. Two trees hang over his grave, and his face is towards the sea he loved so well."

The loss of such a noble son to the brave and skilful man who commanded the British fleet was most trying, and he was justly the object of sympathy with all who loved the country which both father and son so gallantly served. Heart-sinking as the bereavement was, it did not deter Admiral Lyons from his duty, which he continued to perform with a resolute, but sorrowing spirit.

In order to create a diversion, and give the better prospect of success in the contemplated assault, the Turks and Sardinians were ordered to advance beyond the Tchernaya. This river is in the latter part of autumn, and in the latter part of spring, a torrent; the rains, in the one case, and the thawing of the snow, in the other, sending down from the high country, rolling with fierce velocity, a great body of water. Early in spring, and sometimes at its close, the valley is flooded, and unfavourable to the passage of troops; but in summer, "the black river," as the Russian name means, is a crawling rivulet. Before sunrise on the 18th the Turks and Sardinians, supported by the French, crossed this turbulent stream without difficulty or opposition. The Turks marched in the direction of the Lower Tchorghoum, the Sardinians in that of the Upper Tchorghoum. The former met with some outposts of the enemy, and, throwing forward their light troops, engaged them by a desultory fire, before which the Muscovs retired. The troops of both armies continued to spread themselves over the country, as if meditating some enterprise of importance; but the enemy made no show of resistance, nor indicated any appearance either of apprehension or surprise. Small detachments watched the allies, falling safely and skilfully back upon their support. The Russians were apprised of the plans of the allied generals; as in a former instance, the whole scheme was bruited about the French camp, and so early as the 17th the English troops gathered from French gossip the precise nature of the enterprises intended for them. Russian spies conveyed the intelligence to Prince Gortschakoff, who took his measures accordingly. The Turks and Sardinians, therefore, did not distract the attention of the enemy, did not draw off any body of troops from the defence of the place, and were unable to effect anything except display their forces by day and their watch-fires by night. The summer was fine; the country bloomed in its richest beauty, and the officers of our allies literally lived in bowers erected for them by the Turkish soldiery, who were practised in making a summer bivouac very pleasant. These troops remained in their picturesque position the remainder of June and the early part of July, and then retired to their former posts.

While these sections of the allied army were marching upon the Tchernaya, one of the bloodiest conflicts of modern times began around southern Sebastopol. It was the wish of Lord Raglan, again and again pressed upon Pelissier, that the assault should be preceded by a bombardment and cannonade of thirty hours; but the general was resolved to assault the place without any antecedent fire, relying

on that of the previous day as having silenced the batteries. Pelissier was influenced this, against his own judgment, by a council of his officers, who wished to make the assault for the day. The English artillery officers suggested that the Russians might, as on previous occasions, have withdrawn the guns for their protection, seeing that they could not silence the attack, and they gave it as their decided opinion that in three hours they could so far outflank the defences of the Redan as to render the assault comparatively easy, and perhaps insure success. Pelissier was still obstinate, unwilling to yield to the will of his officers other than to that of the British; and Lord Raglan, for the sake of union, deferred to his wishes. This was one more instance of the evil tendency upon a divided command. The terms definitively agreed upon were as follow:—The French were to make three distinct movements, and the English two: those of the latter to be dependent upon the success of the former. The French attacking body consisted of 25,000 men, and the three separate detachments into which this force was divided, were commanded by Generals Mayran, Brunet, and Lutemarre. The English were to divide their assailing forces upon two separate points, one under Sir George Brown, and the other under Sir Richard England. The first was to storm the Redan, and to advance upon it in three separate columns of attack. The form of the Redan was that of the tooth of a saw; on each side a column of attack was to pre-empt itself, and, upon their first token of success, a third was to seek an entrance by the apex in front. The second body of the French consisted of the division of Sir Richard England, which was to take the cemetery, and threaten the works at the head of the Sardinian Creek. This was the only successful movement of the day, but it was made unproductive by the failure of the others. The character of the assault requires that the attempts of our allies should be first recorded. The check by the French comprised not simply the Malakoff, as various accounts represent, but a range of works consisting of the Malakoff, the Little Redan, the Curtain, and “the Batteries of the Point,” and, in case of success on these points, the Flagstaff and Central Bastions. It devolved upon Pelissier to appoint a commander of the corps to act upon the Tchernaya, and he committed that trust to General Bosquet. His appointment caused great discontent among the French soldiery, who hoped that Bosquet, always so successful, and to whose command the capture of the Mamelon was attributed, was to direct the difficult assault upon the Malakoff, and its chain of dependent works. Thus Pelissier was not only so unfortunate as to offend the English artillery, and

to differ from the English generals, but to cause dissatisfaction in his own army also. Every step he took in connection with that ill-fated day was *mal à propos*, and many steps were taken in error. His energy and active courage were superior to his forethought and his genius.

When Bosquet received the notification of the change of command he was much chagrined, for his whole time and thought had been directed to the study of this grand attack, which he knew must be made, and which would require the most comprehensive, and yet most minute study of all its combinations and parts. “You will to-morrow,” wrote the general-in-chief, in this letter, “resign the command of the attacks to General Regnaud de St. Jean d’Angély, at whose disposition, for the details of the service, you will leave the Commandant Henry, your deputy chief of the staff.”

The general appointed to succeed Bosquet in the command of the *corps d’armée* from which the troops for the attack were to be selected, was the chief of the Imperial Guard. The following were the orders he received:—

“Sunday, 17th of June, at day-break, general opening of the fire against the place. On the same day the Sardinian and Turkish armies will make an offensive movement towards Aitodor, so as to threaten that quarter.

“On Monday, the 18th, early in the morning, assault on the Malakoff Tower, with an attack on the Redan by the English. After success, and when it shall have taken place, assault on the Flagstaff Bastion and the Central Bastion.

“A corps of nearly 25,000 men is formed by the French army on the Tchernaya, either to support the demonstration of the Turkish and Sardinian armies, or (if I give the order) to attack and carry the batteries of the right bank of the Tchernaya, and take possession of the plateau in the intrenched camp of the Northern Fort. The design will be, with the concurrence of the English, and by making a junction with the Turkish and Sardinian armies, to march upon Bagtché Serai.

“It is for this contingency, ulterior to the assault, that we must be completely prepared, by organising beforehand the convoys, munitions, and ambulances for the troops who are to take part in the movement.

“In order to insure the execution of this general plan, so far as concerns the French army, I have nominated you to take the command of the corps that will be charged with the attack on the Malakoff; General Bosquet taking under his orders the troops that are to form on the Tchernaya. These troops will be composed of the 1st, 2nd, and 4th divisions

of the 2nd corps, and of the 1st division of the corps of reserve (General Herbillon's); of all the cavalry; of Morris's and d'Allonville's division; of Forton's brigade, and of four horse-batteries of the reserve.

"I have said to you that the attack on the Malakoff will take place on the morning of the 18th. The troops charged with this operation (who will be under your orders) will be the 1st division of the 1st corps (General d'Autemarre's), the 3rd division of the 2nd corps (Mayran's), the 5th division of the 2nd corps (Brunet's), and the division of the guard (Melinet's).

"As to the *corps d'armée* under General de Salles, charged with the attacks of the left, it will be composed of the 2nd, 3rd, and 4th divisions of the 1st corps, and of the 2nd division of the corps of reserve (D'Aurelle's).

"All the movements of the troops which are to complete these dispositions will be effected to-morrow, in the afternoon, under private orders from the commanders of the different corps. The Imperial Guard alone will be retained, until fresh orders, in the position which it at present occupies.

"In consequence of these dispositions, I request you to place yourself immediately in a condition to know the ground on which you will have to act, in order to submit to me, on the morning of the 17th, your plan of action. It is a question which General Bosquet has been in a position to consider fully, and of which he will furnish you with the details. You will go to receive the command from that general to-morrow, at two o'clock in the afternoon; and you will install yourself in the present head-quarters of the 2nd corps, the position of which is well known.

"You will, early to-morrow morning, take your chief of the staff to confer with General de Cissey, in order to receive all the information that will tend to insure a fortunate continuation of the attacks and of the details of the service.

"The deputy chief of the staff of the 2nd corps, Commandant Henry, will remain with Colonel Vaudrimery until after the success of the assault. You will request the intendant of the corps of reserve to repair to the Intendant de Molines, to-morrow morning very early, to take the direction of the administrative services of the new *corps d'armée* placed under your orders, that you may be in a condition to supply all that circumstances may demand—such as ambulances, munitions, &c.

"The companies of engineers engaged in the works of the siege will remain there. You will have under your orders, for the attack of the Malakoff, Generals Frossard of the engineers, and Beuret of the artillery."

Bosquet descended from the plateau to where

the division of General Canrobert was posted and took the general directions of the French Sardinians, and Turks, who, in case of success in the storming on the 18th, were to be pushed on towards Bagtché-Serai, and to sustain the operations which the failure at the Malakoff rendered abortive. General St. Jean d'Angély did his best to carry on an operation for which he was not previously prepared by the state of its difficulties. Under his orders General Mayran's division was to leave the Careening Bay, pass along the left side of the ravine, extend its line to the right, and attack with the first brigade what was called the *Battery of Point*, and which was turned by the gorge. The second brigade was to storm the Little Redan, which was on the right of the Careening Batteries. General Brunet's division was thus disposed:—the first brigade was in the front trench to the right of the Mamelon; the second was in the parallel to the rear of the first, and it was to pass between the Malakoff and the Little Redan, entering the curtain, and also on the right face of the Little Redan, and on the left front of the Malakoff. D'Autemarre's division was to march by the ravine of the Karabelnaia. Its duty was to attack the curtain, which uniting what was called the "Gervais Battery" with the Malakoff. Two troops of horse-artillery were to be placed behind the Mamelon, to be pushed forward to the enemy's position at the moment the troops had made a secure lodgment. The three divisions were to attack simultaneously, upon the safe execution of which arrangement, followed by the opportunity of the English, victory depended.

Against all these complicated preparations the enemy had in the meantime made effectual arrangements. The batteries were by prodigious labour repaired, and the whole force of the Russian army was ready to support them. The Redan was especially strengthened, though not so important a work as the Malakoff; and the deep ditch around it was sown with bayonets—the handles embedded in the ground, so that as the men descended into it they would be received by lines of bayonets, more firmly fixed to receive them than if held by the hands of men.

On the eventful morning Pelissier selected the Lancaster Battery as his post, having previously announced to the generals that it would give the signal of attack, which was to consist of a bouquet of fireworks. At half-past one o'clock in the morning the troops were placed in the different localities designed for their occupation. Captain de Launay was sent towards the extremity of Careening Bay to receive the drums of the enemy's beat *garde à vous*, which left no doubt that an attack was expected, and that they were apprised

time for which it was contemplated. At half-past three o'clock the generals of division were to expect the signal. At ten minutes before three, several shells, the fuses of which were very brilliant, were thrown from the melon, and General Mayran called out that this was the signal. His officers assured him that it was not—that such shells had been frequently fired during the night, and that it was more than half an hour before the appointed time. He insisted that it was the signal; and said, "It is better to be too soon than too late attacking an enemy." With these words he ordered forward his columns—a fatal movement, as everything depended upon a simultaneous advance of all the divisions, to prevent the foe from converging his fire on any one point of attack. The preparation of the Russian artillerymen instantly became obvious; a tempest of grape and round-shot swept upon the columns, making havoc not only in the advanced brigade, but also in that of Delort, by which it was sustained. While the ranks of Mayran were mowed down by the cannonade, stillness rested upon the other points of attack, no signal having been given, all wondering what could occasion the change of battle in that single direction. D'Autemarre himself supposed it to be a sortie, until his aide-de-camp, hastening to the scene of combat, brought him word that Mayran was engaged in dreadful and hopeless battle. Had he been at this moment in the Lancaster Battery all might have been redeemed by giving the signal, if, indeed, the plan of assault had been effectually carried out under the circumstances, without the previous cannonade, so pressingly urged by Raglan and his corps of engineers and artillery. General D'Autemarre was only then on his way to join the army, who had no discretion allowed him, whose orders were to await the arrival of the commander-in-chief. At last the signal was given, and the general movement was commenced. But it was too late; Mayran's division, at that short time (from twenty to twenty-five minutes), had been nearly cut to pieces. They dashed on against the curtain, over difficult ground, the steamers in Careening Bay firing over the whole space a flood of projectiles. Mayran was struck by a cannon-ball on the arm, but yet, in an agony of pain, urged his troops. Several field-officers of his division fell as their general was wounded. He still pressed the brave man and his following followers, until a cannon-ball from one of the steamers swept him from their head. He perished at fifty-three years of age, in the fullness of life. His troops reeled back, disordered and broken, clinging to any shelter they could find, yet firing a useless musquetade at their aggressors.

When the two other divisions pushed forward to accomplish the parts assigned to them in this sanguinary tragedy, they also found embarrassments independent of that caused by Mayran's rashness. Brunet had to make a *detour* through narrow trenches before arriving at the point of attack, and so intricate was the course, that he did not reach the spot where he should have promptly emerged until after a delay fatal to his success,—the guns of the enemy already swept the ground with grape and musket-balls as his confused battalions came forth in a desultory way from the cover under which they had advanced so far. The general, foremost in the track of danger, foremost fell; a cannon-ball upon the breast smote him when he advanced a few paces before the trench. Nearly at the same moment the officer in command of the artillery of the attack, Lieutenant-colonel de la Boussinière, was struck by a cannon-ball, which carried away his head. The division of Brunet was broken as a shell cast upon the ground.

General d'Autemarre was more successful than Brunet, chiefly owing to greater order and celerity of movement, for the dangers were the same, but he had no obstructions similar to theirs, encountering which brave Brunet and his division were lost. The Chasseurs of d'Autemarre took at a run the Gervais Battery. Their commander wisely exclaimed, "None first! none last!—all must be together!" These words at once guided and inspired his men. This battalion did not leave more than 100 men behind; they at once climbed the parapets, bayoneted the artillerymen, and put the Russians to speedy flight. The divisions of Mayran and Brunet halted to open fire with their muskets, and fell as seared leaves in the autumn blast. The gallant Chasseurs of d'Autemarre arrived at the Gervais Battery with their rifles loaded; not a shot had been fired. They delivered their contents with a deadly volley from the captured battery into the retreating foe. Commandant Garnier was the officer who deserved the credit of this skilfully and gallantly performed feat: he received a musket-ball in the body, and a bayonet-thrust in the arm, in the act of storming the work, but still maintained his command. Prince Gortschakoff, in his report to the czar, gives credit to this brave band in these terms:—"The hostile columns advanced to the Gervais Battery, seized upon it, drove back the battalion of the Pultowa regiment that defended it, and, in pursuing it, occupied some houses of the Karabelnaia faubourg, between the Malakoff hillock and the ravine of the docks." This account was correct. When the Chasseurs attained the streets they found most of the houses dismantled, and behind and within their ruins every spot was crowded with Rus-

sian soldiers, whose fire was delivered with the greatest coolness. The Chasseurs charged with the bayonet, and a struggle ensued of bloody desperation, the combatants fighting in every form of close and deadly contest. Colonel Manèquè, at the head of a small detachment of the 19th regiment, arrived to the succour of the Chasseurs. This officer, with a calmness and skill the most surprising, collected the scattered combatants, and placed them where they were secure from the fire of both the Malakoff and Redan; but General Chruleff arrived to the support of his countrymen with a powerful column, and Manèquè and Garnier retired into the battery, followed by the Russians. Both officers were covered with wounds; and the struggle still raged, although hopeless for France. Pelissier had sent in several battalions of the Guards to reinforce the men on the points where succour could be of avail, but this order was indifferently executed; and on the point where we now describe the battle as ebbing, there was no timely help. At last Colonel Lesbiers, at the head of the 26th regiment, arrived; General Niel, and other superior officers, with fragmental detachment of troops, arrived also. General Niel being informed that there was a practicable place at the gorge of the Malakoff, made a last attempt to enter. The 20th and 26th regiments, with General Niel and Colonel Manèquè at their head, rushed forward; they were received with an avalanche of shot and fire. They must all have perished had they not fallen back on the support of the 39th regiment, which had just then come up. This regiment, and the shattered remains of the brave corps it so happily aided, then concentrated themselves on the side of the ravine.

Pelissier, at last disheartened, ordered his broken divisions to return to the trenches. It is related by French historians of the war that the French commander-in-chief, at the request of d'Autemarre, ordered up fresh troops to renew the attack, and sent to Lord Raglan, to request him to attempt the Redan a second time (for his attack on that work had also failed), but his lordship refused. We much doubt the truth of this story; but if it be true, it reflects credit on Lord Raglan's wisdom, for it was useless to attack the Redan while the Malakoff, which commanded it, was unconquered. This was proved two months later under more fortunate circumstances. Lord Raglan acted as prudently in determining that the assault should not be renewed, as he had previously advised that it should not take place under the circumstances in which it was so inauspiciously undertaken.

The troops under Sir George Brown were placed in their positions before daylight. Two

of the three columns of attack were placed to take either flank of the Redan, and the third to seize the salient angle of that work. Each column numbered about 1800 men; and the middle column was composed of three detachments, consisting of a storming-party, a working-party, and an artillery-party, to spike guns, and direct them against the enemy, as might favour. The columns on either side of the work were commanded by Colonel Ewan and Windham: the former consisting of troops told off from the light division; the latter consisting of men from the fourth division. The centre column was commanded by the tenant-colonel Ewan, consisting of men from the second division.

Lord Raglan never expected to take the Redan independent of the capture of the Malakoff. If that work were won, the Redan would have fallen without the necessity of a second assault, because the one commanded the other. Lord Raglan hoped to do was to create a diversion as would prevent the fire from the Redan raking the approaches to the Malakoff, and in case of a decided prospect of victory on the latter, then, by storming the Redan, to prevent its garrison hastening to the relief of the other bulwark of the defence. The object to facilitate such an object was to have a powerful fire of the Redan by artillery, as to render an assault possible at the time that the French were assaulting the Malakoff. This the French generals of the day prevented, as before shown, by prevailing on Pelissier to change on the night of the 18th the hour and plan upon which he and Lord Raglan had agreed.

The English columns were to be led by engineer officers, and strong parties from the Naval Brigade volunteered to carry ladders under the command of the intrepid Captain Peel, and other naval officers of inferior rank. The unsuccessful character of the French assault was obvious to Lord Raglan before he gave the signal for his troops to attempt the works which frowned so grimly before them; when, therefore, his lordship gave the order for the attack, he knew that success was impossible; that if his brave fellows did drive the Russians out, they would certainly be slaughtered by the fire of the Malakoff, and that renewed attacks of Russian infantry, against which so small a force never could have stood, the Redan, even if the fire from the Malakoff could have been braved. The conduct of Lord Raglan is open to criticism. He himself felt it to be a point of honour in which his country and himself personally were involved, to make the movement; but war was distinctly understood between the two chiefs that only in case of hopeful success in one direction, was anything serious to

pted in the other, it is difficult to see how blunders and defeats in the French lines trained the honour of the English to spill blood in an enterprise that must be fruit-

As to drawing off the fire of the Redan from the retreating French, a cannonade would have been more effectual, than to send, into a space of 700 yards which separated the French from their works, the British soldiers certain destruction. Some officers agreed with his lordship in this point of honour; others, and the great majority of civilians, regarded it as a blameworthy sacrifice, and were ready to exclaim, with the national poet, in *Richard II.*—

"The blood of English shall menace the ground,  
And future ages groan for this foul act."

I doubt his lordship acted conscientiously; that is not a sufficient apology where the needlessly perish, and the widow, and orphan, and their country have cause to mourn. Lord Raglan felt as tenderly for the life of human life as a general possibly could, and in this instance he yielded to the stern demand of a high sense of honour and duty. Giving that the French in vain assaulted the Redan, he sent up the appointed signal, and the flanking columns were ordered forth to the attack, so that, contrary to the original arrangement, while yet the French fought and fell, the English were also engaged in a conflict equally murderous.

At two o'clock in the morning, while it was dark, Lord Raglan took post in an advanced position, from which he could have a good view of the Malakoff and the Redan. During the battle this position was one of great peril; officers and men were killed and wounded all round his lordship, who never evinced the least trait of uneasiness or concern for himself, and it was only for the sake of those under him he consented to change that perilous position for another, which, although less exposed, was sufficiently commanding for purposes of observation. When Mayran's division became fully engaged, the English listened with anxiety and concern, for they became at once conscious of the true state of things, that the misapprehension the hour of assault anticipated. Colonel Hamley says that the amount of success obtained by the French in the cause of Lord Raglan ordering the retreat; but his lordship assigned as his reason for issuing his columns of assault the *success* on the part of the French, and his desire to save their men by a sacrifice of numbers. French officers generally do not make generous acknowledgment of this; they follow Colonel Hamley's view of it, and even admit their own defeat as partly dependent on the failure of the attack on the Redan

by the English; even officers of high distinction have given this very unfair view of the matter to the world.

On the right the stormers were led by a party of the light division, with a company of the Rifle Brigade, and of the 33rd regiment. The engineers conducted these advance companies, attended by men of the Naval Brigade, carrying the implements of escalade. Between the Quarries where our troops found cover, and the Redan, was a smooth grassy slope; over this the brave fellows who led made their way without any material loss or accident, until they arrived within a few yards of the abattis which surrounds the Redan; then the cannon opened with a perfect "hell-fire" (as an officer described it) of grape-shot. The troops lay down, that the storm might sweep above them, and while recumbent, fired into the embrasures, the Rifles, especially, with an aim so deadly, that the Russian gunners fell fast. These advanced companies remained *en l'air*, yet rendering useful service, waiting in vain for their supports. The engineer officers retired under this desperate shower of grape to bring them up, but the men would not advance. Some of the officers stood upon the parapets exposing their persons to encourage the men; others ran forward waving their swords, and calling upon the troops to follow; but these consisted almost wholly of young raw lads, recruits, who had not long arrived in the camp, and had witnessed no severe warfare; groups of the bravest of them, and such old soldiers as were among them, rushed out and followed their officers, only to be swept away as the besom of the gardener sweeps the fallen leaves from a smooth garden-walk. The artillery-party attached to the columns, consisting of twenty men, sallied forth with their officers, and most of them reached the advanced companies, but only nine returned without a wound. The sailors were equally prompt and daring, but no example could move the great body of the men; they were under the conviction that they were being led forth to unnecessary slaughter, as their numbers were too few to accomplish anything. Had they been in sufficient force to inspire a hope of victory, they would have followed their officers anywhere, young as they were, and whatever the peril to which they might be exposed. Colonel Yea exclaimed, "Anything is better than standing still!" and sought for a trumpeter to sound the charge, but there were none unhurt. Collecting a few men, he led them on, but he was killed by a grape-shot. Officers and men in the advance and in the trench perished in numbers, and at last the companies in advance fell back, or rather ran back, as fast as they could to the trench, many of them falling to rise no more.

The detachments of the fourth division, which were to assault the left side of the Redan, had similar misfortunes to those of the light division on the right. Sir John Campbell, who had for a considerable time commanded a brigade of Sir Richard England's division, now commanded the fourth. He was a gallant and skilful officer, who had seen much service; he did his utmost to lead the men of his division forward; a few followed him; he had not led them far before most of them were stretched on the grassy sward. He persevered until he reached the abattis, and fell down dead under the shower of destruction there directed upon him and his few brave followers. On this side the attack was as completely a failure (if attack it could be called) as on the other. The death of Sir John Campbell caused deep depression among the soldiery under his command.

A correspondent of the *Times* gave an explanation of the reluctance of the men to advance, which no other narrative or private letter that we have seen offers; it is as follows:—"As the 34th regiment advanced, the supports, by some means or another, got mixed together with them, and some confusion arose in consequence. On crossing the trench our men, instead of coming upon the open in a firm body, were broken into twos and threes. This arose from the want of a temporary step above the berm, which would have enabled the troops to cross the parapet with regularity; instead of which they had to scramble over it as well as they could, and, as the top of the trench is of unequal height and form, their line was quite broken. The moment they came out from the trench the enemy began to direct on their whole front a deliberate and well-aimed *mitraille*, which increased the want of order and unsteadiness caused by the mode of their advance. Poor Colonel Yea saw the consequences too clearly. Having in vain tried to obviate the evil caused by the broken formation and confusion of his men, who were falling fast around him, he exclaimed, 'This will never do! Where's the bugler?' But, alas! at that critical moment no bugler was to be found. The gallant old soldier, by voice and gesture, tried to form and compose his men, but the thunder of the enemy's guns close at hand and the gloom of early dawn frustrated his efforts; and as he rushed along the troubled mass of troops which were herding together under the rush of grape, and endeavoured to get them into order for a rush at the batteries, which was better than standing still, or retreating in a panic, a charge of the deadly missile passed, and the noble soldier fell dead in advance of his men, struck at once in head and stomach by grape-shot. The signal for our assault was to be given by the discharge of two service rockets, which were to have been fired when the French got into

the Malakoff, and the latter were to hoisted a flag as a signal of their success. It is certain that the French did for a short establish themselves in the Malakoff, but were soon expelled with loss, and I saw my own eyes a large triangular blue and flag waving from the Malakoff all during the fight."\*

The column of the second division, which was designed to take the apex of the Redan (against which, on the left flank of the work, Sir John Campbell, by some means, led the men of the fourth division), remained under cover, their assault being dependent upon some measure of success obtained on the flanks. It was well that these troops did not precipitate upon that point while no impression had been made upon the flank columns, or the cry of "Murder!" which broke from the lips of wounded and dying men, and even officers, of the other division would have been heard in it also.

While these heart-harrowing scenes were witnessed in front of the Redan, General England's division was engaged at the cemetery. Nearly 2000 men of that division were ordered by Sir Richard to be placed under the command of Major-general Eyre, consisting of men of his own brigade, and he eventually justified Sir Richard England's selection of him for the work committed to his enterprise and talent. The troops under Major-general Eyre's command were chosen from the 18th, 28th, 38th, and 44th regiments. They were to proceed down the great ravine to the Dockyard Creek; and if the Redan had succeeded, the troops attacking the Battery were to form a junction with those under Major-general Eyre. The strength of the party consisted of the 18th Royal Irish, and the other troops were to support them. As the 18th moved up with the tread of discipline and tried soldiers, General Eyre thus addressed them:—"Royal Irish, I rely on you, and expect that you will this day do deeds which will make every cabin in Ireland ring with pride and joy." His reliance was not misplaced, for these brave fellows snatched victory from the jaws of defeat, although surrounded by the deafening slaughter of two armies. Unfortunately, the address of the general worked up the enthusiasm of these poor fellows to such a degree that notwithstanding the importance of silence and caution, they burst forth with loud and vigorous cheers, which were answered by the enemy with a cannonade, before which all other sounds sank into silence. Turning the corner of the defile in advance of the batteries, the head of the regiment came to a small cemetery, in which Russian remains were dispersed behind the grave-stones.

\* A Russian ensign.

never cover was attainable. The Irish, in another ringing cheer, rushed into the all-ground, and, without wasting powder, to the bayonet or drove out its occupants. The rapidity of their movement was such, and the advance companies were so quickly followed the rest of the storming columns, that they cleared the cemetery along with their companies, pursuing them, and entering with them into a portion of the town of Sebastopol, the other troops of General Eyre's column were burying the cemetery. A number of houses were not unlike Irish cabins, others of supercilious pretension—rested on the crown of the hill; these the Irish occupied until their trymen of the 9th, following close upon them, succeeded them; these again were succeeded by other troops from the cemetery, the Royal Irish and the 9th still pushing on. The character of the ground, and the positions in its neighbourhood, is thus described by Colonel Hamley, who has been on the spot:—"At the junction of the two ravines, and resting against the base of the high ground which separates them, a number of houses, entitled to rank as a town; when these were taken possession of, the advanced parties extended in front of the low battery (a Russian battery near the town's edge, formed to sweep the approaches in this direction), and, scaling a cliff on their right, reached a battery for three guns, on a level under the cliff-like side of the ravine, whence they saw no obstacle to their passage into the town, which stands on a level hill bounding the Dockyard Creek. They had now reached a point from which they could operate either on the side of the Dockyard Creek or the inner harbour. If they succeeded upon the Redan were successful, they could, by scaling the cliff of the Woronzoff Battery on their right, effect a junction with the stormers; or had the French penetrated the works covering the town, they would have received powerful help from Eyre's brigade. This latter contingency, however, there was no reason to provide for, as it was never contemplated; and it is one of the most unaccountable features of these operations that, with our immense force, no diversion, far less a general assault, was made on this point: even the artillery of the French lines before the town was silent." Eyre's brigade was not long in occupying unmolested the positions that they had so bravely won, and from which the British light infantry had been so precipitately driven by the Royal Irish, for a large force from the Garden Batteries, which are on the top of the left cliff of the ravine; these descended to a long, low breastwork, and the fire thence with great effect. The light-infantry men of the 18th picked several off, and roused them apparently to a great

degree of excitement, for they jumped on the parapet, exposing themselves most daringly to the fire of our men, for which many paid the penalty of life. They were obliged at last to seek shelter, so that not a head dare appear above the breastwork. The balls from the Garden Battery ploughed over the ground occupied by the Royal Irish and the 9th, and tore through the houses, dashing the frail tenements to pieces. Those who were posted in the cemetery suffered from the cannonade, as the tombstones were smashed, and the fragments, driven about, inflicted wounds in every direction. Here the 44th suffered a great deal; the 28th and 38th also incurred loss. Rifleman, descending from the Barrack Battery towards the ravine, took deadly aim, and many fell. From their balls Major-general Eyre was wounded. A circle of fire hemmed in this gallant brigade. The other brigade of General England, commanded by Major-general Barnard, occupied the right slope of the Woronzoff Ravine, thereby leaving Eyre free to push his way to the left, as fortune might favour. Thus he was at the head of a separate little army, and held his ground within the lines of the enemy, in spite of the overwhelming fire directed upon him. The advance of this little corps commenced about four o'clock in the morning, and they held their ground all day, fighting without intermission. It seems perfectly unaccountable that General England's division was not reinforced by Lord Raglan or by Pelissier, although 200,000 men were at the disposal of those chiefs. For a long portion of the day it was not even known what had become of Eyre and his gallant brigade, and no attempt to help or save them was made. The advanced portions of the brigadier's force were engaged in the most desperate conflict. Again and again the Russians endeavoured to force the Royal Irish, and the 9th, by which they were more immediately supported, from the houses and the positions near them which they occupied. One-third of these poor fellows had fallen, but they held every spot of ground with fearless fortitude. As evening advanced, a desperate effort was made to dislodge them, but it was in vain. Two hundred and fifty of these noble Irishmen—more than half their number—lay dead and wounded by nightfall, but the sun set upon them as conquerors. The lines of their national poet, when describing ancestors whose courage they emulated, would well apply to them:—

"Till the moss of the valley grew red with their blood  
They stirred not, but conquered, and died."

At night the surrounding batteries were like so many volcanoes pouring forth streams of fire. No spot on the whole area of conflict

was so commanded by batteries, and these gallant men were given up for lost. Still they stirred not: some dressed the wounds of their comrades; some kept ward for their safety; and others fired upon the lurid embrasures from which the messengers of death so plentifully came. Many of the wounded in the houses were buried beneath the walls or roofs as the shot tore through the apartments where they lay. The position was kept until Lord Raglan sent orders for them to retire; and at eleven o'clock at night they abandoned the suburb, but still held the cemetery, out of which no efforts of the enemy afterwards expelled them. They retired doggedly and reluctantly from the houses of the suburb, believing that an advance into the town at the head of reinforcements, for a renewed struggle and renewed victory, would have been their fortune.

During the day Captain Esmond, who commanded the four companies of the Royal Irish in advance, sent for reinforcements and ammunition. A gallant sergeant took his letter; his passage through the storm of grape-shot was a miracle; he reached the head-quarters of the brigade unhurt, and delivered his message. It was pronounced impossible to reinforce them; no troops, it was alleged, could pass through the "fire infernal" that roared across that space. Colonel Edwards, on his hands and knees, crept back with the sergeant. He could only say, "Hold your ground, if possible, until night, and then retire." They held it until night, and for hours after night closed upon them. During seventeen hours these few hundred men of the 18th Royal Irish held a portion of Sebastopol, in spite of every effort the enemy could make to expel them. Of General Eyre's force 650 men were slain or wounded—more than one-third of the whole. The next day the general found an Irish sergeant whose legs had been struck by a cannon-ball. "Well, general," said the intrepid fellow, "we did *our* part, anyhow. I have lost two legs, but if I had four I would give them for your honour and the country." The bravery of the 18th Royal Irish and of the whole of Eyre's brigade was the subject of warm eulogium throughout the whole army; and no language of eulogy seemed sufficient to express the admiration of the French for the conduct of those few hundred Irishmen during a day so signalised in both armies by defeat.

The losses of the respective armies will be seen in the despatches of their chiefs, which are appended; and the proclamation of the Russian commander also.

Concerning the capture and abandonment of the cemetery there is a passage in the work of Mr. Russell which, as that work has so wide a circulation, it is necessary to correct. Mr. Russell introduces the passage when relating

the circumstances connected with the armistice which followed the unfortunate — "The armistice lasted for upwards of hours; and when it was over we retired the spot so moistened with our blood. An advantage we gained by the assault was the capture of the cemetery, and even that nearly abandoned, owing to the timidity of our generals. As you have already seen the men in the cemetery and houses severely during the 18th from the enemy's fire, and the soldiers in the latter were unable to withdraw till nightfall. It was one of the generals of division to say should be done with the cemetery, and he orders to abandon it. On the following day an officer of engineers, Lieutenant Glynne, heard, to his extreme surprise, the position for which we had paid so dearly not in our possession. He appreciated its value—he saw that the Russians had not advanced to re-occupy it. With the usual zeal and energy he set to work among the trenches, and begged and borrowed some thirty men, with whom he crept into the cemetery just before the flag of truce was hoisted. As soon as the armistice was over the Russians flocked down to the cemetery which they supposed to be undefended, to their great surprise, they found our troops posted there as sentries, who warned them back; and in the evening the party was strengthened, and we are now constructing most valuable works and batteries in the spite of a heavy fire, which occasions considerable loss. Such is the story that is the round of the camp. Lord Raglan is to have found fault with General Eyre for losing so many men, but the latter objects that 'he had done what he was ordered that he *had* taken the cemetery.' There be no doubt but that our troops could have entered the town in the rear of the Redan, the houses on the 18th, had they been strong enough to advance from the cemetery. Whether they could have maintained themselves there under the fire of forts, ships, and batteries, is another question." It will be observed that this account is given as "a story the round of the camp." That very circumstance would give it currency in England, especially when related by one so well conversant not only with the gossip of the camp, but with its stern realities.

The following, taken from authentic sources, is the real history of the withdrawal of General Eyre's brigade from the cemetery. As a General England saw that the intention of Pelissier and Raglan was to retire, after unsuccessful efforts on the Malakoff and he galloped off to tell Lord Raglan the things on the left, and after some effort

going towards General Pelissier's hut in a very towards the right of the line. There a conference took place on the subject of holding ground that had been gained on the left, result of which was that Pelissier dictated a letter, which he gave to Sir Richard to read, in which the marshal sent, in General England's presence, by a dragoon to the left of his position, desiring that a French general of engineers should instantly see whether it was possible to hold Eyre's ground, or advisable; in the latter case to furnish the requisite troops for that purpose. It was quite evident that the English had no available troops of sufficient amount to do so, especially in that part of the line. As to the third division, which had all been under arms since one in the morning; one brigade of it was still there in position (Eyre's); the other (Barnard's) was then retiring from the attack. It was ten o'clock, and this latter brigade was to be in the trenches, on duty and under arms again, at night. Support, therefore, was only available from the French.

As soon as Sir Richard reached his tent, he requested a communication to General Eyre, informing him of the intentions and wishes of the commanders-in-chief. He sent this note to Major S. Watley, and said in it that a French officer of rank had been desired to visit the post, and to ascertain how far it was desirable that it should be held. The note was as follows:—"If it is deemed right to hold it, I desire the French will appoint a force adequate to the position being maintained. If it is deemed right to abandon it, you will, in communication with the French officer above alluded to, retire from it, and you will judge for yourself whether you can retire in complete safety until morning; but it is very probable the French general will better and more fully explain the points." General Eyre's answer was dated half-past three, and said, "I have not any French officer." . . . . "I am of opinion that this position cannot be held by night; it would require too many men—but as it is of it could, viz. the cemetery and the houses, be in rear of it. The French, I think, cannot hold it." In another note, after General Eyre's return to the camp (he having been wounded), dated 5 P.M., he says, "They have got the range so accurately that we should have many men if we continued to occupy the present position we gained. Feeling this, and also the improbability of Lord Raglan's being able to occupy so advanced a position as this, by us, I have authorised the advanced troops to withdraw. I have seen nothing of the French general. It is possible, though I do not expect it, that the enemy may advance (Eyre's brigade) retire." Thus no aid could be sent by the French up to these hours;

neither had any general of engineers been there to examine and report, as Pelissier had promised and ordered.

This precise state of things was reported by Sir Richard to Lord Raglan at four o'clock; whereupon Lord Raglan wrote to General England, saying, "General Eyre should be instructed to withdraw, as soon after dark as he may think proper, from his present position, keeping the post in the cemetery, and houses in rear if it is possible. Should the French intend to occupy the position, they would communicate with General Eyre before the close of the day. I am surprised that they have not sent an officer to General Eyre hours ago. General Pelissier made no objection when I proposed it to him. If General Eyre prefers retiring at once, let him do so." Finding nothing done, and not hearing what was doing, General England dispatched a message to Colonel Adams, the officer now supposed to be commanding this brigade (at half-past six), saying that General Barnard was going to the trenches at seven, and begged that he would communicate with him in any way in which he (Barnard) could assist him. Sir Richard's note on this occasion to Colonel Adams ran as follows: "The engineers and Lord Raglan wish to keep the cemetery and houses, but the French must in such case find troops. Possibly a French general has visited you by this time. Adhere, as closely as you can, to the instructions in Lord Raglan's memorandum, which I sent you two hours ago."

To this Colonel Adams replied, *I cannot think it possible to keep the cemetery and houses.* . . . . "The French general has not been here yet." Thus the troops got back, with some difficulty, as to bringing off the wounded, at about eleven at night, at which time General Barnard, who was and had been on duty in the advanced trenches since seven, wrote to Sir Richard, saying, "I have consulted the engineers as to the advisability of holding the cemetery. Captain B. tells me it would be desirable, but unless in co-operation with the French, we could not hold it. No French have appeared, and I have consequently told Colonel Adams to withdraw his force. Major B. tells me he has neither gabions nor tools sufficient to make a lodgment; but if we had found the French here, and ready to assist us, we could try to do something—but, as it is, there is nothing left but to evacuate the position." Mr. Russell was in error as to the timidity of a general of division in abandoning this ground, which, by the foregoing evidence, every one else seemed to view as untenable without French aid, and regarding the giving up of which the general of division in question had less to do than any one else concerned.

General England concurred in thinking all the day that, unless supported, General Eyre's advanced position was *en l'air* and critical. It was decidedly a French question, for the cemetery was as near their lines as ours; they alone had the means of holding it—but if they did not choose to do so (and for which no doubt they had their own reason), it was wholly impossible for us from want of men. The next day, the 19th, or soon afterwards, *boyaux* and covered ways were commenced to connect the high ground of the cemetery with our most advanced parallels. The service of the siege lost nothing, therefore, by this withdrawal from an exposed position which was thus deemed untenable by all, and not of an advantage commensurate with the loss of life essential to hold it; but to visit the general of division with censure—his duties in this case rendering him a mere channel of communication on the subject—was the result on Mr. Russell's part of being misinformed; for all who know anything of that gentleman's courtesy, goodwill, and fairness, are well aware that he is incapable of injustice, or of giving undeserved or unnecessary pain.

It will complete the account of these operations to notice that the next day, for the first time, the allies asked for an armistice to bury the dead. This was conceded reluctantly by the Russians, who did not observe it faithfully, any more than they did truces sought by themselves; contrary to the rules and usages of war, they used the time to repair the breaches in their works. The truce disclosed a horrible scene of slaughter; it was difficult for the most hardened to look on it without emotion, and brave men were seen to shudder. Our wounded, who lay near the abattis of the Redan, and for some distance towards the Quarries, had been watched by Russian riflemen, and *shot when they were seen to move!*—others were carried into the works and treated kindly. This is easily accounted for by the fact that the Polish, Finnish, and German subjects of the czar regarded the allies with partiality—the Muscovite portion of the Russian army with desperate animosity.

Lord Raglan's account was given to the English minister of war in the following terms:—

"I informed your lordship, on the 16th, that new batteries had been completed, and that in consequence the allies would be enabled to resume the offensive against Sebastopol with the utmost vigour. Accordingly, on the 17th, at daylight, a very heavy fire was opened from all the batteries in the English and French trenches, and maintained throughout the day, and the effect produced appeared so satisfactory, that it was determined that the

French should attack the Malakoff work next morning, and that the English should assail the Redan as soon after as I might consider it desirable. It was at first proposed that the artillery fire should be resumed on the morning of the 18th, and should be kept for about two hours, for the purpose of destroying any works the enemy might have thrown up in the night, and of opening passages through the abattis that covered the Redan; but on the evening of the 17th I was intimated to me by General Pelissier that he had determined, upon further consideration, that the attack by his troops should take place at three the following morning. The French, therefore, commenced their operations as day broke; and as their several columns came within range of the enemy's fire, they encountered the most serious opposition from musketry and the guns in the works, which had been silenced the previous evening, and, observing this, I was induced at once to order our columns to move out of the trenches upon the Redan. It had been arranged that detachments from the light, second, and first divisions, which I placed for the occasion under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir G. Brown, should be formed into three columns; that the right one should attack the left face of the Redan between the flank batteries; that the centre should advance to the salient angle; and that the left should move upon the re-entering angle from the right face and flank of the work, the first and last preceding the centre column. The flank columns at once obeyed the signal to advance, preceded by covering-parties of the Rifle Brigade, and by sailors carrying ladders and soldiers carrying woolbags; but they did not no sooner shown themselves beyond the trenches than they were assailed by a murderous fire of grape and musketry. The men in advance were either killed or wounded, and the remainder found it impossible to proceed. I never before witnessed such a continued and heavy fire of grape, combined with musketry, from the enemy's works, which appeared to be fully manned; and the loss of killed and wounded in the light and first divisions, and the seamen of the Naval Brigade under Captain Peel, who was unfortunately wounded, though not severely, will show a very large proportion of those that were forward fell. Major-general Sir John Peel, who led the left attack, and Colonel Shadforth, of the 57th, who commanded the storming-party under his direction, were both killed, as was also Colonel Yea, of the 1st Fusiliers, who led the right column. I cannot say too much in praise of these officers. Major-general Sir J. Campbell had commanded the fourth division from the period of the

kerman till the arrival, very recently, of  
 tenant-general Bentinck. He had devoted  
 self to his duty without any intermission,  
 had acquired the confidence and respect of  
 I most deeply lament his loss. Colonel  
 forth had maintained the efficiency of his  
 ment by constant attention to all the  
 is of his command; and Colonel Yea was  
 only distinguished for his gallantry, but  
 exercised his control of the Royal Fusileers  
 ch a manner as to win the affections of the  
 rs under his orders, and to secure to  
 every comfort and accommodation which  
 personal exertions could procure for them.  
 I have not any definite information upon  
 movements of the French columns, and  
 atmosphere became so obscured by the  
 e from the guns and musketry, that it  
 not possible by personal observation to  
 ain their progress, though I was particu-  
 well situated for the purpose; but I  
 stand that their left column, under  
 al d'Autemarre, passed the advanced  
 s of the enemy, and threatened the gorge  
 Malakoff Tower; and that the two other  
 ns, under Generals Mayran and Brunet,  
 both, I regret to say, were killed, met  
 obstacles equal to those we encountered,  
 vere obliged, in consequence, to abandon  
 tack. The superiority of our fire on the  
 ve opened, led both General Pelissier and  
 f, and the officers of the artillery and  
 eers of the two services, and the armies  
 eral, to conclude that the Russian artill-  
 ery was, in a great measure, subdued, and  
 he operation we projected could be under-  
 with every prospect of success. The  
 has shown that the resources of the  
 y were not exhausted, and that they had  
 he power, either from their ships or from  
 batteries, to bring an overwhelming fire  
 their assailants. While the direct attack  
 the Redan was proceeding, Lieutenant-  
 al Sir R. England was directed to send  
 f the brigades of the third division, under  
 mmand of Major-general Barnard, down  
 Voronzoff Ravine, with a view to give  
 rt to the attacking columns on his right,  
 he other brigade, under Major-general  
 still further to the left, to threaten the  
 at the head of the Dockyard Creek.  
 have not yet received their reports, and  
 not be able to send them to your lordship  
 ; but General Eyre was very seriously  
 ed, and he himself wounded, though, I  
 ppy to say, not severely, and he possessed  
 lf of a church-yard which the enemy had  
 to carefully watched, and some houses  
 a the place; but, as the town front was  
 tacked, it became necessary to withdraw  
 gade at night. I am concerned to have  
 rm you that Lieutenant-colonel Tylden,

of the Royal Engineers, whose services I have  
 had the greatest pleasure in bringing so fre-  
 quently to your lordship's notice, is very  
 severely wounded. The account I received of  
 him this morning is upon the whole satis-  
 factory, and I entertain strong hopes that his  
 valuable life will be preserved.

"I feel greatly indebted to Sir G. Brown  
 for the manner in which he conducted the  
 duties I entrusted to him; and my warmest  
 acknowledgments are due to Major-general  
 Harry Jones, not only for his valuable assist-  
 ance on the present occasion, but for the able,  
 zealous, and energetic manner in which he has  
 conducted the siege operations since he as-  
 sumed the command of the Royal Engineers.  
 He received a wound from a grape-shot in the  
 forehead yesterday, which, I trust, will not  
 prove serious. I brought up the first division  
 from the vicinity of Balaklava as a reserve,  
 and I shall retain them on these heights. The  
 Sardinian troops, under General la Marmora,  
 and the Turkish troops, under Omar Pasha,  
 crossed the Tchernaya on the 17th inst., and  
 occupy positions in front of Tchorgoum. They  
 have not come in contact with any large body  
 of the enemy."

General Pelissier's despatch was as follows :

"Since the capture of the external works  
 on the 7th of June, I had rapidly made every  
 arrangement to make them the basis of our  
 attack against the *enceinte* itself of the Kara-  
 belnaia. We armed them with powerful artill-  
 ery; the Russian communications and *places*  
*d'armes* were turned to our own use; the  
 ground-plan of attack studied in detail; the  
 allied armies had their respective tasks allotted  
 to them. The English were to storm the Great  
 Redan, and we were to carry the Malakoff  
 Tower, the Redan of the Careening Bay, and  
 the intrenchments which cover the extremity  
 of the faubourg. It is superfluous, M. le  
 Maréchal, to point out to your excellency  
 what would have been the result of such an  
 operation if it had succeeded. Since our last  
 successes, the attitude of the enemy and the  
 enthusiasm of our troops promised victory.  
 There was no time to be lost. In concert with  
 Lord Raglan, on the 17th, we poured a crush-  
 ing fire into Sebastopol, especially into the  
 works we intended storming. At an early  
 hour the enemy ceased replying from the  
 Malakoff and from the Redan. It is probable  
 they were economising their batteries and fire,  
 and that they did not suffer so much from the  
 effects of our artillery as we were led to pre-  
 sume. However that may be, the superiority  
 of our guns confirmed us in our plan for making  
 an assault on the 18th, and on the night before  
 we made all the necessary arrangements for a  
 general movement on the morrow.

"Three divisions were to take part in the combat—the divisions of Mayran and Brunet, of the second corps; the division of Autemarre of the first. The division of the imperial guard formed the reserve. Mayran's division had the right attack, and was to carry the intrenchments which extend from the Battery of the Point to the Redan of Careening Bay. Brunet's division was to turn the Malakoff on the right. D'Autemarre's division was to manœuvre on the left to carry that important work. General Mayran's task was a difficult one. His first brigade, commanded by Colonel Saurin, of the 3rd Zouaves, was to advance from the ravine of Careening Bay as far as the aqueduct, to creep along the left hill-side of the ravine, avoiding as much as possible the fire of the enemy's lines, and to turn the Battery of the Point by the gorge. The 2nd brigade, commanded by General de Failly, was to make an attempt on the right of the Redan of Careening Bay. They were provided with everything necessary to scale the works. The special reserve of this division consisted of two battalions of the 1st regiment of the voltigeurs of the guard. All these troops were ready at their post at an early hour. Brunet's division had one of its brigades in advance and to the right of the Brancion Redoubt (Mamelon), the other in the parallel in the rear and to the right of that redoubt. A similar arrangement was made as regards D'Autemarre's division: Niel's brigade in advance and to the left of the Mamelon; Breton's brigade in the parallel in the rear. Two batteries of artillery, which could be served *à la bricole*, were placed behind the Brancion Redoubt (Mamelon), ready to occupy the enemy's positions in case we succeeded in carrying them. The division of the imperial guard, forming the general reserve of the three attacks, was drawn up in a body in the rear of the Victoria Redoubt.

"I selected the Lancaster Battery for my post, from which I was to give the signal by star-rockets for the general advance. Notwithstanding great difficulties of ground, notwithstanding the obstacles accumulated by the enemy, and although the Russians, evidently informed of our plans, were on their guard, ready to repel an attack, I am inclined to think that if the attack could have been general and instantaneous on the whole extent of the line—if there had been a simultaneous action and *ensemble* in the efforts of our brave troops—the object would have been achieved. Unhappily, it was not so, and an inconceivable fatality caused us to fail.

"I was still at more than 1000 metres from the place whence I was to give the signal, when a violent fire of musketry, intermixed with grape, apprised me that the combat had

commenced seriously on the right. In a little before 3 A.M., General Mayran, seeing he recognised my signal in a shell—a blazing fusee, sent up from the Brancion Redoubt. It was in vain that he was informed of his mistake. This brave and unfortunate general gave the order for the attack. Saurin and De Failly's columns immediately rushed forward; the first rush was magnificent; but scarcely were these heads of columns in march, when a shower of balls and grape was poured in upon them. This crushing attack came not only from the works which we wished to carry, but also from the enemy's steamers, which came up at full steam, manœuvred with great skill and effect. However, caused them some damage. A prodigious fire stopped the efforts of the troops. It became impossible for our soldiers to advance, but not a man retired one step. It was at this moment that General Mayran was already hit in two places, was knocked down by a grape-shot, and was compelled to resign the command of his division. All this was the work of a moment, and General Mayran was already carried off the field of battle. I sent up the signal from the Lancaster Battery. The other troops then advanced to support the premature movement of the 2nd division. That valiant division, for a moment disconcerted by the loss of its general, promptly rallied at the voice of General de Failly. The troops engaged, supported by the 2nd battalion of the 95th of the line, and by a battalion of the voltigeurs of the guard, under the command of the brave Colonel Boudville, held a position in a bend of the ground where the general placed them, and boldly maintain their position there. Informed, however, of this position, which might become critical, I ordered General Regnaud de St. Jean d'Angély to send two battalions of the voltigeurs of the guard, taken from the general reserve, to the support of that division. General Mellinet-Uhrich marched with that fine body of men, rallied the grenadiers in the ravine of Careening Bay, and gave a solid support to General de Failly, by occupying the bottom of the ravine.

"General Mellinet, in person, advanced to the right of General de Failly at the head of a battalion of grenadiers, placed the 1st in line before to defend the ravine, and was of great service to him by covering his flank. The attack on the centre was equally unfortunate. General Brunet had not yet completed all his arrangements when the star-rockets were fired. The whole of the division was already prematurely engaged for more than twenty to twenty-five minutes. The troops, nevertheless, resolutely advanced by their valour was of no avail against the sustained fire of the Russians, and again

reseen obstacles. At the very outset, General Brunet fell mortally wounded by a ball in the chest. The flag of the 91st was cut in two by a ball; but it is needless to add that its fragments were brought back by that brave regiment. General Lafont de Villiers took the command of the division, and ended that of the troops engaged to Colonel Poncez. The latter held firm while the remainder of the division occupied the trenches to provide against the eventualities of the attack. To the left, General d'Autemarre did not go into action before Brunet's division, and could he explain the hasty fusillade he directed in the direction of Careening Bay; but the signal agreed upon for the attack, he went forward with impetuosity the 5th *Chasseurs-d'pied* and the 1st battalion of the 19th line, which, following the ridge of the Malakoff ravine, arrived at the intrenchment which connects it with the Malakoff, scaled the intrenchment, and entered the *enceinte* itself. The sappers of the 19th and 26th regiments, who were hurrying up by order of General d'Autemarre, to follow his gallant example. For an instant we believed in success.

Our eagles were planted on the Russian flag. Unhappily, that hope was promptly dashed. Our allies had met with such reverses in their attack upon the Grand Redan, that they had already been obliged to retreat. Such was the spirit of our army, that, despite this circumstance, they would have pushed on and charged down upon the enemy; but the want of simultaneity in the attack of our divisions permitted the Russians to fall upon us with their reserves and the artillery of the Great Redan, and the 19th did not lose a moment in advancing all their reserves of the Karabelnaia against the brave *Chasseurs-d'pied*.

Before so imposing a force Commandant Lecomte, of the fifth battalion, already struck by a ball, endeavoured, but in vain, to maintain the conquered ground. Compelled to yield to numbers, he recrossed the intrenchment. General Niel came up to support his colleague, reinforced by the 30th of the line; a new offensive movement was attempted, to secure the success of the new effort; and on a signal from General d'Autemarre, to the effect that his reserve was reduced to the 74th line, I sent him the regiment of Zouaves as guard; but on the arrival of those hardy veterans of our African campaigns, as the French had no longer any desirable *ensemble* to deliver a vigorous blow, with a single division we supported either on the right or on the

left, and cut up by the artillery of the Redan, the attack upon which had been relinquished by our allies, I at once saw that all chance of success was over. Another effort would have led to useless bloodshed. It was half-past eight o'clock, and I ordered a general retreat to the trenches. This movement was carried out proudly, with order and coolness, and without the enemy following us on any point. A portion of the Russian trenches remained even occupied by some of our men, who evacuated them gradually, without the enemy daring to turn their advantage to account against them.

"Our losses have been great. We took care, at the very commencement of the action, to carry off most of our wounded; but a certain number of those glorious dead remained lying on the glacis or in the ditches of the place. The last duties were rendered to them the following day. Besides General Brunet and General Mayran (who died during the night), we have to deplore the loss of an officer beloved and appreciated by the whole army, the young and brave lieutenant-colonel of artillery, De la Boussinière, killed while scaling the reverse of a trench obstructed by troops on his way from one of the batteries to the Brancion Redoubt. It is a great loss; in him were the germs of future promise. A number of brave superior officers have been wounded while showing the most noble example. The officers of the staff and of the troops worthily performed their duties, and the conduct of the men was admirable everywhere. We had thirty-seven officers killed, and seventeen taken prisoners; 1544 non-commissioned officers and privates killed or missing. On the evening of the 18th, ninety-six officers, and 1644 men went to the ambulances. Many wounds, at first thought very serious, will ultimately prove not to be so. The bearers of these honourable scars will shortly rejoin their colours.

"These losses have not shaken either the ardour or the confidence of these valiant divisions. They only ask to make the enemy pay dearly for this day's work. The hope and the will to conquer are in every heart, and all count upon it that in the next struggle fortune will not play false to valour."

The above was addressed to Marshal Vailant, the French minister of war.

On the 19th of June, Prince Gortschakoff issued the following exultant proclamation to the Russian troops:—

"Comrades!—The sanguinary combat of yesterday, and the defeat of a despairing enemy, have again crowned our arms with immortal laurels. Russia owes you a debt of gratitude, which she will pay. Thousands of our comrades in arms have sealed with their

blood the oath they have taken, and have thus redeemed the word I gave to the emperor, our common father. Accept my best thanks for it.

"Comrades! considerable reinforcements are on their way to us from every part of our holy Russia. They will soon be here. Oppose, as you have hitherto done, your manly chests to the murderous balls of our impious enemies, and die as thousands of our comrades have hitherto done, sword in hand, in an honourable struggle, man against man, chest against chest, rather than violate the oath you have sworn to the emperor and to our country to keep Sebastopol.

"Soldiers! the enemy is beaten, driven with enormous loss. Allow your comm to repeat his gratitude to you in the name of the emperor, our august monarch, in the name of our country, of our holy and orthodox Russia. The hour is approaching when the power of the enemy will be lowered, their ranks swept from our soil like chaff blown away by the wind. Till then let us put trust in our arms and let us fight for the emperor and for our country.

"Let this order of the day be read to every company and squadron of the army."

## CHAPTER XCI.

DEATH OF VARIOUS OFFICERS OF DISTINCTION IN THE ALLIED ARMIES.—DECEASE OF LORD RAGLAN: HIS FUNERAL.—GENERAL SIMPSON SUCCEEDS TO THE COMMAND.—PROGRESS OF THE SIEGE.

"Some of my heroes are low; I hear the sound of death on the harp."—OSSIAN.

WHEN the burial rites permitted by the truce had been performed, and the reports of the different divisions had been made, it was seen that the loss of the allied armies was not only numerically great, but many men of mark in every degree of rank had fallen. Death had not only been busy in the trench, and on the hill-side, but in the tent also. Cholera was rife, and numbered many victims among the officers and men of all the armies on the plateau and the plain, during the month of June. As this pestilence lingered in the armies during their occupation of the Crimea, it was apprehended that the hot month of June would afford it scope, and this apprehension was unhappily confirmed. The Sardinian army of 15,000 men lost 1000 in three weeks. General Marmora, brother to the commander-in-chief of the Sardinian army, was one of its victims; several of Omar Pasha's most promising officers succumbed to its power; the French, especially those encamped in the valley of the Tchernaya, lost many men and officers; and the British also contributed their proportion to this silent and insatiate foe.

The death of gallant officers during the month was signal. Young men of the highest promise, both in the naval and military service of England, perished. Such men as Lyons and Kidd were to be regretted, if only for the moral effect of their loss. General Sir John Campbell, Colonel Yea, and many others were struck down, when the hope of the army was directed to them; and this black month of death, in the history of the Crimean campaign, was terminated by the sudden removal of the English chief—Lord Raglan was also numbered among the offerings which his country sacrificed on the altar of victory. Before detailing the circumstances of his decease, we shall

present to the reader brief notices of a few officers of humbler rank who died in the country's service.

On the 24th June Major-general Estcourt, lieutenant-general of the British army, was numbered among the dead. He died after an illness of nine days. Few men ever held such a position who were more respected and beloved. He was an amiable and good man, but not a military genius, or even military talent. His powers were common-place; his virtues were common-place. Six days before he allowed himself to be considered ill he was under the influence of diarrhoea, which then assumed the symptoms of cholera. For three days he struggled with this new type of the disease; but although he was a man of great physical power, he was vanquished in the struggle. His wife and another female relative attended upon him, and were permitted to give him the earthly consolations of his parting moments. Lord Raglan and the whole staff of the army took his death greatly to heart, and a profound impression seemed to pervade the whole of the allied hosts. General Estcourt's high position made him of course well known to the officers of all the allied armies, and to many of the men, and his virtues were embalmed in the country's memory—

"Sad, silent, and dark be the tears that we shed,  
Like the night-dew that falls on the grass of the head."

Lieutenant Thomas Molyneux Graves, of the Royal Engineers, was one of those who died on the 18th of June; he was the eldest son of John Samuel Graves, Esq., barrister-at-law, Castledawson, county of Derry, and Burlington Street, Bath; grandson of General Sir Thomas Molyneux, of Castledillon, Ireland, and of Admiral Samuel Graves; and grandnephew of Admiral Sir Thomas Graves, K.C.B. He

in 1830, and after a suitable scholastic career, he entered the Royal Engineers. He volunteered from Gibraltar in the summer of 1854, accompanied the British army into Turkey, and thence to the Crimea, where he was present in all the early engagements of the campaign, and endured the hardships of the trenches with uncommon courage and cheerfulness. His labours continued up to the 10th of June, 1855; when he fell whilst conducting one of the scaling-parties in the attack on the Redan. When found, his body lay near that of the gallant Sir J. Campbell, and both were covered with wounds. Lieutenant Graves, and Lieutenant Lowry, his cousin, were interred near the Redan, on the 19th, in the grave-yard of the Royal Engineers, where their fellow-officers shortly afterwards raised an humble tomb to their memory.

Lieutenant Thomas Osborne Kidd, R.N., of Her Majesty's ship *Albion*, was one of the most brave and humane officers that served Her Majesty by land or sea. He fell on the 18th of June, while serving in the Naval Brigade before Sebastopol. He was a native of the city of Armagh, and the eldest son of Joseph Kidd, Esq., barrister-at-law, and Mary Anna, daughter of the late Thomas Morgril, Esq., also a barrister, of Tullilease, in the county of Cork. Lieutenant Kidd entered the navy at the age of fourteen, and at the time of his death had nearly completed a cycle of ten years, the latter part of which was passed in service on foreign stations. In the spring of 1846, he sailed in the *Dido*, 18, Captain Balfour Maxwell, for New Zealand, going out by the Cape of Good Hope, and the Indian Archipelago, and returning, after three years, by Cape Horn. In the following year he departed for the West Indies, on board the *Wellesley*, 72, bearing the flag of Admiral the Earl of Dundonald, and afterwards in the *Helena*, 18, Commander De la Roche. Under this excellent officer he served five years, and became familiar with the coasts and harbours on that station, from Newfoundland to British Guiana, returning to England in 1851, a thorough and most accomplished seaman. He now applied himself to the more scientific branches of his profession, first passing through the *Excellent* gunnery ship, and afterwards studying in the Naval College at Portsmouth, where he obtained first-class certificates in all the branches relating to steam, navigation, gunnery, &c. In June, 1853, he was appointed to the *Highflyer*, 21, Captain Boscawen, as gunnery-mate, and sailed for the Ionian Archipelago, having visited Venice, Corfu, &c., showing, in the admirable letters he wrote home at that time, the delight he experienced in visiting those scenes. During part of his cruise, the *Highflyer* had on board the Countess of Carlisle, then engaged on his eastern

tour. At the bombardment of Odessa, Mr. Kidd commanded one of the rocket-boats; on that occasion he wrote, "Pulling close in shore to get a few sure shots at them, two 12-pounder field-pieces opened upon us from among the houses along the beach, about 150 yards off; in a moment the water was boiling around us with grape and case-shot. It was odd to see them loading away, and the next instant to hear the whiz over your head, and the splash at the other side of you. I felt the spray on my cheek; I consider it my *bâtême du feu*. I have enjoyed nothing so much since that hunt I had in my midshipman's jacket, after I was paid off in the *Dido*. We pulled under the *Sampson* for protection, but it was some time before she could thunder them into silence." He was next present at the reduction of Redout Kaleh, by Sir E. Lyons. In the month of June his commission of lieutenant rewarded him for his conduct at Odessa, and he was thereupon removed to the *Sanspareil*. He was shortly after summoned to the *Britannia*, 120, as acting gunnery-lieutenant, and served in her during the embarkation and landing of the troops in the Crimea. At this time he expressed in his correspondence the pleasure it occasioned him in having for messmates Mr. Layard, the author of "Eothen," and William Howard Russell, the *Times*' correspondent. From this period his letters evinced the lively interest he took in the movements of the allied armies, up to the bombardment of the forts on the 17th of October, which afforded him the opportunity he so much desired of sharing in the operations of the troops. He was among the first to volunteer for the Naval Brigade, and passed his first watch in the trenches early in the month of December. His perseverance and zeal never abated under the rigours of the winter or the fatigues of the siege. After having escaped the perils of four bombardments, and after passing unscathed through the fearful struggle of the 18th of June, he finally laid down his life, not merely in the presence of the enemy, but in the performance of an act which places his name and memory in the foremost ranks of those who, inspired with a sublime devotion, have died martyrs to heaven-born heroism and humanity. It would be easy to multiply letters and despatches written on the occasion of his death, but the following must suffice:—Captain Sir Stephen Lushington, R.N., in an official despatch to Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, G.C.B., wrote, "Sir—It is with extreme regret I have to report the death of Lieutenant Kidd, who fell on the 18th instant. After bringing the remains of his party safely into the trenches, he again returned to the open to recover some wounded men, and in this gallant act of devotion to his duty he was shot through the body

with a rifle-ball, and died shortly after reaching the camp. Lieutenant Kidd was an honour to the brigade, and her majesty's service has lost one of its most promising young officers." The amiable and loving spirit of this officer may be judged from the following letter to his mother:—"I have written my letter so close that I am at a loss to fill up the last page. If I wrote to any of my friends, I should have to say just the same things over again that I have written to you; but to none, dear mamma, in the world could my words be intended to convey the warm affection which I owe and retain for you and the dear ones at home. I remember, in some of your letters long ago, you used to think that I seemed to outgrow your claims; but I trust and know, now that I am a man, that such can never, never be. You are my mamma, the same now as in College Street, and at all times my only regret is that I can do little more than tell you what I feel in testimony of my love. I am still a child when I think of you; and I still nightly pray God, in the same words as of old, to make me a good child for Christ's sake. Amen. That comprehends all I wish for—to be a good child to you and papa—it means everything."

Another heroic man who fell during the month was Captain Wray. A monument to his honour, in the city of Dublin, affords by its inscription an elegant and brief testimony to his worth. It was erected to the memory of this gallant soldier, in the elegant little chapel of St. Stephen, Upper Mount Street. It is of white marble, and the inscription is as follows:—"Sacred to the memory of the late Captain Jackson Wray, of the 88th Connaught Rangers, who fell before Sebastopol on the night of the 7th of June, 1855, after the storming, and while holding the Russian advanced works, well known as the Quarries. This tablet is erected to his memory by his mourning and deeply afflicted parents, Hugh Boyd Wray and Anne Wray, as a record of their heartfelt sorrow for a dearly beloved and only child, and as a memorial of all he was to them as a fond, dutiful son, and of the worth, true courage, and unaffected piety, by which he was distinguished, as a friend, a gentleman, a soldier, and a Christian.

'We mourn for one whose honoured name will stand  
Foremost amid the valiant of the land;  
Yet, better far, we know to him 'twas given  
To be the soldier of his Lord in heaven.'

'They shall be mine, saith the Lord, in the day that I make up my jewels.'—Malachi iii. 17." Above this inscription is sculptured in relief a soldier of the 88th, in a mourning attitude, standing over the colours of the regiment, a drum, and other insignia of war. On the upper border of the tablet are the words "Crimea—Alma—Inkerman," and beneath

the whole is the Wray crest, with the family motto in Norman-French—"Et Justo Wray."

We have selected the names of these officers because their rank in the army was humble, the names of those of more exalted rank have received such an extensive tribute of respect through the pages of our periodical literature, that it is but just to notice those who filled a less prominent place in the public attention, but were not less worthy of public regard.

The death of Lord Raglan, although it had no very important effect upon the progress of the subsequent character of the siege, is too remarkable an event not to receive some extended notice in a History of the War. A memoir of this officer's services, and estimates of his military character and aptitudes, have been already given in our pages; we only need, therefore, to notice the circumstances attending his funeral.

Shortly after the death of General Estcourt Lord Raglan became seriously ill. The death of his friend the adjutant-general, the loss of many men and officers on the 18th, his impaired confidence in the talents and prudence of Pelissier, the disheartening effect of defeat, his apprehension of what the public impression would be in England, fatigue, anxiety, and age,—all produced their effect, and prepared him for the stealthy approach of the formidable enemy which struck so many blows within his own camp. Cholera, preceded by premonitory diarrhoea, which, according to General Estcourt's case, and in almost all the fatal cases, was neglected, deprived the English army of its chief. His last public act was the issuing of the following general order:—

"The field-marshal has the satisfaction in publishing to the army the following extract from a telegraphic despatch from Lord Panmure, dated the 22nd of June:—

"'I have her majesty's commands to express her grief that so much bravery should not have been rewarded with merited success, and to assure her brave troops that her majesty's confidence in them is entire.'"

Soon after this order became known to the army, the electric telegraph brought from the head-quarters to the different divisional camps the following:—

Sebastopol, June 21

"It becomes my most painful duty to announce to the army the death of its beloved commander, Field-marshal Lord Raglan, G.C., which melancholy event took place last night about nine o'clock. In the absence of Lieutenant-general Sir George Brown, the command of the troops devolves on me, as the next senior officer present, until further orders be

received from England. Generals of divisions and heads of departments will be pleased to direct their respective duties as heretofore.

"J. SIMPSON, *Lieutenant-general*."

The feeling throughout the English camp created by this intelligence was thus laconically communicated by Mr. Russell:—"There is a great feeling of regret evinced throughout the camp at the loss of Lord Raglan. His death seems to have at once stilled every other feeling but that of respect for his memory, and remembrance of the many long years he faithfully and untiringly served his country." The arrangements for Lord Raglan's funeral were such as to do all possible honour to the great chief. They were thus described by General Simpson, in a letter to the War-office:

"I have the honour to acquaint your lordship that the remains of our late lamented Commander-in-chief, Field-marshal Lord Raglan, were removed from head-quarters to Kazatch Bay on Tuesday, the 3rd instant, and placed on board her majesty's ship *Caradoc*, which departed for England that same evening.

Nothing could be more imposing than the whole line of this melancholy procession. The day was fine, and the appearance of the allied troops splendid. As many as could be spared were in duty in the trenches, and with safety to the camp, were collected, and the procession moved from the door of this house exactly at 10 a.m., in the following order:—

In the court-yard of the house was stationed a guard of honour of 100 men of the Grenadier Guards, with their drums and regimental colours; fifty men, with one field-officer, one captain, and one subaltern, from the Royal Sappers and Miners and from each regiment, led the road from the British to the French head-quarters—a distance of about a mile; a squadron of cavalry was stationed on the right of the line, two batteries of artillery and a squadron of cavalry on the left of it; the infantry were commanded by Major-general Clarke, C.B.

The road from the French head-quarters to Kazatch Bay was lined throughout the whole way by the infantry of the French Imperial Guard and of the 1st corps; bands were stationed at intervals and played as the procession passed, and field-batteries (French) at intervals, on the high grounds right and left of the road, fired minute guns.

The procession to escort the body was as follows:—

Two squadrons of British Cavalry (12th Lancers).  
Two squadrons of Piedmontese Light Cavalry.  
Four squadrons of French Chasseurs d'Afrique (2nd and 4th regiments.)

Four squadrons of French Cuirassiers (2nd and 9th regiments).

Two troops of French Horse Artillery.

Major Brandling's troop of Horse Artillery.

The coffin, covered with a black pall, fringed with white silk, and the union jack, and surmounted by the late Field-marshal's cocked-hat and sword, and a garland of 'Immortels,' placed there by General Pelissier, was carried on a platform, fixed upon a 9-pounder gun, drawn by horses of Captain Thomas's troop Royal Horse Artillery.

At the wheels of the gun-carriage rode General Pelissier, commander-in-chief of the French army; his highness Omar Pasha, commander-in-chief of the Ottoman army; General Della Marmora, commander-in-chief of the Sardinian army; and Lieutenant-general Simpson, commander-in-chief of the English army.

Charger of the late Field-marshal, led by two mounted orderlies.

Relations and personal Staff of the late Field-marshal.

Generals and other officers of the French, Sardinian, and Turkish armies, a large number of whom attended.

British Commissioners to Foreign armies.

British General Officers and their Staffs.

Staff of Head-quarters.

One officer of each regiment of Cavalry and Infantry; Royal Sappers and Miners, and Land Transport Corps; two from the Naval Brigade, Royal Marines, Medical and Commissariat Staff, and three from the Royal Artillery.

Personal escorts of the allied Commanders-in-chief.

The personal escort of the late Field-marshal (Captain Chetwode's troop of the 8th Hussars). A field-battery of the Royal Artillery.

Two squadrons of British Cavalry (4th Dragoon Guards).

Detachment of mounted Staff Corps.

The escort was under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Dupuis, Royal Horse Artillery.

Two field-batteries of the Royal Artillery, stationed on the hill opposite the house, fired a salute of nineteen guns when the procession moved off.

The united bands of the 3rd, 9th, and 62nd regiments, stationed in the vineyard that surrounds the house, played the 'Dead March.'

The band of the Sardinian Grenadiers was stationed half way to the French head-quarters, and the band of the 10th Hussars on the left of the line.

The approach to the wharf at Kazatch Bay was lined by detachments of the Royal Marines and sailors.

The body was received on the wharf by Admiral Bruat and Rear-admiral Stewart, C.B.,

and a large number of officers of the combined fleets. The launch of the British flagship, towed by men-of-war boats, conveyed the coffin to the *Caradoc*, the boats of the combined fleets forming an escort; and the troop and battery of the Royal Artillery included in the escort formed upon the rising ground above the bay, and fired a salute of nineteen guns as the coffin left the shore.

Everything was well conducted, and no accident occurred.

Thus terminated the last honours that could be paid by his troops to their beloved commander. His loss to us here is inexpressible, and will, I am sure, be equally felt by his country at home. The sympathy of our allies is universal and sincere. His name and memory are all that remain to animate us in the difficulties and dangers to which we may be called."

The *Caradoc*, in which his lordship embarked from England and arrived in the East, was, by one of those strange coincidences which sometimes occur, the ship which bore his remains from the Crimea to his native land, in which they were destined to be laid.

The sight by land and sea was picturesque and imposing. The varied uniforms of four armies glistening in the bright July sun, the dull sound of the muffled drums and the minute-guns, the plaintive music of the French bands as the instruments seemed to wail forth their melancholy music,—all combined to produce an effect upon the imagination most peculiar. In the harbour the scene was equally striking. Boats covered its entire surface; these were filled with seamen, whose appearance, clad in white frocks and bearing uplifted oars, produced a strange impression. As the boat bore his remains away, the guns of the allied hosts thundered forth a sublime farewell over the tranquil waters, and the cliffs echoed the parting salutation.

Sir George Brown was second in command, but he was ordered by a medical board to return home, and that day, some hours before the decease of his chief, he had embarked. He thus, after all his hard fighting and toil, lost the honour of commanding the army, to which, by seniority, he was entitled. On the 1st of July a telegraphic message from England confirmed Sir James Simpson in the command.

We have in the course of this History treated with justice of the virtues and defects of Lord Raglan as commander-in-chief. Some have thought that his decease in the service of his country ought to silence all criticism as to his command, but probity forbids this. We concur in the language of the *Times* upon this subject, written in defence of its own just estimate of his command:—"Lord Raglan holds the first place in these transactions. The

respect paid to one who is dead, who died, if not on the field of battle, at any rate surrounded by the dangers and responsibilities of war, has hitherto closed the mouth of critics. But the maxim of speaking only good of the dead may be carried too far. In the first moment of a family's grief, in the first day of a nation's natural regret for an old and honest soldier who has died in its cause, it is certain well to be reserved and merciful. But commander-in-chief is an historical character; his doings for good or ill are legitimate subjects of discussion, and the lapse of a year precludes the appearance of unseemly attacks on a newly-raised tomb."

General Pelissier put forth the following order of the day upon the morning of the 19th of June, in which a handsomely-expressed tribute is paid to the merits of the departed hero:—

"Death has just surprised in his command Field-marshal Lord Raglan, and has plunged the English army in grief. We share the regrets of our brave allies. Those who know Lord Raglan, who were acquainted with the history of his noble life, so pure, so rich in services rendered to his country—those who witnessed his bravery on the fields of Alma and Inkerman, who remember the calm and stately grandeur of his character during this severe and memorable campaign,—all men of heart, in fact, must deplore the loss of such a man. The sentiments which the commander-in-chief expresses are those of the whole army. He himself severely feels this unforeseen blow. The public sorrow falls more heavily upon him as he has the additional regret of being forever separated from a companion in arms whose cordial spirit he loved, whose virtues he admired, and in whom he always found loyal and hearty co-operation."

A still more fervent tribute of respect to his memory was paid by the enemy. Lord Raglan was no enemy to Russia, he saw his country involved in war with that power with deep personal regret. His political opinions and sympathies were not anti-Russian, except in far as duty constrained; he had more sympathy with the czar than with the French emperor, with Russia than with France. It is no matter of surprise, therefore, that the organs of the Russian government should do him honour. In *Le Nord* the following estimate of his character and expression of respect for his memory and remains was published soon after his decease:—"Lord Raglan has died; during the entire period of the command of this not general, he succeeded in conciliating the esteem and respect not only of those with whom his nation was allied, but also of the enemy whom he was opposed. He was one of

of the heroes of that glorious English war which, under the command of the Duke of Wellington, illustrated the English name on many battle-fields, and of which the few remaining veterans bore on their breast, till death, the honourable tokens. Lord Raglan was, on several occasions, distinguished by the Emperor Nicholas, as also by the reigning Emperor. He will be personally regretted in Russia by all who had an opportunity of knowing and appreciating the nobleness of his sentiments and the uprightness of his character. As a subject, he performed his duty obeying the command of his sovereign; and as a soldier, he valiantly defended the honour of his flag; but even in the execution of his duty he preserved unblemished to his death his personal dignity and that of his country. He has fallen, like so many others, a victim to this disastrous war. Honoured be his memory, and respected be his grave, which will be as sacred on the soil of Russia as on that of England; and, while pointing to it, no Russian will refuse to say, '*Siste, viator, heroem calces.*'" The extraordinary loss of life in June by peace and battle, rendered many changes necessary in the general staff of the army. *Burn's United Service Magazine* gave the following list of changes consequent on the vicissitudes of that disastrous month:—

Major-general Barnard succeeds General Anefather in the command of the Second Division.

Major-general Codrington gets the Light Division, vice Sir George Brown.

Colonel Van Straubenzee (the Buffs) takes command of the First Brigade, Light Division. Colonel the Hon. A. Spencer, 44th Regiment, takes command of the First Brigade, 4th Division, with the pay and allowance of a colonel on the staff, until Her Majesty's pleasure is known.

Colonel Barlow, 14th Regiment, will for the present take command of the First Brigade, 3rd Division.

The 3rd and 31st Regiments join the Second Division.

The 72nd joins the First Division.

The 13th Regiment is attached to the Fourth Division, but will for the present remain for duty at Balaklava.

Captain R. Luard, 77th Regiment, is placed on the staff of the army to act as Deputy-adjutant-general, or Deputy-assistant-quartermaster-general, as his services may be required. He is, for the present, attached to headquarters.

Lieutenant-colonel Hon. W. Pakenham succeeds General Estcourt."

These arrangements subsequently underwent other changes—a few officers having arrived

in the Crimea from home, and some invalids arriving from Scutari, Constantinople, and Malta. Finally, General Simpson completed the organisation of his staff, and the divisional and brigade arrangements were as follow:—

**FIRST DIVISION.**—Lieutenant-general Lord Rokeby.

First Brigade:—3rd battalion Grenadier Guards; 1st battalion Coldstreams; 1st battalion Scots Fusilier Guards; 56th. Brigadier-general Crauford.

Second Brigade:—9th; 13th; 31st; 2nd battalion Rifles. Brigadier, Colonel Ridley.

**HIGHLAND DIVISION.**—Lieut.-general Sir Colin Campbell.

First Brigade:—42nd; 72nd; 79th; 93rd. Brigadier-general Cameron.

Second Brigade:—1st and 2nd battalions 1st Royals; 71st; 90th. Brigadier, Colonel Horn.

**SECOND DIVISION.**—Major-general Markham.

First Brigade:—3rd; 30th; 55th; 95th. Brigadier, Colonel Warren.

Second Brigade:—41st; 47th; 49th; 62nd. Brigadier, Colonel Windham (temporary).

**THIRD DIVISION.**—Major-general Eyre. [After General England was invalided in August.]

First Brigade:—4th; 14th; 39th; 50th; 89th. Brigadier-colonel Barlow.

Second Brigade:—18th; 28th; 38th; 44th. Brigadier-general Trollope.

**FOURTH DIVISION.**—Major-general Bentinck.

First Brigade:—17th; 20th; 21st; 57th; 63rd. Brigadier-general the Hon. Spencer.

Second Brigade:—46th; 48th; 68th; 1st battalion Rifles. Brigadier-general Garrett.

**LIGHT DIVISION.**—Lieut.-general Sir W. Codrington.

First Brigade:—7th; 23rd; 33rd; 34th. Brigadier-general Straubenzee.

Second Brigade:—19th; 77th; 88th; 97th. Brigadier-general Shirley.

**CAVALRY.**—Lieutenant-general Sir James Yorke Scarlett.

First (Heavy) Brigade:—1st Dragoon Guards; 4th Dragoon Guards; 5th Dragoon Guards; 1st Dragoons; 2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys); 6th (Enniskillen) Dragoons. Brigadier-general Laurensen.

Second (Light) Brigade:—4th Light Dragoons; 13th Light Dragoons; 12th Lancers; 6th Dragoon Guards. Brigadier-general Lord George Paget.

Third (Hussar) Brigade:—8th Hussars; 10th Hussars; 11th Hussars; 17th Lancers. Brigadier-general Parley.

During the month of July, cholera continued to harass the allied armies, and several in the naval batteries fell under its power. Diarrhoea, dysentery, and Crimean fever also numbered their victims, and several men in almost every corps died of exhaustion from overtasked energies. The aggregate numbers that perished during June and July, from all these causes, were such as to cause painful anxieties. No rank was spared—from the commissariat, or land-transport labourer, to the adjutant-general and the commander-in-chief, the British army severely suffered.

Both French and English pushed on their works with vigour, so that while the siege appeared to be progressing but slowly, it was, in fact, rapidly advancing to its grand finale. The pick and the spade were now the implements most relied on. The French worked on towards the Malakoff, the English towards the Redan; the soil did not favour either, but the English, in this respect, had the hardest

task, the rocky nature of the ground in which they had to excavate their approaches bid defiance to their utmost exertions to proceed with the rapidity of their allies, and in some places rendered it difficult for them to proceed at all. As the works advanced nearer to those of the enemy, the loss of life from his artillery and rifles increased. There were occasional heavy cannonades, and the Russians made several sorties on a minor scale, which were invariably repulsed. These sorties were so identical in their *modus operandi* with those already related that it is unnecessary to dwell upon them. The Russians preserved their characteristic vigilance, and worked with their wonted industry. The approaches were pertinaciously extended by the allies, and the defence as obstinately maintained.

On the 10th of July, a heavy fire was opened upon the Redan, which the enemy severely felt, many guns and embrasures were shattered, and many men were killed. Batteries were erected by the French and British to cannonade the Russian ships, whose fire was so destructive to our advancing columns on the 18th of June; but little damage was inflicted by these batteries, and the ships were able on the next assault to sweep the ground in front of the Russian works. On the 10th of July, General Simpson addressed the following despatch to the British War-office:—

"I have the honour to inclose the return of casualties to the 8th inst. Your lordship will regret to see that the lists of killed and wounded are heavy; but the nearer we approach the defences of the place the greater number of casualties must be expected. Bre-vet-major Harrison, 63rd regiment, was killed on the evening of the 7th inst., while proceeding to the trenches; he was a most excellent officer, and is a serious loss to her majesty's service. It will give your lordship sincere pleasure to mark the improvement in the general health of the troops. At 5 o'clock this morning a heavy fire was opened upon the Redan by the allied batteries."

Immediately after this, on July 12th, General Barnard was appointed to the post of chief of the staff—a position from which General Simpson should never have been moved, for he was well adapted for it, although wholly unfitted intellectually and physically for the command in chief. General Simpson was neither a vain nor ambitious man—he did not desire so eminent a place in the British army; but he was a favourite of Lord Panmure, who was no great judge of the qualifications necessary for high command, and he was supported by Lord Hardinge, the commander-in-chief at home, who was generally ready to support the wishes, if not the views, of those high in

authority. General Simpson did his zealously and conscientiously to sustain the responsibilities which were thrust upon him, he received very efficient aid from General Barnard. The post vacated by General Estlin was filled by the Hon. Lieutenant-colonel Pakenham, a brave and gallant soldier, somewhat aristocratical—the prevailing

of men of personal rank in the British army. On the 11th of July Omar Pasha, discontented with the wretched generalship which on the part of the French and English commanders, Pelissier and Simpson, as well as Canrobert and Raglan, doomed him to uselessness and inactivity at Eupatoria, proposed to lead his Turkish army against the Russians in Asia, and relieve the sultan's armies threatened from the superior forces by which they were threatened. On the 15th the allied general held a council before Sebastopol to take Omar Pasha's proposals into consideration. Even the commanders were ignorant of the condition of things in Asia Minor. Simpson was much influenced by Omar Pasha's arguments, and showed capacity to apprehend the modern procedure of Asiatic armies and peoples; while he appreciated the plans and proposals of the pasha, he did not possess vigour of mind sufficient to support Omar against the objections of Pelissier, who seemed incapable of extending his mental vision beyond the confines of Sebastopol. With great difficulty the Turkish general persuaded the French commander that 25,000 Turks might, by marching in the direction of Tiflis, effect a favourable diversion for the Turkish army of Asia. Still, although obtaining a reluctant assent to his proposals under conditions that deprived it of much of force, he could not put his plans into practice, so obstructive were the apathy of Simpson and the obstacles raised by Pelissier.

Had a part of the surplus force around Sebastopol been placed at the disposal of the Turkish general, he could have, at least, effected a diversion from Eupatoria, as a base of operations, of the utmost importance in the decision of the contest. The impression that an advance could not advance from Eupatoria because of the deficient supply of water was erroneous.

On the 17th of July General Simpson wrote to the British War-office, supplying information concerning certain omissions in the despatches of his predecessor. Justice to deserving officers demands the insertion of the inclosures with the general's letter contained:—

"I have the honour to submit for your lordship's information the accompanying letter from Lieutenant-colonel Campbell, 90th regiment, the one referring to his personal services and the other to those of a party of the regiment, on the occasion of the capture of

carries in front of the Redan on the night of the 7th ult. With regard to Lieutenant-colonel Campbell's own services, I think it right to inform your lordship that I find, upon inquiry, that the charge of holding the Quarries on the night in question, and of repelling the repeated attacks of the enemy, was confided to that officer after he had led the assault, and was, in fact, a separate and detached command from that of Colonel Shirley, who acted as general on the day in the trenches of the right attack; the despatch of the late Field-marshal Lord Raglan has already shown how admirably that duty was performed by the brave men who were under the immediate direction of Lieutenant-colonel Campbell. The lieutenant-colonel's letter, recording the good conduct of the party of the 55th regiment, speaks for itself."

Lieutenant-colonel Campbell's letter was written from the camp of the light division, and was to this effect:—

"The despatch of the late lamented Field-marshal Lord Raglan, of the 9th of June, mentions that I commanded the storming-party on the Quarries on the evening of the 7th of June. May I beg most respectfully that you will bring it to the notice of Lieutenant-general Simpson, commanding the forces, that I not only had the honour of commanding the storming-party, but that, having been twice wounded in the assault, I retained the sole and undivided command in the Quarries, not only of the original attacking force and supports, but of all reinforcements during the whole night, until relieved at 7 A.M. on the 8th? The despatches must have explained already that the enemy made several desperate efforts during the night to regain the works, and that on three occasions overpowering numbers succeeded in retreating, but were, on all occasions, driven back at the point of the bayonet. The entire night was, indeed, one continued struggle for position, the fatigue and anxiety of which have never recovered from. When Lord Raglan's despatch was completed, I have reason to suppose his lordship had not received details, as my own report to Colonel Shirley, general of the trenches, was unavoidably delayed in consequence of my wounds and not being able to write. In justice to myself, conscious of having performed an important duty to the best of my ability, and successfully, I now respectfully submit this statement to the commander of the forces, with the hope that you may be pleased to have my services on this occasion mentioned and particularised. At least several officers have equal praise in the despatch who were not in the Quarries at all."

Colonel Shirley, who commanded in the trenches on the night of the 7th of June, thus

addressed the military secretary. His letter was General Simpson's second inclosure:—

"I have the honour of forwarding the inclosed letter for the consideration of the lieutenant-general commanding the forces; but I beg to remark that in my report of the occurrences on the night of the 7th of June, I took care to mention the services of the 55th regiment, which appear to have been overlooked in the late field-marshal's despatch."

The third inclosure was a letter from Colonel Campbell to Colonel Shirley:—

"I beg to draw your attention to the inadvertent omission in Lord Raglan's despatch of the 9th of June of any mention of the 55th regiment as sharing in the attack and defence of the Quarries during the night of the 7th of June. I did not mention the regiment in my report, as they were not given over to me as part of the attacking-party; but the officer commanding the party informs me that they being originally told off as a working-party, were directed by the engineer (Captain Browne) to throw down their tools, and that they were moved by you as a support to Egerton's rifle-pit, whence they moved to support the attacking-party, and did good service in clearing the Russian trenches and in the defence throughout the night, as their severe list of killed and wounded attests (53 out of 160), many of the former not being found until the flag of truce, when their bodies were found in the trenches they had gained. The officer in command of the party (Captain, now Major Cure) reports that the gallant conduct of Lieutenant Stone, who was killed at the head of his men, charging the Russians in their trench with the bayonet, and of Captain Elton, who, with a small body of men, formed a covering-party on the right to those who were reversing the trench, is particularly deserving of mention, as is that also of Lieutenants Scott and Williams, who were most active in performing their duties. I hope that the commander of the forces may deem this statement sufficiently satisfactory to enable him to move in the subject."

On the 7th of July, General Simpson wrote to Lord Panmure as follows:—

"I have the honour to transmit herewith the nominal and numerical return of casualties in this army from the 13th to the 15th instant; also the weekly report of the inspector-general of hospitals, which will be most gratifying to your lordship, as showing a steady decrease in the number of cases of spasmodic cholera. I have but little to report to your lordship; our siege operations are steadily progressing. Last night, about 11 o'clock, a sortie was made by the enemy on the right of the French works,

in front of the Mamelon; the cannonade and fire of musketry were exceedingly heavy; but I have not as yet been made acquainted with any particulars of the attack. I regret to have to announce to your lordship the death of Captain Rowland A. Fraser, of the 42nd Highlanders, a very talented young officer, who was killed in the trenches of the right attack last night by the splinter of a shell."

The sortie against the French, noticed in the last despatch, was characterised by no unusual occurrence; the object of the enemy was to spike the guns in the French attack, indicated in the despatch, in which attempt they were unsuccessful. The following despatch, dated 21st of July, refers to operations from which much hope was entertained, but which dwindled into mere reconnaissances:—

"I have great pleasure to inform your lordship that the health of the army has greatly improved; cholera has greatly disappeared, and, although more sickness has appeared among the officers, it is not of that character to cause uneasiness. With reference to the exterior army, the Russians hold their strong position on the M'Kenzie Heights, extending by Aitodor to Albat, with advanced posts by Chouli, Ogenbash, and the strong range of heights overhanging Urkusta and the valley of Baidar. It is reported they have also a force of artillery and infantry at Aloupka. The French have pushed forward the whole of their cavalry into the valley of Baidar, resting upon the Sardinians, upon the left bank of the Souhai River, and communicating with the French upon the Tchernaya, while the high ridge protecting Balaklava is guarded by the Turkish army. I purpose sending four squadrons of light cavalry into the valley of Baidar tomorrow, to protect and afford convoys to the commissariat for the purpose of bringing in forage and supplies for the use of the army. Major-general Markham arrived on the 19th instant, and agreeably to the instructions conveyed in your lordship's telegraphic message, I have appointed him to the command of the second division. Sir Stephen Lushington, K.C.B., having been promoted to the rank of admiral, has been relieved in the command of the Naval Brigade by Captain the Honourable Henry Keppel. I take this opportunity of recording my sense of the ability and zeal with which he has throughout conducted his arduous and responsible situation of commanding the Naval Brigade, which has rendered such excellent service in our batteries. I beg also to report to your lordship that Mr. Commissary-general Filder has been obliged to relinquish the command of his important department, and will have to return to England upon the recom-

mendation of a medical board. I inclose list of casualties to the 19th inst."

The arrival of General Markham, referred to in the above despatch, was considered by the army an auspicious event, as much expected from the general's high military reputation. At the siege of Mooltan he displayed great skill at the head of a brigade, and perhaps few officers of the British army were better fitted for divisional command. He landed in the Crimea, exhausted with fatigue, having made desperate efforts to arrive from India with celerity, in consequence of official information that the country had much need of his services. As he was unable, from the state of his health, to render any very active service in the Crimea, but was obliged to return home in two months after his arrival, and died a month after his landing in England, we shall take occasion at this place to give a brief notice of his career. When he arrived at the theatre of war he had only entered on his fiftieth year. He was the second son of Admiral John Markham, son of Dr. Markham, Archbishop of York. He entered the army as ensign in the 32nd regiment in May, 1824, and had seen considerable service in North America and the East Indies during his military career. He was with his regiment during the rebellion in Canada in 1837, and was wounded in four places at the action of Dennis, and was afterwards placed for a short time on the staff. General Markham then accompanied the 32nd regiment to the East Indies, as lieutenant-colonel, and served in the Peshawar campaign in 1848-49. He also commanded the second infantry brigade at the first and second siege operations before Mooltan, where he was wounded; also a division at the action of Soojkoond, when the enemy's position was carried, and seven guns taken, and the Bengal column at the storming and capture of the city of Mooltan in January, 1849. The gallant deceased was also present at the surrender of the fort and garrison of Cheulot, commanded a brigade at the battle of Gujerat. Soon after he was appointed Adjutant-general, which appointment he held on the staff till he obtained his promotion as major-general. General Markham was then appointed to the command at Peshawur, but when within two days' journey to assume his command, he was recalled, in order to take the command of a division of the army in the Crimea. The gallant officer performed—such was his energy—his journey to Calcutta in the unexampled space of eighteen days, during the hot season; and it was from the excessive fatigue and anxiety of that journey that it is feared the seeds of his fatal illness arose. On his arrival in the Crimea he took the command of the second division formerly commanded by General Pennefather.

commanded that division at the attack on Redan, just preceding the fall of Sebastopol, which he was just able to witness when health became so precarious that he was sent home. He was a Companion of the Order of the Bath, had received the appointment of aide-de-camp to her majesty, was in receipt of a reward for distinguished services, and had a medal for the Punjaub.

Noting the deaths which the months of June and July had already added to the long line of victims from cholera and other epidemic and malarious diseases, was that of Colonel Vico, medical commissioner in the British army. He died of cholera, greatly regretted by both armies. His death was followed by that of another officer, Mr. Cattle (he usually went by the name of Cattle, the latter being his real name). He was an excellent Russian scholar, and employed as interpreter and confidential agent to the commander-in-chief.

On the date of July 12th, Mr. Russell makes the following remarks:—"The French and Russians have finally returned from their reconnaissance, and the country about Baidar is now in the hands of the Cossacks. The quantity of cattle driven in by them is very large. The beasts, though not of the large breeds to which we are accustomed to in England, are finer and better fed than those obtained in Asia Minor—at least, as they reach us after a voyage across the Black Sea. According to the observations of the scientific officers who accompanied this reconnaissance, there is no point towards the Belbek; and now, on the Russian position, from Inkerman to Sebastopol, is considered all but hopeless. It seems as if she had constructed the position they occupy as a vast defensible position, which 50,000 men may hold against four times their number."

Then, at a later period, Southern Sebastopol and the allied generals acted upon the impression conveyed in this extract from Mr. Russell's report, who received the opinion from the officers of Engineers. The enterprise was very little indebted to that branch of the military of our great ally, notwithstanding the sustained high reputation of the French engineers; and there is no doubt that the reports they made of the character of the Russian country deterred the allied chiefs from acting upon "the army without," both before and after the taking of Southern Sebastopol, on the ground of the inaccessibility of the position, and the want of water supply, which had previously made the ground of inactivity at Sebastopol, as before shown. We have the opinion of an eminent engineer in the Russian army, who is well acquainted with the whole ground around Sebastopol and Eupatoria, and

with the Crimea generally, as to the feasibility of operating against the Russian army in the field both before and after the fall of Southern Sebastopol, and he represents the French engineering staff as acting upon an erroneous judgment in reference to the topography of the theatre of action, and the positions held by the enemy. By Baidar an advance was certainly impossible; but the allies were not shut up to that line of operation. This subject we shall discuss thoroughly when the conduct of the allied generals in September and October comes under review.

By the 15th of July the French had so energetically pushed forward their works, that they approached the abatis of the Malakoff. It was discovered that this abatis would prove a formidable obstruction in an assault, being formed of trunks of trees, six feet high. The Russians laboured night and day to render it a still more formidable impediment to our allies. On the night of the 15th, and far into the morning of the 16th, the cannonade was dreadful—both the siege and the defence seemed to throw their entire energy into the contest. The result was considerable loss of life on both sides.

Bitter complaints arose in the English camp hospitals in consequence of the want of mattresses for the wounded, although immense stores of these articles remained useless at the Bosphorus. The people of England about this time were resting under the delusion that the reign of official neglect and incompetency was over. This partly arose from the confidence felt in Lord Palmerston, but his lordship could not be everywhere, and the War-office was only so far improved as his will and the public indignation improved it, although none can deny that Lord Panmure personally desired to do right.

On the 19th the Russians, by more than their usual skill and daring, established rifle-pits in front of the French sap approaching the Malakoff. On the same day the French, observing that the Russians displayed unusual activity on their left, opened a tremendous fire, which appeared to silence every sound, and check every movement in the enemy's works.

Omar Pasha, finding his efforts to obtain the support and co-operation of the allies hopeless, went to Constantinople to engage the Porte in his views. He there found himself beset by the usual intrigues. Many Italian officers volunteered their services—men of skill and courage; but the Austrian embassy opposed their employment, as it did the engagement of Poles and Hungarians in the sultan's service earlier in the war.

On the 21st of July General Simpson published the following order:—

"General Simpson announces to the army that he has had the honour to receive from Her Majesty the Queen the appointment of commander-in-chief of the army in the Crimea.

"The lieutenant-general, though deeply impressed with the responsibility of the position in which he is placed, is most proud of the high and distinguished honour, and of the confidence thus reposed in him by his sovereign.

"It will be the lieutenant-general's duty to endeavour to follow in the steps of his great predecessor, and he feels confident of the support of the generals, and of the officers and soldiers, in maintaining unimpaired the honour and discipline of this noble army."

On this day (as already mentioned in a despatch of the 21st) Captain Lushington, being promoted to the rank of rear-admiral, gave up his command of the Naval Brigade, and was succeeded by Captain the Hon. H. Keppel. Commissary-general Filder was invalided, and succeeded by Sir George Maclean.

Within Sebastopol incidents occurred which were intended to appeal to the fanaticism of its defenders. The following account was sent to the *Invalide Russe* by an officer of the Russian army in the field:—"A great religious solemnity was celebrated yesterday at Sebastopol; with great pomp the town was blessed. The Archbishop of Tauris, Monsignor Innocent, came on purpose for this occasion. Of the many churches of Sebastopol, the Cathedral (so-called) of the Navy was alone in sufficiently good condition for the celebration of service. After high mass, and a funeral service for the brave defenders of the city who fell during the war, the clergy, followed by the congregation, proceeded to the open square, where the blessing was given, which was followed by a *Te Deum*. The archbishop then addressed the multitude in a speech, which elicited the tears of his audience. The number of persons present was not considerable, as nearly the whole of the south part of Sebastopol is still uninhabited. Among those present were Rear-admiral Joukharine, military governor of the town and port; Vice-admiral Panfiloff, recently arrived from Nicolaieff; a few officers, soldiers, and citizens. The prayers were fervent and earnest, as nearly every one present had some relations to mourn for. A ray of hope, however, of a better future illuminated the countenance of each; and a certain enthusiasm was excited when the pious archbishop, turning towards the ruins of Sebastopol, and the spot where so many heroes lie buried, in a voice trembling with emotion, eulogised the self-denial and the patriotism which they displayed during the struggle, and maintained in the midst of the most terrible suffering."

The arrival of the Duke of Newcastle in the

Crimea excited in the allied armies considerable attention. The discussions at home with view to his grace's management at the War-office were connected created curiosity as to the nature of his visit, in which even our allies participated.

Cases of desertion from the enemy became common towards the end of July, and the deserters reported that the garrison was powerfully reinforced, and that an attack upon the extreme right of the allies encamped at Tchernaya was in contemplation.

The month of July closed in the British lines without any other events of an important nature, and on the 31st General Sir George Panmure the last despatch of the month.

"I beg to inclose the list of casualties of the 29th inst., which I regret to say are very heavy. The proximity of our works to those of the enemy, together with the lightness of the nights and rocky nature of the ground making it impossible to obtain rapid movement, materially contributes to such a result notwithstanding which disadvantages our engineers continue steadily, though slowly, to advance in the direction of the Great Idku. An agreeable change has taken place in a few days in the temperature of the weather. Heavy showers of rain have occasionally fallen. Several reconnaissances have been made into the valley of Baidar towards Ozenbash, Aidor, and through the Phoros Pass towards Aloupka, the enemy nowhere appearing in force; but the narrowness of the mountain roads, with the exception of the Woriz, makes it unnecessary for them to alter their concentrated position on the heights of M'Kenzie and plateau of the Belbek."

On the part of our French ally, the news was signalled by the recall of General Canrobert. The first division of infantry, that of which the general took command when he surrendered the supreme control of the army to Pelissier. This division occupied position on the Tchernaya, but on the 4th of July it was moved up to the plateau, and was part in the siege, relieving from trench duty another division. The Baron Bazancourt, "General Canrobert was thus called upon as general of division to concur in an attack which he had been unwilling to execute as general-in-chief!" "The soldiers who followed him with shouts, and appeared to be very much attached to him, that he was no longer the commander-in-chief of the army of the East who passed before them." The general's former position was very difficult for the officers in command to give him orders in the way they would, and this circumstance led to his recall on the 26th of July. On the 4th of August he left the Crimea.

the army and navy paying him the same respect, and firing the same salutes, as to a commander-in-chief.

August opened somewhat auspiciously for the health of all the allied armies. The fierce storms which raged around Sebastopol at the end of July seemed to have some influence on the laws which governed the prevailing diseases, and the medical returns were encouraging. The events of this month were destined to be important. The preparations of the allies for the final assault were completed during its fine autumnal days; a grand battle was to be fought in the field, and fresh losses were to be incurred by death or sickness amongst the gallant officers who held a leading place in the British army. Amongst these the most conspicuous was Lieutenant-general Sir Richard England,

an officer who had the rare faculty of alike gaining the esteem and confidence of those by whom he was commanded and those who acted under his orders; Lord Raglan and General Simpson relied much upon his counsel, and the gallant men of his division were much attached to his person. His care for the health of his soldiers was such that no division lost so little from sickness; and the most heroic achievement of the war, after the battle of Inkerman, was accomplished by the second brigade of his division, on the memorable and inauspicious day of the 18th of June. An extended notice of the services of Sir Richard England, and other officers, must be reserved for a future chapter, as well as the inspiring events which, in August and September, brought the siege of Sebastopol to a fortunate issue.

## CHAPTER XCII.

EVENTS IN THE SUMMER OF 1855.—DISCUSSIONS ON PRINCE ALBERT'S POLITICAL OPINIONS.—MALEVOLENT CONDUCT OF THE GREEKS ON THE DEFEAT OF THE ALLIES.—ARRIVAL OF LORD RAGLAN'S REMAINS IN ENGLAND.—VISIT OF THE KING OF THE BELGIANS TO ENGLAND.—POLICY OF LORD JOHN RUSSELL.—VISIT OF QUEEN VICTORIA TO PARIS.

"Our freedom of discussion and our free press are worth all we ever were, all we are, and all we ever shall be as a nation."—*Times*.

In the last chapter on home events it was necessary, for unity of subject, partly to anticipate what should be again more fully treated. Some topics, therefore, will recur in this chapter which have been previously noticed. Reference was made on a former page to a speech delivered by Prince Albert at the dinner of the Trinity Corporation, in which that illustrious person delivered his views on the political duties of the English monarch in a manner so bold and open as greatly to gratify all who admired the prince for his candour and prudence on political topics. The effect it was expected, would only produce a temporary excitement and be forgotten. It was, however, otherwise, and the indiscretion of the prince, on the general ground of offence. The prince, in fact, was one of the most potent causes of public dissatisfaction with the government, and distrust in the policy with which, under a more trusted premier, the war was conducted. The whole tone of the prince's conduct was most unhappy, and, taking all that recently occurred into account, most inopportune. The English people did not concur in the political doctrines laid down by the prince, nor the practical advice he gave. They had no reason to suppose that a man so particularly qualified to propound constitutional tenets. They did not know any of his previous history which pointed out him as peculiarly fitted to lecture in such

a tone as a people whose experience in constitutionalism was very considerable before he landed on their shores. Saxe-Cobourg, or Saxe-Gotha, or any other petty German principality, affords no high school for the study of the British Constitution. Had his royal highness delivered an oration in the spirit and manner of the premier, when acknowledging the toast which afforded the prince an occasion for his remarks, the speech and the speaker would have made themselves more acceptable to Englishmen. There were many other topics suggested by the place where his royal highness stood, far more appropriate, even when proposing the health of her majesty's ministers, than that of the necessity of secret diplomacy, and unquestioning and unlimited confidence in such advisers as her majesty may think fit to choose. His royal highness set out by informing us that "It is not the way to success in war to support it, however ardently and enthusiastically, and at the same time to tie down and weaken the hands of those who have to conduct it." What had the British people done to deserve this inferential censure? Wherein had they tied down or weakened the hands of those who had to conduct the war? Had they not indignantly protested rather that the hands of the conductors of the war were "tied down" somewhere else, and "weakened" by other agencies and influences? Had not the British people rather said, in the

words of Mr. D'Israeli, "You can have money in any amount; you can have fleets such as never before floated upon the seas; you can have men in any number; but do not betray the country by a weak and vacillating policy, and a weaker execution of it." These words were addressed to the administration of Lord Aberdeen, and who will say that they were not required? What had been the conduct of that government after that speech? Were they not driven out of office for their incompetency and faithlessness by the all but unanimous voice of the senate? Had not these men avowed their intention of making peace on terms that the British nation was ashamed of? Was ever a war conducted so foolishly by any ministry? Were ever mighty resources so weakly used? Were ever the crafty designs of a cunning and unprincipled foe so inadequately provided against? Yet they were the men of Prince Albert's choice—it might, in a manner, be called his own administration! Every one knew how reluctant he was to see them displaced, and more especially by the very man at the head of affairs whose reputed vigour made him the favourite of the nation. Lord Palmerston, in his reply at the Trinity Corporation dinner, seemed to feel this; for he did not burden his speech with any acknowledgments of the royal speaker's recommendations, but delivered it in accordance with the popular feeling and the popular will. It was of small consequence to his lordship whether he was labelled with the royal mark, while he carried out boldly and temperately the public purpose—to have war no longer than till peace could be honourably secured; but until then never to flinch, and in the meantime to encumber himself as little with secret diplomacy as possible, while the business of nations continued to be conducted as it had been. If his royal highness meant, as it was supposed he did mean, that the English people should intrust everything to "her majesty's servants," and put in them implicit confidence, it was well he dismissed the delusion so soon, as to the likelihood of his advice being taken. We trust that the day will never come when, as British ministries are generally constituted, such undue confidence should be placed in them. Had Aberdeen, Newcastle, Graham, Gladstone, and Sidney Herbert received the confidence of the people as completely as they did that of the court, the cause of the allies would have been ruined; the whole English army have whitened with their bones the bleak hills around Sebastopol; and a peace not only inglorious but absurd, would have consigned the English name to infamy for many generations. The people were unwilling to place unlimited confidence either in courts or cabinets. His royal highness declared that our constitutional govern-

ment was undergoing a heavy trial, "and way to bring it through was to give a denying confidence to her majesty's government." The people were sorry to hear repeated in so high a quarter the cant of the despotic politicians of the Continent, as to the comparative disadvantage of constitutional government in a war with a country despotically governed. If it were true that the comparison was against England, she would cling to her liberties nevertheless; but its truth was denied.

In proportion as the people are free will be the military strength of a nation. So it has always been from the days of the mightiest achievements of Greece to the last and expiring moments of noble and dauntless Hungary. It was because we had too much secrecy in our conduct, and because certain political considerations managed the conduct of our wars, that we had so little confidence in the agents they employed, or the officers they appointed. In our war, whatever we obtained of credit or advantage was by openness and publicity forfeited; whatever we lost was forfeited by our diplomacy and a too generous confidence in the queen's advisers on the part of the people. His royal highness spoke of the "impolicy of secrecy and unity of purpose" in a despotic government, as favourably contrasting with the publicity and discussion of a constitutional government where war is concerned. But is no reason why there should not be secrecy in a free government. If the whole nation know what is doing, they will so unhesitatingly vocally express themselves as to give aid and force which despotism itself cannot command—for despotic states always, from the secrecy of governmental operations, have numerous divisions and intrigues: more than this, the Russian emperor has lost his life from this policy. His royal highness said that the misdeeds of the officials were sometimes "exaggerated with morbid satisfaction." Any fact is sometimes exaggerated, but the implication of this sentence was unjust to the English character and nation. It was not until the Crimean war, which one of her majesty's principal ministers called "horrible and heart-rending," brought to light, in spite of the government by the independent press, that the people showed any disposition to find fault. They were insulted and betrayed,—when their sons and brothers were starved by official mismanagement,—when the national honour and dignity were imperilled by the profligacy and subserviency of the present government,—then, and then only, the suffering people withdrew their confidence.

The tidings of the discomfiture of the Russian army on the 18th of June caused deep grief in England. Many had to mourn the loss of a loved and brave; but the sense of

deep into the heart of the whole nation. The soldiers were not blamed, for the success of a portion of General England's division proved what our troops could accomplish when well directed, and any scope for their discipline and courage was afforded; but there was a deep sense of humiliation as to the whole conduct of the war and the management of the campaign. One portion only of the inhabitants of England, natives or foreigners, heard the news of the 18th of June without regret, and they heard it with undisguised satisfaction—the Greek traders. The Greeks in every country then at war with Russia manifested the same spirit: in Paris, Turin, Constantinople, the same malevolent triumph in the victory of Russia was displayed, as was seen at Vienna or Berlin, or wherever the Greek race, in their extended commercial relations, had any interest. The anger excited in Great Britain towards that race was very great. That the defeat of the allies at the battle of Malakoff, on the 18th of June, should be met with rejoicings at St. Petersburg was natural—the Englishmen were not surprised when they heard of it, however they might regret the cause of the rejoicings; but that the Greeks of Constantinople, the lawful subjects of the Porte—being not only an increasing toleration, but enjoying a social and commercial freedom unknown in Russia—should openly manifest their rage at the slaughter of the allies and the triumph of the Russian despot, did excite a just indignation. The rabble were loud in their exhibitions of delight, and the counsels of the Greek traders beamed with triumphant satisfaction whenever they met an Englishman or a Frenchman, as much as to show that the allies had met their match, and that the turning-point for the beloved Russia had come, and that the heretics and schismatics would soon be driven from the orthodox realms, expelled by their presence. The bearing of the Greek “papas” displayed mingled pride, indignation, and ferocity. It was from the effects of intoxication which they administered that the whole Greek people were made drunk with bigotry. The Greeks in London and Manchester and Marseilles, Liverpool and other ports, were quite as exultant over the sorrows of the free nations that gave them hospitality and freedom to trade. These intolerant men forego every blessing of liberty which they possessed anywhere for the tyranny of the Russian empire at St. Petersburg or Moscow, for the sake of the independence and power of their religion there. And the Russo-Greek Church was not considered sacred by the true Greek. The former acknowledged for its head the emperor, while the latter regarded the patriarch of Constantinople as the centre of unity. The crafty and ruthless Peter the Great, destroyed the

dignity and independence of the Greek Church in Russia, and deposed the Metropolitan of Moscow, placing himself in the vacant patriarchal and archiepiscopal chair; yet the vast body of that corrupt church cringed before the usurper's crozier as well as his sceptre, and, for the sake of his patronage, sanctioned his usurpation of ecclesiastical prerogative. It is true that a portion of the Russian people refused to recognise the assumption of religious power by the civil chief, and had been, therefore, a persecuted segment in the circle of the Greek Church in Russia. With these the Greeks of Greece and of Constantinople professed to agree. Yet these men rejoiced in the chance-victory gained by the enslaver and persecutor of their brethren! The secret of this was that the Greeks desired to see any nation, whatever its form of government, whatever its barbarism and brutality, whatever its oppression and injustice, victorious, even over the free and good, if only it were of the Greek rite, of any form under which that rite might be observed. It was to Russia that all sections of the Greek community, and all people professing the Greek religion, looked for the exaltation and glory of their church. They did not expect it by missionary zeal and self-sacrifice—they had no missions or missionaries corresponding in zeal and self-denial to those of the Latin Church; their hope was not in the progress of civilisation among the nations wholly or partly professing their faith, and the influence of those nations upon the rest of mankind; they did not look forward to such a moral revolution in Constantinople as would give to Christianity a pure and holy triumph.

“The good time coming”

was, in their estimation, the extirpation of Mohammedanism by the sword; the expulsion of the Latin Church from the East; the subjugation and forcible proselytism of the Christians of the oriental churches, such as Nestorians, Armenians, and Copts; the preclusion of Protestantism, British, Prussian, or American; and the establishment of a vast ecclesio-Greek empire at Constantinople, to become in time the mistress and dictatress of the universe. The Greeks at Constantinople understood very well that Russia was opposed to a Greek empire, and to the establishment of any power at Constantinople, that would hold it against Russia. They knew well that the promises of Russian agents to King Otho, of an enlarged Greek kingdom, comprehending Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, and Albania, were merely diplomatic tricks. If they did not know so much before, the disclosures when the emperor informed Sir G. H. Seymour that he would never allow any power to hold Constantinople, and never allow an independent Greek kingdom or empire there,

must have satisfied them that the aim of the czar was their enslavement as an essential element in his scheme for the dominancy of the East. With the clearest knowledge of all this, they rejoiced in the overthrow of the allies under an unexpected and temporary defeat, and congratulated one another upon the hope that Russia might hold the Crimea and continue to dominate the Black Sea. The solution of this mystery, as it must appear to any one not conversant with the spirit of the Greeks, was to be found in the aggrandising zeal for their own form of worship, before which international justice, human rights, and their own liberties were insignificant considerations. It may strike persons acquainted somewhat with the hatred of Russia prevalent in Wallachia and Moldavia, and the disaffection smouldering in the recently acquired Russian province of Bessarabia, that, inasmuch as these populations are Greek, our philosophy of the pro-Russian feeling at Constantinople can hardly be correct. We reply that these provinces, having felt the grinding despotism of Russia, having seen their fields wasted by the Russian commissaries, their property despoiled by Russian officials, their homes violated by Russian soldiery in ways too horrible to relate,—they learned that the czar's zeal for the orthodox church was compatible with the plunder and oppression of its humble members, and with the total subversion of all legal privilege and social security—they experienced his *régime*, and they hated it. So would the Greeks of Roumelia, if they only felt it for a few campaigns, or lived under the shadow of the despot's throne for a few years. That the Greeks should hate the Turks, who subverted the Byzantine empire, and treated them as a conquered people, but too well comported with human nature, and was not a causeless hatred, but that this feeling should be fostered in the face of the Tanzimat and the last Hatti Scheriff, was a still further proof of the bigotry of the race. The sultan and his government ought to have had their support in carrying out the useful reforms he contemplated, and had already originated, instead of thanklessness and rancour. The ingratitude displayed by these ebullitions, at Constantinople, towards the Western powers was of the basest type. France and England had secured concessions to the Greeks of the most important kind. England had initiated these reforms. Lord Stratford and the Earl of Clarendon had written to the Porte, in terms much to their own honour and the honour of their country, on behalf of the Greeks,—and not in vain. The British government had literally demanded for them equal rights in everything with the dominant race, and yet, in the very hour of these services, we were requited by exulting insult upon the repulse of our troops. Truly the Greeks are an incorri-

gible people; gratitude, of all other virtues, seems with them most difficult, even more than truth. We need not, therefore, be surprised to read the inflammatory placards which were posted in Epirus and Albania, on the breaking out of the Greek insurrection—"A Greeks, aid your northern brethren, and our loved lord and master the czar!" These cannot be free. Strip their arms of a chain, and would present it to other hands to rivet again, only he who binds can pronounce the shibboleth of their bigotry, or deck that chain with flowers. To be free, men must be spirit free. To appreciate liberty, religious liberty must be understood. To contend consistently for social justice, freedom, our own freedom and the freedom of all others, equally, to worship God, must be acknowledged, and deemed worthy of the loss of all things, but the loss of Him who gift they are, and who consecrates our devotion to their cause. The Greeks loved slavery as a spoke of freedom. England should spare no treasure, and strike no blow for a people who hugged their chains.

Among the incidents in the Crimea which caused painful sensations at home, was the death of Mr. Stowe, who was a correspondent of the *Times*, and an agent of the "Times' Fund." When Mr. Macdonald was compelled to return to England, his health having failed, Mr. Stowe was sent out by the conductors of the paper, with a further sum of £15,000 to administer relief in the hospitals. As mentioned on the Bosphorus, that gentleman proceeded to the Crimea, and while Mr. Russell was absent with the Kertch expedition, Mr. Stowe wrote the correspondence from Sebastopol. The eloquent descriptions of the storming of the Mamelon and the Quarantine the 8th of June, which the *Times* newspaper contained, were written by Mr. Stowe. In the Crimea, this gentleman dispensed a large fund at his disposal with prudence, and many a poor soldier had reason to bless God for his presence among the camp hospitals. His servant some time after deserted him when he was labouring under illness, and he applied for admission to the military hospitals where himself had supplied with many of the comforts and even necessities, which they possessed. He was told that an order had been issued not to admit civilians, as the more successful operations of the siege would cause great casualties, and the space would be required. The answer to this was, that, with careful attention, the hospital accommodation might be indefinitely extended, and, at all events, a man to whose skill and forethought the hospitals were indebted for much of their efficiency, was not the first person to be refused admission, nor a suitable person to be refused admission in any circumstances. Dr. Hall was present

no accommodation was allowed in the hospital to its benefactor. Application was made to the marine hospital on the ships, where no inconvenience could by any possibility be experienced by his admission; as the marines were less engaged in the fight than any other branch of the service, and as not likely that their hospital would be crowded.

Dr. Hall insisted that the orders should be carried out there also. This need cause no surprise with our readers who recollect that medical men who admitted Mr. Woods of *Morning Herald*, and saved his life, were treated severely for their humanity. The officers of the medical and military staff of the hospital hated the press with relentless rancour, those who served it. Even the administrators of the relief-fund, such as Mr. Macdonald and Mr. Stowe, were denounced as dangerous men," for no other reason than that they exposed idleness, corruption and immorality, and called public attention in to the sufferings and neglected condition of her poor brave soldiers. The authorities persisting in their refusal of all succour or shelter to Mr. Stowe, that gentleman was shut down to the church at Balaklava, a most unsuitable place, where he lingered a few days, and died the victim of official inhumanity, and of the hatred to a free press and to public opinion so prevalent amongst the officers of the medical and military, in the British army. The indignation excited by this transaction in England was great; but no proper remedy was put forward in parliament, or out of it, to redress the injury, or mark the public offence of the men and measures causing such a graceful catastrophe. Mr. Stowe was a accomplished scholar, a first-class man of letters, and a Fellow of Oriel College. He was humane and gentle, yet of a decided temperament, and was dreaded by the selfish officers and military staff as much as he was loved by soldiers, navvies, and the hard-working medical men who, like himself, sympathized with the soldiers, and were jealous of the country's honour. The conductors of the *Times* newspaper would not send out a special agent; and thus the murder of Mr. Stowe—for, morally, it was a murder—was the result of checking the liberal efforts of the English public, and the talented administrative officers of the *Times* conductors and agents in the Crimea. The following paragraph appeared in the paper; the rebuke it conveys to the authorities is severe; but still more severe to a nation which allowed its purposes to be overruled by men with hearts so hard, and minds so little endowed with any quality of sympathy for great public emergency:—"When many men have fallen, it is vain to lavish regrets on a solitary example. The event

has led to a determination in which we hope to have the concurrence of our supporters. We shall not send out another friend, another valuable life, to a service in which, among other dangers, British inhumanity is to be encountered. Whoever goes out to administer our fund, must expect that, in the event of his sickening in the crowd, he will be excluded from the hospitals where he is sent to minister, and deprived of the medical aid which he has, perhaps, assisted with the most needful supplies. Helpless and agonised with disease, Mr. Stowe was refused admission into hospitals in which many hundreds of patients have abundantly received and thankfully acknowledged the assistance of the *Times*' fund."

One might suppose that such an appeal to the justice and manhood of Englishmen, made through an organ of public opinion so extensively circulated as the *Times*, would rouse them to demand retribution upon the heads of the perpetrators of this infamy; but it did not. The difficulty of correcting any abuse in any department, while the aristocratic element of government is interested in preserving it, is such that the people can only correct evils and redress wrongs by a most costly system of agitation, which is ungenial to the orderly and peaceful habits of the great mass of English citizens.

The month of July opened in France with an event which produced much excitement in England, and in Europe generally. On the 2nd the emperor opened the Legislative Assembly, with a speech which literally thrilled the heart of the nations. Austria had not given satisfaction to the Western allies. Her course had been time-serving and truculent; and there was much discontent in France, and much more in England, with the lenient and accommodating spirit manifested by the governments of the French emperor and the Queen of England to the government of the Kaiser. The speech of the emperor was taken as an indication that a temporising policy to Austria would not any longer characterise the allies; but that she would be forced to declare herself for active war on one side or the other. Whether this speech really influenced Austria in taking up a more decided tone towards Russia, as she afterwards did, or that the French emperor—still well inclined to Austria, whatever her policy, so as she did not oppose him—only used this strong language to satisfy the people of Western Europe that their governments were resolved not to be trifled with, it was difficult to determine; but it certainly had the effect of making the French and English nations believe that the conduct of the war was in firm hands. The following extracts will suffice to show its purport and spirit:—

"Messieurs les Senateurs, Messieurs les Députés,—The diplomatic negotiations commenced during the course of our last session already made you foresee that I should be obliged to call you together when they came to a termination. Unhappily, the conferences of Vienna failed in procuring peace, and I come again to appeal to the patriotism of the country and to your own. Were we wanting in moderation in settling the conditions? I do not fear to examine the question before you. One year already had passed since the commencement of the war, and already France and England had saved Turkey, gained two battles, forced Russia to evacuate the principalities, and to exhaust her forces in the defence of the Crimea. We had, moreover, in our favour the adhesion of Austria and the moral approbation of the rest of Europe. In that situation the cabinet of Vienna asked us if we would consent to treat upon bases vaguely formulated. Before our successes a refusal on our part seemed natural. Was it not to be supposed, forsooth, that the demands of France and England would increase in proportion to the greatness of the struggle and of the sacrifices already made?"

"Well, France and England did not turn their advantages to account, or even make the most of the rights given to them by previous treaties, so much had they at heart to facilitate peace, and to give an unchallengeable proof of their moderation. We restricted ourselves to ask, in the interests of Germany, the free navigation of the Danube, and a breakwater against the Russian flood which continually obstructed the mouths of that great river. We demanded, in the interests of Austria and of Germany, a better constitution for the Danubian principalities, that they might serve as a barrier against these repeated invasions of the north. We demanded, in the interests of humanity and of justice, the same guarantees for the Christians of every confession under the exclusive protection of the sultan. In the interests of the Porte, as well as in those of Europe, we demanded that Russia should limit, to a reasonable degree, sufficient to shield her against any attack, the number of her ships in the Black Sea, a number which she could only maintain with an aggressive object. Well, all these propositions, which I may call magnanimous from their disinterestedness, and which were approved in principle by Austria, by Prussia, and by Russia herself, have evaporated in the conferences. Russia, who had consented, in theory, to put an end to her preponderance in the Black Sea, has refused every limitation of her naval forces; and we have still to wait for Austria to fulfil her engagements, which consisted in rendering our alliance offensive and defensive if the negocia-

tions failed. Austria, it is true, proposed us to guarantee with her by treaty the independence of Turkey, and to consider for future as a *casus belli* an increase of the number of Russian ships of war exceeding that before the commencement of hostilities. To such a proposition was impossible, for in no manner bound Russia; and, on the contrary, we should apparently have sanctioned her preponderance in the Black Sea by treaty.

The speech concluded with these words:

"A nation must either abdicate every political character, or, if it possesses the independence and the will to act conformably to its general nature, to its historical traditions, to its providential mission, it must learn how to support at times the trials which alone can restore it, and restore it to the rank which is its due. Faith in the Almighty, perseverance in our efforts, and we shall obtain a peace worthy of the alliance of two great nations."

On the 3rd of July the queen sent a message to parliament, conveying her desire that honours should be voted for Lord Raglan's family as a mark of her royal approbation. Accordingly £1000 a year was granted to Lady Raglan for life, and £2000 a year to his eldest son and to his next successor to the title. This excited much criticism in the London and provincial press; it was felt generally throughout the country that Lord Raglan had been well requited for his public services—elevated to the peerage, the highest honour the queen could bestow—promoted in the army to the rank of field-marshal, over the heads of brave old Gough, and many others, who had seen service, and sustained higher commands than that which he had borne previous to the Eastern campaign; and all his life situations of honour and emolument had awaited him. These might have sufficed, without saddling the country with burdens for two generations, to keep the dignity of the title. Against the award to his widow no voice was raised.

On the 24th of July the *Caradoc* arrived at the English port with the remains of the deceased chief, which were disembarked at Bristol on the morning of the 25th. Much respect was shown by the inhabitants of Bristol; the streets were shut; the bells of the various churches tolled, and the boom of minute-guns added to the solemnity. Many of the citizens wore mourning, and black cloth was hung from windows and balconies; funeral symbols of various kinds, some of them tasteful and impressive, adorned several of the public edifices.

The procession was solemn and impressive. Before the hearse the coronet of the deceased was carried by his own body-servant, mounted on a pillion. Immediately after the hearse an escort of

al Horse Guards (blue), took their place. In the mourning-coaches, in which were the field-marshal's personal staff. Various military bodies followed; a squadron of the 15th Hussars; a battery of field-artillery; the enrolled pensioners of the district; the Land Transport Corps, which was then in mourning at Bristol; officers with Crimean and insular medals; and a body of veterans who fought in the Peninsula, and were decorated for their honourable service there. After a military procession, the mayor and corporation proceeded in twenty-four carriages; then the Society of Merchant Volunteers; these were followed by the corporation of the poor; and these by the clergy of Bristol. Various voluntary societies of the citizens, walking six abreast, closed the procession, which extended for two miles. The long line was conducted through the "Fish-ponds," where the hearse and mourning-coaches left it, and proceeded to Bodminton, the seat of the Duke of Beaufort, to show to the deceased. The body was placed in the great hall of Bodminton House, where it lay in state during the 26th. Large numbers of the gentry and the people of the neighbourhood were allowed to show their respect by passing through the hall. In the evening a burial took place, and the body was deposited in the family vault of the parish church. A wreath of laurel and an *immortelle*, placed by General Pelissier upon the coffin before it left for the Crimea, remained upon it when left in the vault.

Thus terminated the obsequies of a man whose name fills no small place in the history of our country, but who, with the most honest and gallant desires to promote her glory, and with a long career of efficient service in his career, contributed little to her greatness. When discussing the consequences of the Vienna conference, we deemed it best for their consecutive relation to anticipate dates to some extent. How Lord John Russell was ultimately obliged to resign his place in the cabinet, and the parliamentary movements by which that was brought about, were then recorded. When his lordship disclosed the fact that he and the French minister of Foreign Affairs had agreed with the Austrian project (previously related and discussed), the surprise and indignation of the people were very great. After the excitement had somewhat subsided, suspicions began to be entertained and rumours spread that his lordship had made his disclosures in the way he did, and at that particular time, for sinister ends. The King of the Belgians (the queen's uncle), had arrived on a visit to her majesty in a very unostentatious manner, no public parade having been in any way associated with it. As his majesty's visits were generally supposed to have

some political bearing, Lord John's "explanations," just then, were supposed by many to have been under his majesty's auspices and advice. It is an adage that "a straw may show how the wind blows," and this is nowhere more true than in politics. Just as little things show character, so events considered in themselves not of importance, betray in the political world the bearings of party, and foreshadow the probable progress of affairs. The visit of the King of the Belgians was merely a courtesy, or a family act, but the quidnuncs saw much more in it. There were those who thought that it foreshadowed political change; rumour repeated that the *entente cordiale* between the court and the premier was not so strong as Prince Albert's speech at the dinner of the Trinity Corporation would make appear. Lord John Russell's disclosures in the senate were remarkably opportune to the late disasters in the Crimea; for whether these would be effaced by coming victories, or should only prove the beginning of sorrows, his lordship made sure, as he believed, that his course was politic. There was probability in the rumour that Lord John had timed his speech otherwise opportunely. The King of the Belgians was pro-Russian to the core; married to a daughter of the late unprincipled political gamester, Louis Philippe, he was heart and soul with the Emperor Nicholas in his attempt to fuse the two branches of the Bourbons in January, 1854. He was also connected with the house of Hapsburgh by old and recent family ties, and was a supporter of the late proposal of the Austrian minister at Vienna, by which Lord John Russell was entrapped. M. Drouyn de Lhuys was always pro-Austrian, and it is unnecessary to suppose him entrapped; the hinge of his policy was the Austrian alliance. It was reported, when this royal visit was made, that Lord John had the patronage of his Belgian majesty and of the court, and was still aiming at the premiership. That there were changes likely to take place in the cabinet, consequent upon Lord John's Austrian disclosures, was a subject mooted upon 'Change, and seriously affected the funds on more than one day afterwards. If the ministry had been broken up by the false position in which Lord John had placed it, the premier would have advised her majesty to send for Lord Derby, who, failing to form a cabinet, dare not attempt again a coalition with the Peelites. If Lord Derby failed to form a ministry, her majesty would, as usual, have sought the advice of Lord Lansdowne, who would of course have referred her to Lord John Russell. That this was the game playing by the wily little lord, there was no doubt; but what his prospects were of forming a ministry under such circumstances, and by what hope he was inspired to speculate upon it, the public could not discover. The

people were tired of the ministerial changes; a cabinet crisis could not occur every day in any country, and, least of all, could such changes occur in a time of war without a vigorous effort to correct their causes. The peace party would have supported Lord Derby to some extent; they had already intimated their preference for his premiership to that of Lord Palmerston. The Peelites would have voted for him if he gave up his anti-free-trade policy, if it were only in retribution upon the Russell party, so that Lord Derby had a better chance of forming a stable ministry than he had for some time possessed.

It was natural to speculate, in case of such an occurrence, as to how his lordship would conduct the war. There had been no speeches on the subject of its vigorous prosecution more distinct than his; no denunciations of the treacherous and incapable Aberdeen ministry more eloquent in invective, and more cogent in reasoning, than Lord Derby's. In referring to the debates which took place at the opening of the session of February, 1854, we are struck by one speech of Lord Derby's, which was absolutely prophetic of results about which men were then so generally in doubt. The Earl of Aberdeen expressed his firm hope that peace would be secured. The Earl of Clarendon vindicated the "confiding policy" towards Russia which had been pursued, and waxed marvellously eloquent against "a policy of suspicion," declaring, in harmony with his chief, his belief and hope that such a policy, which had been so ably and wisely followed, would secure peace even then, when war raged on the Danube, and was imminent to the Western powers. To these arguments Lord Derby offered this—as we now read it—startling confutation. His lordship's reasoning and predictions were too fatally verified. He ironically asked, "What must be the state of that country which was neither at war nor peace, nor yet neutral?" Taking the blue-books, the noble earl contended "that so early as the 7th of January, 1853, the government had ample information that Russia was preparing military forces to carry out her objects, whatever those objects might be. They had similar information in March, and again in April. It was true that Count Nesselrode's answer to representations on this subject were evasive; but there were the like accounts from our own consuls and agents in or near the countries where the forces were being collected. The noble earl, the foreign secretary, had in his possession the fact that Russia had been endeavouring to negotiate a secret treaty with Turkey against the Western powers, when he stated to their lordships, on the 25th of April last, that he had perfect reliance upon the friendly assurance of Russia. And subsequent

to this period had they any reason to believe that Russia would abandon her claims?" Again quoting the blue-book, he argued "they must have had every reason to expect the contrary particularly from the despatches of Sir George Seymour. The government had characteristically the occupancy of the principalities as an derogatory to the dignity and fatal to the dependence of Turkey; but when it occurred did they remonstrate against it, or did they throw upon the czar the responsibility of war? No; but they mildly expressed their confidence in the czar's pacific intentions, and that the door would not be closed to an arrangement. But at the moment they were also encouraging resistance on the part of Turkey. After the czar had taken his step, it was not likely that he would withdraw upon such language; and if before he had ventured upon it energetic language had been held, the peace which the noble earl at the head of the government valued so much might have been preserved. With regard to the prospect of the future, he could see any hope of avoiding war. On what did the noble lord rest his expectations of peace? Did he expect that the Emperor of Russia would suddenly recede from his position? If he did, it would be the strongest condemnation of the noble earl's policy; for in such a case, on what ground could he say that his attitude towards war ought not to have been taken earlier? He did not blame the government for having endeavoured to preserve peace, though he did not approve of the means they had adopted; but if they were in earnest, and if they were embarking in this war in a manner worthy of the country, and of the justice of the cause, they should, waiving all other considerations, renounce them all the support in his power."

If any confidence may be placed in public men, Lord Derby might have been intrusted with a vigorous prosecution of the war. The people preferred Lord Palmerston as premier of England, although believing Lord Derby would have carried out the vigorous sound policy pervading the above speech; and if he began his administration by a searching administrative reform, his ministry would have continued longer than any previous ministry had for some time. Lord John Russell accomplished nothing for himself or his country, however skilfully timed his Vienna disclosures were; nor did the visit of the Belgian king interrupt the current of liberal measures at home, and vigorous measures abroad, which Lord Palmerston was chosen by the people to direct. The debates of which Lord John Russell's conduct was the occasion occupied the attention of the House of Commons during the early part of July. On the 13th of his lordship, to evade the effect of a vote of censure, of which Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton had

n notice, resigned his place in the cabinet. On the 16th he offered his public explanations in the house, which was crowded with members and spectators, many members of the other house being present. His lordship's explanations neither satisfied the house nor the country.

At this period, Sir William Molesworth was appointed to the vacant Colonial-office, an appointment which met with very general approbation, although a majority of the religious portion of the community regarded it with jealousy, from the opinions entertained by Sir William on certain theological and metaphysical questions.

The troubles of the government did not terminate with the resignation of Lord John. The Sebastopol Committee had brought its reports to a close (its history was noticed in the last chapter), and in the result of the evidence there collected, Mr. Roebuck, its chairman, proposed a resolution to the house in the following terms:—"That this house, deeply lamenting the sufferings of the army in the Crimea, and coinciding with the resolution of the committee, that the conduct of the administration was the first and chief cause of those misfortunes, hereby visits with its severe reprobation every member of the cabinet whose mismanagement led to such disastrous results." Notice of this resolution had been given so early as the 22nd of June, and excited widespread discussion and impatient expectation through the country. Many who believed it to be a just expression of the nation's censure upon those to whom it referred were, nevertheless, afraid of disturbing the course of reform by perpetual discussions of so vital a nature, and of displacing Lord Palmerston, the only man it was believed capable of grappling with all the difficulties of the situation. On the 17th of July the resolution of Mr. Roebuck came before the house, and the discussion it created lasted two nights, and was then adjourned to the 20th. Almost every man of note in the house spoke. Lord Palmerston appeared to less advantage than probably he had ever before appeared on a great occasion. Lord John Russell defended it, that he had done with an eloquence worthy of his best days, and pronounced a criticism on Mr. Roebuck's parliamentary oratory as correct as it was severe. No person acquainted with the style of Mr. Roebuck's addresses, whether on public platforms or in the House, can fail to recognise the graphic exactness and expressiveness of Lord John's most pertinent description:—"I am constantly disappointed when listening to the honourable and learned gentleman's speeches. He begins with a very strong exordium. He places in the strongest light, in the most forcible language, and with the greatest effect, the argument

upon which he is about to dwell, and he ends with a very admirable peroration; but with regard to the argument itself, which should come in the middle,—with respect to the proofs with which an accuser should always be abundantly prepared,—in short, with regard to the substance of the speech itself, the speech of the honourable and learned gentleman is always entirely wanting. There are the beak and talons of the bird of prey, but the inside is nothing but straw." The motion of Mr. Roebuck was finally rejected.

Discussions that were angry and protracted arose on another great question—the Turkish loan. It was proposed that £5,000,000 sterling should be lent to the Porte to enable it to carry on the war, the loan bearing interest at five per cent., the governments of France and England guaranteeing the interest. When his lordship's resolution came before the house, July 20th, and an opposition, led by Messrs. Ricardo, Gladstone, D'Israeli, and Cobden, proved very formidable both in argument and obstinacy, Lord Palmerston stated that the security consisted, independent of the general resources of the Turkish empire, of the surplus of the tribute of Egypt, amounting to £65,000 per year. His lordship made statements concerning the revenue and expenditure of Russia, which showed the inability of that empire long to maintain a costly war. Sixty millions per year had been expended by Russia, while her income was only £30,000,000. This statement was correct; for an expenditure of £100,000,000 beyond her ordinary income had been created by the demands of the war upon Russia up to that date. When the house came to a division, the resolution of Lord Palmerston was only carried by a majority of three, and any majority was the result of the earnest representations of the premier, that it would humble her majesty, who would be compelled to break the convention into which she had entered upon the subject, and thereby endanger the alliance if the motion were lost.

During this debate, both the premier and the chancellor of the exchequer appeared to disadvantage as constitutional statesmen, for they both treated the sanction of the house as a mere matter of form. Probably the tone of both those important members of the cabinet on that particular point contributed more than anything else to the narrowness of their majority.

The progress of the Foreign Legion had been slow, and on the 9th of August there were only 3500 Germans and Swiss assembled for review by Her Majesty and Prince Albert. These foreign legionaries were most anxious to see her majesty, and made demonstrations of loyalty which her own subjects could scarcely have surpassed.

On the 14th parliament was prorogued, and on the same evening tidings arrived of the successful bombardment of Sweaborg, which will be related in another chapter. The policy of proroguing parliament was much discussed; it was generally thought that the recent conduct of the cabinet proved that the vigilant supervision of parliament was necessary to the public weal.

An event soon afterwards occurred of profound delight to France and England, and which all Europe regarded with speculative curiosity: the Queen of England visited the Emperor of the French in his gay and brilliant capital. Since 1431 no English king or queen had visited Paris; it was natural, therefore, that the European nations should feel an interest in it. Queen Victoria was the first sovereign of England ever invited to Paris with the hearty concurrence of the French nation. The Queen, her Consort, the Prince of Wales, and the Princess Royal, left the Isle of Wight on Saturday, the 18th of August, at half-past four o'clock in the morning, on board the *Victoria and Albert* yacht. The yacht was escorted by a powerful war squadron consisting of nine vessels. The squadron arrived at Boulogne at half-past one the same afternoon, the yacht steaming in between the *Neptune*, of 128 guns, and the *St. George*, of 120. The shore was lined with French infantry. The batteries saluted the royal squadron, the guns of which returned the salute, the heights of Boulogne echoing these loud courtesies. The emperor was ready to receive his royal guests, which he did with the most cordial greetings.

The efforts of the authorities and people of Boulogne, and of the general government, to give an imposing welcome to the royal family of England were on a grand scale. To these efforts his imperial majesty lent his aid. An *arc de triomphe*, 75 feet in height, decorated and crowned with evergreens and garlands of flowers, and bearing the arms of England and France, the flags of the allies waving above these insignia, was erected at the railway-station. The *arc* was surmounted with a colossal figure, intended to represent the genius of civilisation. At half-past two, the royal family and the emperor were placed in one of the imperial carriages, and amidst a salvo of artillery the train started. The arrival in Paris was later than had been expected; the shadows of evening were already falling upon the imperial city, where 800,000 persons were congregated, in every available spot, awaiting the arrival of the truly welcome guests. At last the booming of cannon announced that event soon after seven o'clock; a shout of joy was raised by the masses who thronged the thoroughfares, and this was re-

peated again and again as the imperial cortege appeared. The anxiety to see her majesty much greater than that which had been played in England to see Buonaparte or Eugénie, great as that undoubtedly was. French writers inform us that 100,000 sold preserved the line in the route taken by the procession. The preparations of citizens and officials to make Paris appear beautiful to her majesty, and to give to her reception all the éclat possible, were on a scale of taste and grandeur which could not probably be equalled any other city in the world. The people were fatigued and discontented, waiting so long beyond the time at which her majesty was expected; but every trait of restlessness and dissatisfaction vanished when she came within sight. She returned the salutations of the people with grace and dignity; the princes and the royal children also acknowledged greetings of the multitudes. The queen was greatly struck with the artistic profusion of ornament which decorated the streets and public buildings in the route of the procession. Triumphal arches, colossal eagles, English flower choice sculpture, met the eye of the royal visitors everywhere; yet there was no redundancy, no confusion, there was nothing misplaced. Her majesty could not fail to be struck with the superior taste of the Parisian people, even amidst the demonstrations of their hearty welcome. It was nearly nine o'clock when the emperor and his guests arrived at the historic palace of St. Cloud.

On Sunday the visitors remained at St. Cloud, the day being respected by her majesty as Sabbaths are in England. The next day the guests were conducted in the imperial carriages to various places of interest, such as the *Palais des Beaux-Arts*, the Elysée, where the *corps diplomatique* were presented; the cathedral of Nôtre-Dame, and La Sainte-Chapelle. In the afternoon, the *cortège* passed along the whole line of the boulevards, which were decorated so as to impart an air of elegance and gaiety peculiar to Paris. Amongst the ornamental works which the citizens of the government produced for this occasion were a statue personifying the city of Paris surrounded by foliage, flowers, flags, and carillons; a white column elaborately gilt, surrounded by a *parterre*, and surmounted by a globe and eagle; a vast triumphal arch, the *façade* of the *Cercle des Chemins de fer*. The *façade* was surrounded by a dense mass of allied flags, and from amongst them rose two standards, those of France and England, the ends of each being united in a ring formed of the letters of the words "for ever." On their arrival at St. Cloud, an elegant dinner of sixty covers was served for a select imperial circle, after which dramatic representations in the beautiful lit-

re connected with the palace, terminated evening's amusements.

On Tuesday morning at half-past ten the party proceeded in open carriages to the Tuileries, where they inspected the magnificent works of art deposited there. Her majesty stood long before two of these, the famous painting, by David, of the Coronation of Napoleon I.; and, in the *Galérie des Batailles*, the representation of the Battle of Fontenoy, in which the English were defeated. There was, however, nothing in that battle to humble her majesty's national pride; for it was not won by France by Frenchmen, but by the Irish regiments in the French service, who, when ordered to cover the retreat of the French, charged, and snatched a victory from defeat. Her countrymen and descendants of these Irishmen were then fighting for her majesty, with equal glory, on the plateau of Sebastopol, and by the dark waters of Tchernaya. Her majesty showed a pensive interest in the apartments of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette. She was observed to enjoy a drive in the gardens, and the play of the famous fountains. In the evening, the emperor and his guests went in state to the Grand Opera. The boulevards and the streets were lit up, and the carriages passed were brilliantly illuminated. Our French friends are adepts in the pyrotechnic art, and their illuminations and fire-works on that occasion did much to their reputation. Our History does not afford space—from the terrible details of the battles, and the conflicts of conferences and cabinets—to dwell upon the fairy scene which, in the night of the 21st of August, 1855, was presented in Paris. Within the Opera, magnificence seemed to reign; perhaps never before was the Opera House so grand in its artistic arrangements as on that evening. When their majesties entered “the house rose,” as is usual on such occasions, displaying an array of splendour, fashion, and beauty which no city could rival. A burst of acclamation rang through the vast building, which her majesty and her royal relatives acknowledged with evident emotion. The orchestra then played the British national anthem, the audience standing, and when the music ceased, the plaudits again rose in a whirlwind of exulting voices. The queen was dressed simply, as is her wont, rejecting profuse ornament; she wore but two small decorations—the riband of the Garter, and a tiara of diamonds. She sat between the emperor and empress, and looked as queenly as ever she appeared when, in her own land, at occasions demanded dignity.

On Wednesday the visitors attended the *Palais de l'Industrie*. Here Prince Albert was seated at home, and her majesty also seemed more interested than anywhere else. It was

the Paris Great Exhibition, and, therefore, brought to the remembrance of the royal pair their successful patronage of a still greater effort of the same nature. Prince Albert admired a colossal Sèvres vase, and the emperor begged his acceptance of it as a *souvenir* of his visit.

The emperor and his guests then proceeded *incognito* in a hired carriage to the *Jardin des Plantes*. The royal and imperial party were said to have enjoyed this part of their entertainment greatly, as the gaze of crowds was avoided. From thence they went to the Tuileries, where luncheon awaited them, and then returned to St. Cloud to a grand banquet, at which the *élite* of French society were present.

On Thursday Prince Albert again visited the *Palais de l'Industrie*, in order to make purchases for her majesty. In the evening the *Hôtel de Ville* was the scene of a great display, a *fête* having been given to the royal guests by the city of Paris—8000 persons were present. It was represented as the most splendid *fête* ever given in Europe.

Friday morning was occupied by the emperor and the prince in visiting the School of Musquetry at Vincennes; in the afternoon the queen paid another visit to the Exhibition. At five o'clock the whole of the royal and imperial parties attended a review in the *Champ de Mars*. Fifty thousand soldiers were drawn up for inspection. The troops received her majesty with vehement *vivas* as she rode down the lines; her cheek was flushed with pride and satisfaction; the multitudes who witnessed the glorious scene also joined their acclamations. Scarcely had her majesty witnessed the sublime display of an army and a multitude welcoming her with enthusiasm; while an emperor attended upon her, than the heavens were darkened, and a fierce thunder-storm burst over the *Champ de Mars*—the lightning flashes were incessant, and immediately followed by loud claps of thunder, showing how near the electric volleys. His majesty led the queen and her attendants within the Invalides, and they stood together over the tomb of the great Napoleon, while the troops and the populace dispersed, and thunder shook the dome of the great building beneath which they found a shelter. Many thought this ominous; it was at least deeply interesting, and strikingly dramatic. The granddaughter and heir of George III., and the heir and nephew of the great Napoleon, shook hands in fealty and alliance over the tomb of him whom the world once acknowledged as a conqueror, but whom Victoria's grandsire made a captive. Truly the times change, and we change with them! While her majesty stood (as persons present relate) with an expression of deep seriousness and awe upon her countenance, a

requiem from Mozart was performed upon the organ, adding pathos to the many elements which contributed to the varied and conflicting emotions of the hour. It was now night-fall, and no preparations had been made for a visit at so late an hour, so that the sombre hue of twilight gave a melancholy and burial tinge to the otherwise impressive associations of the scene. Suddenly the blaze of torches illuminated it, and the organ performed "God save the Queen," while the decorated veterans of the Invalides, who fought and bled in the ranks of the great Buonaparte, crowded in their uniforms to do her majesty homage. The emotion of her majesty was obvious to every one. A combination of remarkable circumstances, unprovided for because unexpected, seemed to express admonition and diffuse solemnity, as if an unseen hand arranged the programme. If the spirit of the great Napoleon were permitted to instil into the scene an animus accordant with his own sublimity, incidents could not have succeeded one another, or have stood associated in a way more calculated to bring up from the past the mingled memories of his ruin and his glory.

On Saturday morning the illustrious guests were conducted to St. Germain, and, after a drive through the forest, visited the apartments once occupied by James II. of England. As in the *Champ de Mars* and the Invalides, so the meeting at St. Germain had its coincidence. How strange that the heirs of the two dynasties by which those of Bourbon and Stuart had been set aside should there meet together as allies, having reached the very acme of their united greatness! How little could James II. have conjectured that a royal lady of the house of Brunswick should visit that spot as the guest of a French monarch by whom the Bourbons would have been then displaced! What false hopes as to the restoration of his dynasty shed their deceitful ray upon the gloom of the sombre apartments of St. Germain, where the exiled monarch sullenly plotted and languished! In the evening of the same day Victoria of England was borne, as if she were the queen of France, to the gorgeous palace of Versailles, where a grand ball was given in her honour by the empress. The columns of the *Moniteur* did not at all exaggerate the elegance and sumptuous grandeur of this assembly, and the place of assemblage, when it pourtrayed, in all the brilliant hues which French description delights to employ, the festive display:—"Hereafter the visit of Queen Victoria to the capital of France will be looked upon as one of those events which appear as a dream until realised. All who witnessed that enthusiastic reception, those manifestations of sincere cordiality and deep sympathy between sovereign and sovereign, and nation and nation, will

retain a lasting remembrance which they love to tell in their old age, and which mark an epoch in the existence of individuals as well as in the history of nations." . . . . . The gallery of the mirrors offered a most dazzling *coup d'œil*. At the four angles, four orchestras had been erected, consisting of 200 each, and directed by Strauss and Dufresne. Flowers and shrubs concealed the stands of the musicians, and the harmony seemed to proceed from invisible instruments through a bow of flowers, dahlias, roses, and other flowers. Garlands hung suspended from the ceiling, and, interspersed with each other, formed the most charming decoration. Thousands of lustres, torches, reflected in the mirrors, threw streams of light upon the rich garments of the guests, covered with gold and ornamented with diamonds. On approaching the windows a more admirable sight presented itself to view. The great sheet of water was enclosed by a series of porches, in the Renaissance style, standing out from the background of the forest in coloured fire, and joined together by an emerald trellis-work. In the centre a portico two-thirds larger than the rest, built like a triumphal arch, was surmounted with a dome and shield, with the arms of France and England. At the two corners to the right and left were two other porticoes, with the initials of the royal majesties. Under these brilliant arches the water sprang up in jets, and fell back in cascades. The two basins formed one vast sea of light, upon which golden dolphins, mounted by cupids, disported, carrying circular torseaux and Venetian lights."

On Monday, the 27th, the Queen left Paris for England. The emperor and Prince Napoleon accompanied her to Boulogne, which she reached at five o'clock. A review of the French army, encamped upon the heights, was the last grand scene provided for her majesty, in which she was herself a participator. Here also another singular historical coincidence occurred. On these heights the first Buonaparte reviewed the troops destined, as he hoped, for the invasion of England. Now the queen of the realm which had bid successful defiance to his empire was the guest of his heir, who reviewed the armies of France as troops auxiliary to her own, on the heights whence French generals often directed their telescopes towards the white cliffs of Dover, which they hoped to touch as successful invaders! It has been said that all Wellington won, time after time reconquered; it was equally true that the power for which the mighty Napoleon thought he struggled, with gigantic genius and gigantic resolution, had been reversed by the same Hand which is always remoulding and overruling the mutual policies and relations of the nations of the earth.

ter the review the emperor gave his guests a well dinner at the Pavilion Hotel, and at Boulogne was brilliant with illuminations. Even o'clock the Royal family of England were on board their yacht, while the army from the heights, answered by the fleets with a louder thunder, uttered their sublime wishes. It was alleged that the houses of Dover and Folkestone were shaken by the reverberations thus produced.

The royal squadron left the harbour, the lights were suddenly lit up by a magnificent technical display, which was seen from the squadron far at sea. The next morning at her majesty and family were in their barge at home at Osborne.

I regret to write that the hand of Victoria bestowed charity to France as she retired from the shores, a gift of 25,000 francs having been sent through the Minister of the Interior to the Frenchmen. It is wonderful that the public spirit did not constrain the emperor to resign his place rather than be the author of what was as mean to accept, as it was generous, although not proper, to bestow. Gifts of similar nature were bestowed upon English beggars by the French emperor on his visit, and there were not pride and spirit enough to refuse. What would be thought of a private gentleman allowing a rich guest to give money in charity upon his poor relations, while seated at his table or when leaving his house? If Victoria or Napoleon wished the poor of their respective countries to be present in the festal enjoyments of the occasion, they might respectively have set apart for their people a noble present; but the custom of paying public visitors to pay for the atten-

tions they receive by largesses of this sort, is as despicable as for a man to allow his servants to levy black-mail upon those whom he invites to dinner. Hospitality should be pure, alike careful of the conscience and the purse of those upon whom its grace, and beauty, and bounty are bestowed. With the exception of these insulting distributions of alms by the respective guests, the royal and imperial visits were auspicious in everything, and left a most healthful impression on the public heart of both nations. With these events the present chapter on home appropriately closes, and our pen must be directed once more to narrations of sanguinary conflict, and, happily, of glorious triumphs to the allied arms.

Very suitably did the visit to Paris follow the triumph achieved in the Baltic, and preceded the coming glories of the conquest of Sebastopol. Scarcely had the embers of the Sveaborg conflagration died out, than the note of preparation was heard which issued in planting the banners of the allies on the defences of the besieged city, while the retiring foe forsook its burning ruins. In future chapters we shall relate circumstantially both these transactions.

Meanwhile, the royal and imperial heads of the allied nations were not exempt from anxieties. If it be a universally received adage—

“Uneasy lies the head which wears a crown,”

it is with the sanction of events that it has become so: councils in London and Paris despatches to Constantinople and Vienna, the transmission of troops and *materiel* to the remote theatres of war, filled up the space until the tidings flashed upon Europe and the world that Southern Sebastopol was destroyed.

## CHAPTER XCIII.

### RENEWED OPERATIONS IN THE SEA OF AZOFF.

“If to engage they give the word,

To quarters all repair:

While splintered masts go by the board,

And shot sings through the air,

Bold Jack, with smiles, each danger meets,

Casts anchor, heaves the log,

Trims all the sails, belays the sheets,

And drinks his can of grog.”—DIBDIN.

In the last chapter relating operations in the Sea of Azoff, the narrative was brought down to the end of June. The following graphic sketch, from a seaman on board the *Curlew*, is a *resumé* of those exploits, which will bring them to the reader's recollection, and which, at the same time, illustrates the manly and adventurous spirit of our gallant tars:—

*H.M.S. Curlew, July, 1855.*

It being now a long time since I wrote to you, I will endeavour to give you a short ac-

count of our proceedings since we have been up here. We left Sebastopol on the 22nd of May, with orders from the admiral to sink, burn, and destroy all vessels found in the sea. We accordingly reached Kertch on the 24th, and whilst we were pouring shot and shell into the town, our transports were engaged in landing 25,000 troops. As soon as the enemy saw our movements they immediately set fire to their magazines, and the explosions were most awful, but the sight was grand in the extreme.

When our troops landed they commenced to seek at once for what they could get. Some got drunk; others were holding up parasols; some put on women's dresses; and, altogether, the sight resembled a fair more than anything else. The enemy, being afraid of our shipping, left the place altogether; and we here took thirty guns, and burned two Russian gun-boats. It is supposed that £1,000,000 worth of property was here destroyed; besides, store-houses full of grain and public buildings were all destroyed. At night the sight was very grand to see the place all in flames, and the reflection showed for miles around. We next proceeded, on the 25th, to Berdiansk. We sent in boats manned and armed, our ships covering us with their fire. We here destroyed large stores of corn, besides burning the dock-yard and other public buildings, which were very valuable to the Russian government, and the loss must have been very great indeed. Our next place of visit was Mariopol. We here sent in boats manned and armed, and destroyed storehouses, shipping, dockyard, corn-houses, furniture, and everything that came in our way. We spared nothing at all. We went from Mariopol to Taganrog, and whilst going there our ships got aground on the Dolga sand-bank. However, after a few hours' hard work, we got the ship all right again. When we arrived at Taganrog, we vented our spite upon the Russians. As for my part, I burned everything I could—in fact, anything that would catch fire I committed to the flames. From that we went to Gheisk, a place of much importance to the Russians. There was a contractor here, who had engaged to supply the soldiers in Sebastopol with food for two years. However we burned all his stock, consisting of 574 large stacks of corn, besides his granaries, and everything that belonged to him; his corn alone was valued at £30,000. I expect many a Russian will go to his roost hungry-gutted this winter. We are still cruising about the sea, burning and destroying everything, besides what we take away. We live like fighting cocks. I take my cutlass on shore with me, and kill pigs, sheep, ducks, geese, fowls, and every mortal thing that I can put my hands upon. I might have as many pictures as would make a 74-gun ship, but I have no place to put them away; they require great care. You may depend when I come across any money I know I can find a place for it; but it is very scarce. I do not think the Russians are very flush in that article; however, I have done a little business. I will not let you know of what we did in particular. On the 26th of May we burned two Russian vessels, one laden with meal, and the other with salt and fish; on the 27th burned two Russian vessels; on the 28th took a Greek schooner as a prize, and burned a

Russian schooner; on the 29th burned Russian vessels; on the 30th took a Greek as a prize, and burned a Russian schooner. We have in all taken fifteen vessels, but twelve, and sent two to be sold at Constantinople, and sent one away with the Russian prisoners on board, fifty-seven in number, without compass nor anything to steer by, to find their way wherever chance would let them. I assure you I have been up night and day a week sometimes together, so a sailor's life is not the most easy. I hear that the prizes were sold for £2500; I shall, therefore, be in for some of it. Well, I am very well hearty; I can sing, smoke, dance, eat, drink, and work,—there is no want of that in ship, however. I comfort myself that it will be for years, but not for ever, and will think of that the time passes on; but every day seems to me a month. No more maritime war life for me after this touch. It will be better bait than a biscuit that will catch again. We shall get some prize-money the Sea of Azoff.—I remain yours very affectionately,

“DENIS RYAN.”

At the beginning of July a “light squadron” was placed under the command of Commander Sherard Osborn, with orders similar to those given in May to Captain Lyons. The selection of Commander Osborn was a credit to the judgment of Admiral Lyons. The French squadron was not of equal force, consisted of good ships, manned by brave men. The senior officer was of superior rank to Osborn, and, therefore, entitled to take the chief command; but, deferring to the superior experience of the English commander, he resigned to him the chief direction of the enterprise in a spirit worthy of his nation. This little squadron cruised about the coast of the shallow sea, inflicting mischief upon the enemy in every direction throughout the month. The fishing operations of the Russians were on a very extensive scale, the fish caught being cured and sent on to Simpheropol. The fishing-stations, with the fish collected, the boats and nets, were destroyed, and serious loss of life inflicted upon the enemy in the efforts to defend them. Had they employed infantry instead of cavalry, and placed the riflemen on the shore in pits and under shelter, such as everywhere existed, the Russians must have incurred heavy losses, and some cases, have failed in their efforts to destroy property. The duty was harassing to the sailors, but still more so to the cavalry, the enemy, who were incessantly riding to and fro, nearly always at fault as to the true point of attack, or else, feigning to be so, they cared very frequently to keep out of range of shells, shot, and rockets. Frequently

ers and marines in the boats, who were supplied with Minié muskets, kept up a firing fire of small-arms against the shore on the inhabitants or infantry directed musketry upon them. Commander Osborn led his flag on board the *Vesuvius*. His exploit was at Genitschi. He sent Lieutenant Hewett in the *Beagle* to examine the connection between the Spit of Arabat that place. Early on the 3rd this reconnaissance was effected, and immediately after communication between the spit and the Spit of Genitschi was cut off.

As long as the Spit of Arabat the Russians had had a military road, of the existence of which the allies had only recently become aware. To reach this road with supplies, an immense floating-bridge was placed between the Spit of Arabat and Genitschi. By this road the supplies could be brought from the richest corn districts of southern Russia, as long as the floating-bridge could be defended. The boat division sent against it silenced the defence; the bridge was destroyed, and Genitschi itself afterwards reduced to ashes. This was a severe blow to Sebastopol, struck from a distance, but not less sure. It added 120 miles of road—over dreary steppes, covered in winter with snow, in spring and autumn with mud, and in summer only passable with any difficulty—to the distance which supplies were to be carried, when carts and cattle could be used to carry them to Sebastopol. The details concerning this exploit are so full that no details are required. Admiral Lyons wrote on the 10th of July, off Sebastopol, to the lords of the Admiralty:—

Their lordships will have great pleasure in learning that Commander Osborn, of the *Vesuvius*, mentions in favourable terms a letter he had received from Lieutenant W. N. Hewett, the commander of the *Beagle*, regarding the destruction of the floating-bridge between the Straits of Genitschi.

I have now the honour to enclose a copy of the letter, and to draw their lordship's attention to the excellent arrangements made by Lieutenant Hewett, as well as to the gallant way in which his orders were executed by Mr. Martin Tracey, midshipman of the *Vesuvius*, Mr. John Hayles, acting gunner of the *Beagle*, and the boats' crews, one of whom, Joseph Trewavas, ordinary seaman, lent from the *Agamemnon*, was wounded, and is particularly mentioned as having cut the cables.

Lieutenant Hewett's report to Commander Osborn follows, bearing date the 4th of July, from the *Beagle*, off Genitschi:—

I have the honour to inform you that on the 3rd of July, at 11 A.M.,

on my arrival off this place I immediately proceeded to minutely examine the communication between the town and Arabat Spit, and, on so doing, found it to be by means of a ferry of two large flats and hawsers, which I determined to destroy, if possible. Accordingly, on the forenoon of yesterday I dispatched my gig, under Mr. John Hayles, acting-gunner of this ship, and paddlebox-boat, under Mr. Martin Tracey, midshipman of the *Vesuvius*. I have much pleasure in reporting that they succeeded entirely in destroying it by cutting the hawsers and casting the boats adrift, which was done under a very heavy fire of musketry at about eighty yards, the troops completely lining the beach, and the adjacent houses being filled with riflemen. Great credit is due to Mr. Hayles for his activity and zeal in destroying the same, and to Mr. Martin Tracey for the effectual fire he kept up in covering his retreat, the firing from the ship and paddlebox-boat at the same time causing great confusion and loss among the enemy as they retired from their exposed position. Mr. Hayles speaks in the highest terms of the boat's crew, especially of Joseph Trewavas, ordinary seaman, lent from the *Agamemnon*, who cut the hawsers.

"I enclose a list of casualties, which, I am happy to say, is very small, although the gig and paddlebox-boat were riddled with musket-balls."

Very severe weather, such as is unusual in the Sea of Azoff during the month of July, compelled Commander Osborn to lie under shelter for a portion of the early part of the month. Heavy squalls broke over the sea from the north, which was dangerous to the larger ships in those shallow waters. Meanwhile, the gun-boats "crept along shore," burning and destroying the enemy's granaries and fisheries, sparing, as much as possible, private property, but consuming all government stores, of whatever kind, as well as nets and boats. On several parts of the Spit of Arabat, barracks and rude buildings which appeared like post-houses were burned. From the middle of the spit to the mouth of the Salghir, there was a floating-bridge, which was cut away. Osborn in person sailed to Berdiansk, where vast stores of corn were collected, short as was the time which had elapsed since the firebrands of the squadron had been busy there before. This vast collection of food supplies was given to the fire, and with it very valuable stores of forage. There was a formidable work, hastily but cleverly constructed by the enemy, between Berdiansk and Mariopol, called Fort Petrovskoi; upon this the vessels opened a cannonade, by which the batteries were dismounted, and the gun-

ners slain or driven away. Shells and rockets were thrown, by which stores of dry grain were ignited, and, as at Genitschi, large quantities of carefully-collected forage were consumed. Scarcely a building was left in the neighbourhood. Thence he proceeded to the estuary of the Don, and laid waste the buildings and stores at Taganrog: the forage for horses, skilfully piled at that place, was burned almost as soon as the fire of the boats was opened. Throughout the month of July, Osborn kept the people of these coasts in a state of alarm, burning and destroying everything which could be made serviceable to the enemy. Every effort was made to spare private property, and by this means much grain, forage, and fish escaped destruction; while the owners, who were thus treated with such lenity, in many cases fired upon the boats with musketry as they retired, and, in several cases, whole boats' crews narrowly escaped destruction. The male inhabitants of these towns should, in most cases, have been treated as combatants, which to all intents and purposes they were. A consideration was shown to Russia all through the war, especially by our superior officers, who acted under the orders of their governments, which was not appreciated by the Russian cabinet nor by the people. The government spread reports all over Europe that the English consumed the property of unresisting inhabitants, and shot them down at their doors; the fact being that, both in the Baltic and in the Sea of Azoff, our men, after sparing the inhabitants, were fired upon by the men they treated with forbearance and kindness. Our men were not unfrequently smitten by the bullets of the inhabitants, who concealed their arms from the landing-parties, and fired upon them as they retired. The saying of the older Napoleon was realised on the part of the English—"I will make war upon my brother Alexander with courteous arms."

The following despatches give all necessary details of the operations of the month.

Admiral Lyons wrote to the Admiralty, July 30th, as follows:—

"In continuation of the proceedings of the steam squadron in the Sea of Azoff, under the orders of Commander Sherard Osborn, of the *Vesuvius*, I beg leave to enclose, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, copies of two letters from that officer, together with the several inclosures, reporting the steps taken to deprive the enemy of the new harvest, and to cripple his resources of all kinds, since the proceedings which were communicated in my letter of the 7th instant. During the time the squadron was detained from stress of weather under Berutch Spit,

near Genitschi, the vessels were, at every breeze of the weather, employed in destroying extensive fishing establishments which supplied the army in the Crimea with fish, as well as gun-houses, barracks, stores of forage, and provisions, on the Isthmus of Arabat; and, by the pontoon, or only means of communication between Arabat Spit and the Crimea, at the entrance of the Kara-su River, was burnt Commander Rowley Lambert, of the *Curlew*. The attack and destruction of Fort Petrovskoi on the 16th instant, by the combined English and French squadrons named in Commander Osborn's letter, appear to have been accomplished with the usual skill and success which have attended the operations in the Sea of Azoff; and their lordships will observe that particular mention is made of Lieutenant Hubert Campion, senior lieutenant of the *Vesuvius*, who commanded the landing-party, and rendered great service. I would particularly beg leave to call their lordship's attention to the high-minded conduct of Captain Cintré, of his imperial majesty's steamer *Milvina*, who, on seeing that the bulk of the squadron was under the orders of Commander Osborn, to whom he was senior, waived his right to plan the attack, and placed his ship, as well as the *Mouette*, in the positions pointed out by Commander Osborn. In the meantime, Lieutenant Hewett, in the *Beagle*, destroyed an extensive collection of fish-stores, and large granaries full of corn in the neighbourhood of Berdiansk. After destroying Fort Petrovskoi, the squadron proceeded to Globovka, where some extensive corn and fish-stores were destroyed under the orders of Commander Rowley Lambert, of the *Curlew*; and a similar service was performed at the Crooked Spit, in the Gulf of Azoff, by vessels under the orders of Commander F. A. B. Craufurd, of the *Scholar*. In the meantime Commander Osborn reconnoitred various parts of the coast as far as Taganrog. The reports of Commander Osborn are so comprehensive, that I will not remark that the admirable manner in which he has carried out my instructions 'to clear the seaboard of all fish-stores, all fisheries, mills, on a scale beyond the wants of the neighbouring population, and, indeed, of things destined to contribute to the maintenance of the enemy's army in the Crimea,' fully corroborates the opinion I have before expressed, that he is an officer possessing a rare combination of high qualities, and I beg to recommend him to their lordships' most favourable consideration."

Commander Osborn's report to Admiral Lyons was dated July 17th, on board his majesty's ship *Vesuvius*, Gulf of Azoff:—

"Heavy gales and much sea obliged

dron in this sea to take shelter under Spit for several days. Coaling, provisioning, and completing stores, were, however, proceeded with; and at every break in the weather the vessels were actively employed in roving some extensive fisheries upon Berda Spit, as well as guard-houses, barracks, stores of forage and provisions, to within easy gunshot of Arabat Fort. The only mode or means of communication between Arabat Spit and the Crimea, at the entrance of the Kara-su River, has been burnt by Commander Rowley Lambert, of her majesty's ship *Curlew*, and we have now entire possession of the spit. A lull in the weather enabled us to put to sea upon the 13th of July for the deep round the Sea of Azoff, the *Ardent*, *Swallow*, and *Clinker* being left under the orders of Lieutenant Horton to harass Genitschi and Arabat, as well as to cut off all communication from the spit. Delayed by the weather, we did not reach Berdiansk until the 15th of July; the heavy sea was running, but, anxious to lose no time, the senior officer of the French squadron (Captain de Cintré, of the *Milan*) and myself determined to go at once and endeavour to burn the forage and corn-stacks upon the seaward side of the hills overlooking the town. No inhabitants were to be seen, but an occasional glimpse of soldiers showed that fighting was expected, and that they were prepared for a street-fight. I hoisted a flag of truce, in order, if possible, to get the women and children removed from the town; but, as I met with no reply, and the surf rendered the approach extremely hazardous, I hauled it down, the squadron commenced to fire over the town at the forage and corn-stack behind it, and soon had the satisfaction of seeing a fire going exactly where it was wanted. The wheat and forage being fired, it was necessary to move into deeper water at night; and from our distant anchorage fires were seen burning throughout the night. On the 16th of July the allied squadron proceeded to Fort Petrovskoi, between Berdiansk and Mariopol. As I approached the place there were evident symptoms of an assault on the fortifications since the *Vesuvius* had fired its fire three weeks ago. A redan, forming the curtain which faces the sea, and seven new embrasures, and much new work led me to expect some masked works. Captain de Cintré, commanding the French ship *Milan*, although my senior, in the handsome manner surrendered the right flank during the attack, and, keeping alone in the good of the allied cause, gallantly held the position I wished him to do, followed by Captain de l'Allemande in the *Swallow*. At 9-30 A.M., all arrangements being

made, the squadron\* took up their positions, the light draught gun-boats taking up stations east and west of the fort, and enfilading the works in front and rear, while the heavier vessels formed a semi-circle round the front. The heavy nature of our ordnance crushed all attempts at resistance, and soon forced not only the garrison to retire from the trenches, but also kept at a respectful distance the reserve force, consisting of three strong battalions of infantry and two squadrons of cavalry. We then commenced to fire with carcasses, and, although partially successful, I was obliged to send the light boats of the squadron to complete the destruction of the fort and batteries—a duty I intrusted to Lieutenant Hubert Campion, of the *Vesuvius*. In a short time I had the satisfaction of seeing all the cantonment, gun platforms, public buildings, corn and forage stores, on fire, and the embrasures of the earthwork seriously injured; and although the enemy, from an earthwork to the rear, opened a sharp fire on our men, Lieutenant Campion completed this service in the most able and perfect manner, without the loss of one man. Lieutenant Campion reports that the fort was fully as formidable a one as it appeared from the ships; the platforms were laid ready, but the guns either had not yet arrived, or had been withdrawn by the enemy. Leaving the *Swallow*, Commander Craufurd, to check any attempt of the enemy to re-occupy the fort and extinguish the fire until the destruction was complete, the rest of the squadron proceeded to destroy great quantities of forage and some most extensive fisheries, situated upon the White House Spit, and about the mouth of the river Berda. By dark the work was done, and thirty fisheries, numbers of heavy launches, and great store of salted fish, nets, and gear, as well as much forage, had fallen into our hands, in spite of considerable numbers of Cossack horse. Nothing could exceed the zeal and energy displayed by every officer and man throughout the day; and the skilful manner in which the various officers in command of her majesty's vessels took up their positions in the morning, the beautiful accuracy of the fire, and the care with which the squadron was handled in shallow water, deserve to be called to your favourable notice. The able and cheerful co-operation of the French throughout the day was beyond all praise."

The same officer reported to the admiral on the 21st of July, from the Gulf of Azoff, on board the *Vesuvius*:—

\* *Vesuvius*, Commander Sherard Osborn; *Curlew*, Commander Rowley Lambert; *Swallow*, Commander F. A. B. Craufurd; *Faney*, Lieutenant C. G. Grylls; *Grinder*, Lieutenant F. Hamilton; *Boxer*, Lieutenant S. P. Townsend; *Craeker*, Lieutenant J. H. Marryat; *Wrangler*, Lieutenant H. Burgoyne; *Jasper*, Lieutenant J. S. Hudson; *Beagle*, Lieutenant W. N. Hewett.

"The day I closed my last report to you, the *Beagle*, Lieutenant Hewett, was detached to Berdiansk. Lieutenant Hewett rejoined me yesterday, and reports that one of the Russian sunken vessels was blown up. Lieutenant Hewett, the same evening, landed under cover of his vessel's guns, and destroyed an extensive collection of fish-stores and two large granaries full of corn. On the 17th of July, in consequence of information received of extensive depots of corn and forage existing at a town called Glofira, upon the Asiatic coast, near Gheisk, I proceeded there with the squadron, accompanied by the French steamers *Milan* and *Mouette*. The *Vesuvius* and *Swallow* were obliged to anchor some distance off shore; I therefore sent Commander Rowley Lambert (her majesty's ship *Curlew*) with these gun-boats—*Fancy*, *Grinder*, *Boxer*, *Cracker*, *Jasper*, *Wrangler*, boats of *Vesuvius* and *Swallow*—to reconnoitre in force, and if an opportunity occurred to destroy any stores of provisions or of forage, he was to do so. Commander Lambert found Glofira and its neighbourhood swarming with cavalry; the town an open straggling agricultural village, and no appearance of corn or forage in it; he therefore very properly confined his operations to destroying upon Glofira Spit some very extensive corn and fish stores, but spared the town. The skill with which this service was executed in the face of large bodies of cavalry reflects no small credit upon Commander Lambert; and he speaks most highly of the able assistance rendered him by the French officers and men under Captains de Cintré and l'Allemande. From Glofira I next proceeded to the Crooked Spit, in the Gulf of Azoff, the French squadron parting company to harass the enemy in the neighbourhood of Kamisheva and Obototchna. The squadron reached the Crooked Spit the same day (the 18th of July), and I immediately ordered Commander Frederick Craufurd, in the *Swallow*, supported by the gun-boats *Grinder*, *Boxer*, and *Cracker*, and the boats of her majesty's ships *Vesuvius*, *Curlew*, and *Fancy*, under Lieutenants Grylls, Rowley, and Sullivan, to proceed and clear the spit of the cavalry and Cossacks of the enemy, and then land and destroy the great fishing establishments situated upon it. Commander Craufurd executed this service with great vigour, and his report I have the honour to inclose. The extraordinary quantity of nets and stores of fish and the scale of the works destroyed fully confirm the statements made by the work-people, that their occupation consisted in supplying food to the army in the Crimea, everything going to Simpheropol by the great northern steppe. While this service was being executed I reconnoitred the mouth of the river Mious, fifteen miles west of Taganrog, in her majesty's

ship *Jasper*, Lieutenant J. S. Hudson. The shallow nature of the coast would not allow us to approach within a mile and three-quarters of what in the chart is marked as Fort Temonos. The fortification was an earthwork of small extent, and ditched, but not pierced for guns. It was evidently of an old date; and as I saw no one within it, I again returned to the same place, accompanied by the boats of her majesty's ships *Vesuvius* and *Curlew*, and her majesty's gun-vessels *Cracker*, *Boxer*, and *Jasper*. Cavalry in large bodies, armed for the most part with carbines or rifles, were evidently much harassed by riding upon supposed points of attack; and when we got to Temonos, and the usual Cossack picket had been driven off, I and Commander Lambert proceeded at once with the light boats into the river. When there, and immediately upon Fort Temonos, which stands upon a steep escarpment of eighty feet, we found ourselves looked down upon by a large body of horse and foot, lining the ditch and parapet, the work. Landing on the opposite bank at a good rifle-shot distance, one boat's crew under Lieutenant Rowley, was sent to destroy a collection of launches and a fishery, while the careful and steady fire of Minié rifles kept the Russians from advancing upon us. Assured of ourselves of the non-existence of any force worth hazarding so small a force any further, we returned to the vessels, passing within pistol-shot of the Russian ambuscade. The cool steadiness of the officers and men in the gigs, together with the wonderful precision of the fire from the covering vessels, distant as they were, doubtless kept the enemy in check and prevented serious consequences. To Commander Lambert, Lieutenants Grylls and Rowley, and Mr. Tabuteau (mate), who were in the gigs, as well as to Lieutenants Mara, Townsend, and Hudson, who commanded the gun-vessels, my best thanks are due. The crew of the *Grinder*, under Lieutenant Hamilton, had a narrow escape upon the same day from a similar ambuscade, at a place called Kirpe, five miles east of Mariopol, the very propriety of the manly of Lieutenant Hamilton in not firing into an open defenceless town, as it appeared to him, having nearly entailed the loss of a boat and crew when he attempted to land and destroy the corn-store. A heavy fire of musketry at the pistol shot providentially injured no one. Lieutenant Hamilton appears to have perfectly skilfully escaped. The 19th of July I reconnoitred Taganrog in the *Jasper* gun-boat. A new battery was being constructed upon the heights near the hospital, but, although many shots were thrown into it, it did not receive any injuries it had received when we visited it under the late Captain Edmund Lyons of the

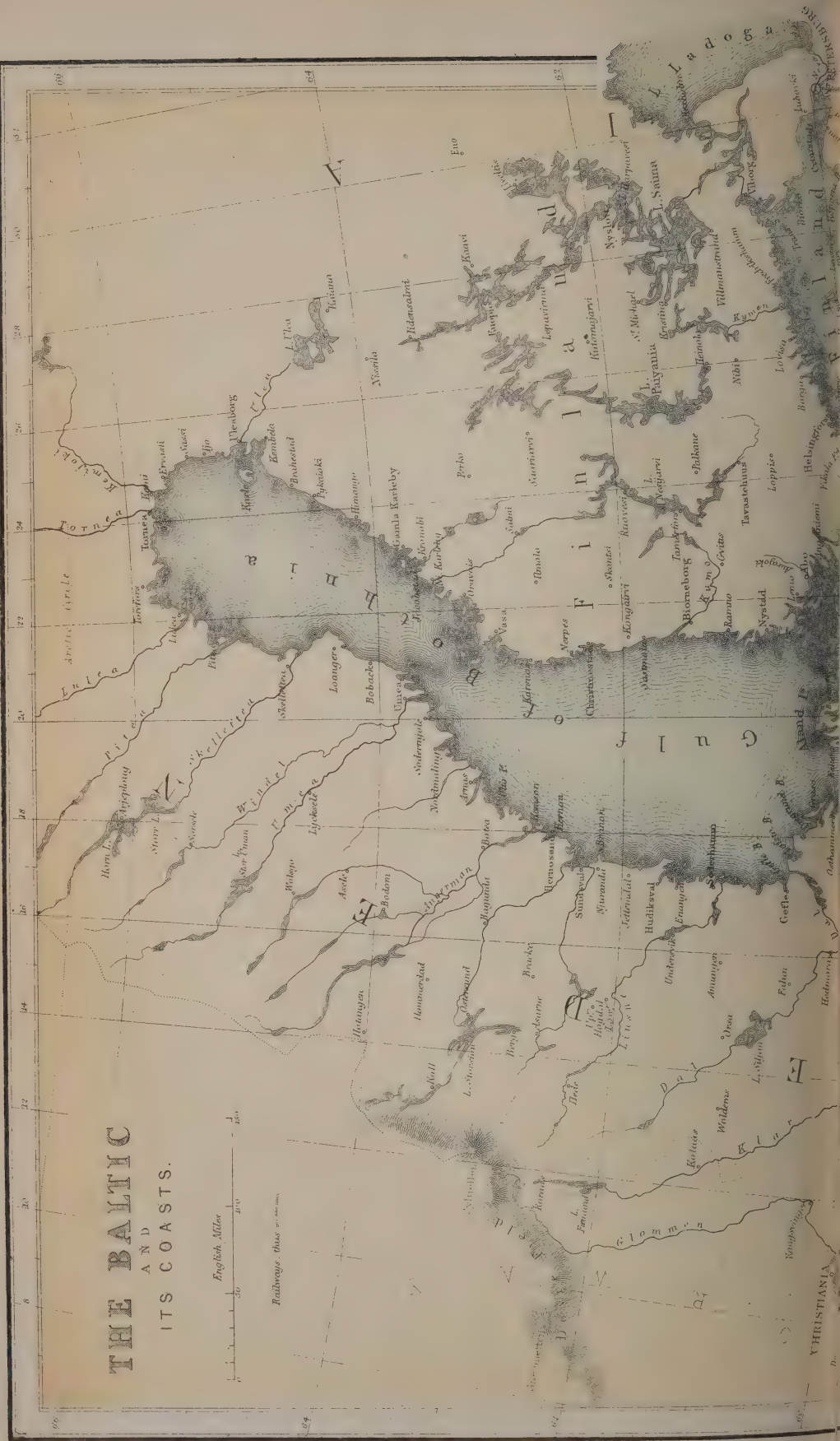


# THE BALTIC AND ITS COASTS.

English Miles



Railways three or four miles







nda. The long series of government stores  
t by the allied flotilla had not been red-  
ed; and the only sign of any communica-  
being now held by water with the Don  
one large barge upon the beach. To put  
op, however, to all traffic of this nature,  
to harass the enemy in this neighbourhood,  
re ordered Commander Craufurd to remain  
the Gulf of Azoff with two gun-vessels  
or his orders. That the squadron has not  
idle I trust this report will show; and,  
out entering into more details than I have  
, I can assure you, sir, that from Genitschi  
aganrog, and thence round to Kamisheva,  
have kept the coast in a state of constant  
n, and their troops incessantly moving.  
good service done by the gun-boats in this  
has been very great. The total amount  
rovisions, corn, fisheries, forage, and boats  
royed has been something enormous. No-  
g can exceed the zeal and activity of the  
ers or good conduct of the men constituting  
squadron, and constant work does not, I  
happy to say, appear as yet to impair their  
th."

Commander Craufurd reported to Com-  
der Osborn, as senior officer, on the 15th  
uly, from her majesty's ship *Swallow*, off  
Crooked Spit, Sea of Azoff, as follows:—

In compliance with your orders, I pro-  
ed in her majesty's steam gun-boat  
ader, with *Cracker* and *Boxer* and boats of  
squadron, to reconnoitre the Crooked Spit.  
ing cleared the spit of some mounted troops

who occupied it, I ordered a detachment of  
boats, with their respective officers, to land  
and destroy the immense fishing establishments  
and nets found upon the point of it. The  
country seemed swarming with cavalry; but  
by the able management of the officers in com-  
mand of the gun-boats, and by their good fire,  
they were effectually driven off the spit some  
distance inland. Having reconnoitred as far  
into the land as we could see from the mast-  
head of the *Grinder*, all the boats were ordered  
to land and set fire to very large and extensive  
government stores upon the upper part of the  
spit, including large fishing establishments, an  
enormous quantity of nets, haystacks, and  
several large houses used as government stores.  
I learnt from a Russian fisherman that the fish  
caught on this spit and cured here was imme-  
diately forwarded to Simpheropol for the use  
of the Crimean army; and I conclude that a  
very severe blow has been inflicted upon the  
enemy by the amount of property which was  
destroyed, including spars, timber, fish, nets,  
and boats,—apparently the most extensive  
fishing establishment in the Sea of Azoff,—  
and, I am happy to say, without a casualty.  
My thanks are due to Lieutenants Hamilton,  
of the *Grinder*, and Townsend, of the *Boxer*;  
as also to Lieutenants Rowley, of the *Curlew*;  
Grylls, of the *Fancy*; Sullivan, of the *Vesuvius*;  
Mr. Aldrich, master of the *Swallow*; Mr.  
Deare, gunner of the *Curlew*; and Mr Wind-  
sor, gunner of the *Swallow*, who, all and each,  
by their zeal and activity, rendered great ser-  
vice in destroying so large an accumulation of  
stores and houses in so short a space of time."

## CHAPTER XCIV.

AL CAMPAIGN IN THE BALTIC IN THE SUMMER OF 1855.—DESTRUCTION OF BARRACKS,  
STORES, AND OTHER RUSSIAN GOVERNMENT PROPERTY BY THE BRITISH STEAMERS AND  
GUN-BOATS.—CAPTURE OF COASTING-VESSELS.—SHELLING OF TROOPS ON THE RUSSIAN  
COASTS.—BOMBARDMENT OF SWEABORG.

"Britannia needs no bulwarks,  
No towers along the steep;  
Her path is o'er the mountain wave,  
Her home is on the deep."—CAMPBELL.

a previous chapter the operations in the  
e were given to the end of June. At the  
ing of July, Captain Yelverton, one of the  
skilful and gallant officers in the Baltic  
was sent on an expedition to the northern  
s of the Gulf of Finland. He arrived at  
sa on the 4th of July. The entrance to  
ay of Lovisa was commanded by a fort  
l Svartholm, which mounted 122 guns,  
contained a casemated barracks for 1000  
As soon as the British squadron was  
ied, the fort was evacuated and its arma-  
removed: Captain Yelverton blew up  
thing that remained. Next day the gallant

commander of the squadron took in the *Ruby*,  
with the boats of the *Arrogant* and *Magicienne*,  
to reconnoitre. The Cossacks gathered on the  
beach with field-pieces and musketry; but the  
fire from the English boats dispersed them,  
and the captain landed and demanded the  
presence of the authorities. He agreed with  
them to do no damage to the inhabitants of  
the place, and advised them to adopt precautions  
against fire while he burnt the government  
buildings. In spite of the care and the desire  
of the captain to spare the place it caught fire,  
either from the conflagration of the barracks or  
some separate cause. The authorities them-

selves attributed it to the occurrence of an accident, independent of the attack; but the Russian government, with that spirit of calumny which always characterised it, ascribed the injury inflicted to the vindictiveness of the English. The whole place perished in flames.

From the Bay of Lovisa the captain proceeded to the Bay of Kounda, on the south shores of the gulf, where there was a large encampment of Cossacks, who fled under a shower of shells and rockets from the squadron. The officers landed; but as there was no government property, they spared the place. Their landing and debarkation were acts of danger, as the enemy placed riflemen behind walls and hedges, who tried to pick off the captain himself.

The next morning he approached the mouth of the river Portsoiki, on the right bank of which there was a range of buildings, consisting of barracks and stables, occupied by Cossacks. These buildings were destroyed, the Cossacks, as usual, flying at the sight of the first rockets and shells. Thence Captain Yelverton sailed to Trangsund, off Viborg, which was a considerable town. On the 14th of July he entered the bay, and to his surprise beheld a Russian war-steamer and two gun-boats, which, by their movements, indicated that their commander intended to give battle. The delight of the English seamen, when they witnessed the prospects of a fair encounter with ships, knew no bounds; but they were, after all, disappointed, for the vessels skulked away for protection to their batteries, when they caught the first few shots. Further up the bay another steamer and several gun-boats were seen lying under an island, protected by batteries; but the approach of the squadron was rendered impossible, as stakes had been driven into the channel, and other obstructions formed. While the captain endeavoured to ascertain whether the barrier could be removed, a masked battery on the shore was suddenly unmasked, and so near, that not only balls, but grape was directed upon them, and a musquetade directed from lines of infantry. So unexpected and severe was this fire, that the British were thrown into momentary confusion, rallying from which, they drew as close to the barrier as was possible, and returned the enemy's fire. This combat was sustained for an hour, but the enemy was too numerous, and his defences too solidly and ingeniously placed, to make any impression upon them. The appearance of their ships and boats, and the indications of a desire to accept battle, were only means of decoy to bring the British into such a position as the guns and musketry of the defence could most successfully assail. A shell burst in the cutter of the *Arrogant*, which swamped her, and killed Mr. Story, the midshipman in command. The crew were picked

up; but while this service was being performed the boat drifted close to the battery, and with difficulty saved from being made a trophy by the enemy. Lieutenants Haggard, Dowell volunteered, and a number of gun sailors volunteered with them, to bring out the cutter from under the battery, which they accomplished. So skilfully did Captain Yelverton direct his little flotilla, and so skilfully his orders executed by officers and men, the English only sustained a loss of one killed and nine wounded; the number of the killed was slightly increased as the boats retired, the enemy's rifles crowded the shores, and kept up a sharp fire for some time, but were driven inland, with loss, by shells from the British. Captain Yelverton immediately directed the course to Stralsund.

On the 17th of July, Admirals Dundas, Penaud, and Seymour, with the Hon. Lord Pelham, captain of the fleet, went in the *Zeus* to reconnoitre Sweaborg. When yet more than 3000 yards from the batteries, several marine explosive machines were sprung, galvanic wires from the shore. None of these were exploded at the right moment, and no damage was sustained. The admirals were of opinion that Sweaborg was assailable by gun-boats only. The next day they reconnoitred Revel, where they found miles of batteries skilfully connected with one another, and fewer than 400 guns, judiciously placed to protect the approaches.

Meanwhile Captain Yelverton continued his activity in his separate mission, not allowing a Russian ship or boat to show itself within the scope of his operations. On the 20th of July he arrived before the fortress of Frederickshamn on the western shores of the Gulf of Finland, half-way between Viborg and Helsingfors. As the ships neared the place several ladies in the town were seen at a picnic in the park, quite free, apparently, from any alarm; but when the first guns were opened against the fortress, the ladies became terror-stricken, and fled out of sight. The cannonade was maintained for nearly an hour and a half, and the guns of the enemy were dismounted, and the men fled from the embrasures, and the fortress was "knocked about a good deal." The loss of life on the part of the enemy was very severe, especially among the troops on shore. One mounted officer was seen to be struck from his horse by a shell. The British loss was little; two men belonging to the *Ruby* were dangerously wounded, and one of the crew of the *Arrogant* slightly; both the *Arrogant* and the *Magicienne* were repeatedly struck in their hulls and rigging by round-shot, and some damage was sustained. One of the suburbs of the town was burnt, Captain Yelverton having done his best to spare the place; for this

THE SINKING OF THE SWEDISH SHIP "THE PRINCE OF BISMARCK" IN 1871





ssian government was not thankful, but represented the houses of the inhabitants as being reduced to ashes by the vengeful spirit of the English.

On the morning of the 26th of July, the *Arrogant* in command was reinforced by the *Cossack* and by a little flotilla of mortar-boats, consisting of the *Prompt*, *Pickle*, *Rocket*, and *Warrior*. With these he proceeded to the Island of Kotka, which was well fortified. He placed his mortar-vessels and two gun-boats beyond the island, and with the rest of his squadron, moved to the westward of the island, in order to destroy a bridge which connected it with the mainland, and thereby prevent reinforcements from arriving, and also cut off the retreat of the garrison. He committed this duty to Captain Vansittart, of the *Magicienne*. The Russians had abandoned the place when the marines landed, having been warned by telegraphic communications along the coast that the squadron was at hand. A small amount of government stores was destroyed by the British, as well as the telegraph station, barracks, magazines, stables, and governor's residence; the village was nearly consumed, by the wind driving the flames against it from the burning buildings. Captain Yelverton left the island on the 27th, leaving the *Cossack* to watch it, and prevent the return of the garrison. Captain Yelverton next anchored off the mouth of the Kymene. The destruction of the houses and buildings on the island was very annoying to the Russians, especially when Captain Yelverton's despatches made the people of Europe acquainted with the humiliation inflicted there, and generally by the expeditionary squadron under his command. The despatches of Admiral Dundas for July, including the captain's reports, give the necessary details, and will be found below. From a letter he wrote, on the 17th of July:—

I transmit herewith, to be laid before my commissioners of the Admiralty, a report of the proceedings during the past week by Captain Yelverton, who rejoined me yesterday at this anchorage in her majesty's ship *Arrogant*, and who with the *Magicienne* and *Ruby* gun-boats in company, visited the coast of the Gulf of Finland, and attacked the military posts of the enemy at Kounda and in the river Portsoiki. Returning afterwards to his former station in the Bay of Viborg, he proceeded with boats towards the island, and engaged with a superior force of the enemy, defended by batteries. I request you to express to their lordships my approbation of the conduct of this enterprising officer upon these occasions, and I would beg to recommend their favourable notice the conduct of Captain Vansittart, of the *Magicienne*, and of

Lieutenant Haggard, of the *Arrogant*, and Lieutenant Dowell, of the Royal Marine Artillery, and the excellent behaviour of all the officers and men. Captain Yelverton has spoken favourably also of the conduct of Mr. Hale, mate, in command of the *Ruby*. I regret much to have to report the loss of Mr. Story, midshipman of the *Arrogant*, with nine others wounded in the boats of the two ships, of whom one is since dead."

This letter contained the following inclosure written by Captain Yelverton on board the *Arrogant* the 14th of July:—

"I have the honour to acquaint you with my proceedings during the week. The *Magicienne* rejoined me on Wednesday, and I proceeded direct to Kounda Bay, on the south coast, where I had reason to think that troops were concentrated. It turned out to be a large Cossack encampment, on a most commanding position, whence I dislodged them with shell and rockets from the *Ruby* and ships' boats. Some opposition was made to our landing, and shots fired from behind hedges, &c.; but I succeeded in examining the place, which I did not injure, as it only contained private property. The following morning I anchored at the mouth of the river Portsoiki, and, landing on its right bank, destroyed a Cossack barrack and stables, driving the soldiers into the country. I then came on here. Having anchored the ships as close as I could to the island of Stralsund, I proceeded in the *Ruby*, accompanied by Captain Vansittart of the *Magicienne*, and Captain Lowder, Royal Marines, of this ship, the latter officer having under his command a strong detachment of marines. We towed with us the boats of the ship, under the command of Lieutenants Haggard and Woolcombe, and those of the *Magicienne*, under the command of Lieutenants King and Leady. Having opened the bay called Trangsund, we saw a Russian man-of-war steamer, with two large gun-boats in tow, not far off; this most novel and unexpected sight of a Russian man-of-war—for once clear of a stone wall, and to all appearance inclined to give us a fair and honest fight—created the greatest enthusiasm among the men and officers. I directed Mr. Hale, commanding the *Ruby*, to open fire on her at once, but she very soon retired out of range, having, I think, received some damage. We had now reached the entrance of the Sound; Viborg was in sight, and a fair prospect of attacking three large gun-boats, lying with another steamer under an island about one mile off. We were here brought up by a barrier, impeding the passage of the gun-boat and launches. At this moment a masked battery on the left bank, not more than 350 yards

off, opened on us a heavy fire of musketry, round and grape; this was instantly returned and kept in check by a rapid and well-directed fire from the *Ruby* and all the boats. The enemy's steamer and gun-boats then came from under the island and also opened fire on us. As it was impossible to get the *Ruby* through the barrier, I returned towards Stralsund, the enemy's riflemen following us along the banks, but driven from their positions as fast as they took them by the fire from the *Ruby* and boats. An explosion took place in one of the *Arrogant's* cutters, which swamped the boat; the men were saved, but I regret to say that Mr. Story, the midshipman in command of her, was killed. In endeavouring to save the crew, the boat drifted close to the battery, and would have fallen into the hands of the enemy, had not Lieutenant Haggard, of this ship, and Lieutenant Dowell, R.M.A., of the *Magicienne*, in the *Ruby's* gig, with a volunteer crew, towed her out under a very heavy fire. I cannot sufficiently praise the conduct of all the officers and men who were engaged in this affair, where their cool and determined courage enabled them to handle most severely, and keep in check for upwards of an hour the enemy, far superior in number, with the advantage of local knowledge and a good position."

The above was addressed to Admiral Dundas. The following is an extract of a letter from Rear-admiral the Hon. R. S. Dundas to the Secretary of the Admiralty, dated *Duke of Wellington*, at Nargen, July 23:—

"I have the satisfaction of transmitting a copy of a report which I have received from Captain Yelverton, detailing the circumstances under which, with the *Cossack*, *Magicienne*, and *Ruby* in company, he had again availed himself of an opportunity to attack, with good effect, a position occupied by troops of the enemy, assembled in considerable force, for the defence of Fredericksham; and I have much pleasure in transmitting to their lordship this additional proof of the zeal and gallantry of the officers and men under his orders, and of their good conduct, especially of Mr. H. G. Hale, mate, and the crew of the *Ruby* gun-boat."

The inclosure was dated off the Crops' Islands, July 22, on board the *Arrogant*:—

"I have the honour to inform you that on leaving the fleet I proceeded off the Island of Hogland, where I was joined by the *Cossack*, *Magicienne*, and *Ruby* gun-boat. Information having reached me that the enemy had sent 3000 troops to Fredericksham, and were making every possible exertion to put the place in a state of defence, I lost no time in getting there. I arrived on the afternoon

of the 20th, and would have attacked that evening, but that the *Ruby* got on in examining the intricate channel leading to the town, and it was too late to take the ship in by the time she was off. Early the following morning I succeeded in getting the ships into the town, and at 9'40 we opened fire. In an engagement of one hour, the enemy ceased fire, and abandoned their guns, some of which were dismounted. If I judge by the number of men we saw them carrying away on stretchers, they must have suffered severely. I am happy to say the injury on our side has been trifling, though our hull bears evidence of the precision with which they fired, but, generally speaking, their shot fell short. I regret to say that one man belonging to the *Ruby* was dangerously wounded by a round-shot. I must not allow this opportunity to pass without mentioning Mr. Hale, mate, commandant of the *Ruby* gun-boat, who, together with his able crew, deserve the highest praise for the way in which they worked and fought the long gun, so close to this that I had an opportunity of observing the precision of their fire. One portion of a suburb caught fire, and was destroyed, but I am happy to say the town remained uninjured, owing to the strict observance of an order I gave to fire on the enemy only."

At the end of July Admiral Dundas wrote to the Admiralty as follows:—

"I beg you will be pleased to acquaint the lords commissioners of the Admiralty having received on the 24th instant, from Captain Yelverton, of her majesty's ship *Arrogant*, information which appeared to render it desirable that he should again examine the south-western shores of the Island of Kogland. I took immediate measures to strengthen the squadron under his orders by the addition of four gun-boats, to be detached from off Cronstadt by Rear-admiral Baynes, together with the further addition of four mortar-vessels, which he had hoped to be able to employ. I have much satisfaction in transmitting to their lordship's information the inclosed report of proceedings of Captain Yelverton, who, at the squadron under his orders, has again succeeded in completing the destruction of buildings and military stores to a considerable extent on the Island of Kotka; and I beg to more to express my entire approbation of the manner in which he has executed the service intrusted to him, and of the conduct of the officers and men employed on the occasion. I am happy in having this opportunity to recommend to the favourable notice of their lordship the conduct of Mr. George Giles, master of the *Arrogant*, and Mr. Macfarlane, the master

the *Magicienne*, who have now been continually employed in those ships on the various cruises which I have recently had occasion to visit."

The inclosure, written by Captain Yelverton, dated July 28th, off the mouth of the gulf is—

I have the honour to inform you that early on the morning of the 26th I joined, off the Island of Hogland, by the *Cossack* and *Magicienne*, bringing with them two mortar-vessels *Prompt*, *Pickle*, *Rocket*, and *Ver*. I stood immediately to the northward, leaving the *Ruby* to bring on the guns, which were not then in sight. They arrived at noon, and at 2 P.M. we all anchored off Fort Rotsensholm. As the safety of our expedition rested chiefly on our investing and cutting the entire possession of the fortified town of Kotka, I determined upon taking it by force. Accordingly, I anchored the mortar-vessels out of range, and, leaving two gunboats to look after them, I proceeded with the remainder of the vessels to the westward of Kotka for the purpose of destroying the bridge, so as to prevent the retreat of the garrison, and prevent their reinforcements from the mainland. Captain Vansittart, of the *Magicienne*, with accustomed zeal and activity, threaded his way at once through the shoals, and destroyed the bridge. As soon as all the vessels had anchored, so as to command the great military road leading from the fort of Hogsfors Holm, I also the channel dividing the island from the mainland, I landed all the marines, under the command of Captain S. N. Lowder, R.M., Lieutenants George D. Dowell, R.M.A., and Lieutenants H. C. Mudge and P. R. Jones, R.M., who took possession without being opposed, as the garrison (no doubt apprised of our coming by the telegraphs along the coast) had very recently evacuated, leaving behind them a large amount of military stores, which have since been burnt. I beg to inclose a list\* of all the crown property destroyed by Captain Lowder, including barracks, magazines, ordnance stores, store-houses, stables, and houses, and other government buildings, and an immense amount of timber, intended for building and other military purposes. The following morning I weighed, leaving Captain Vansittart in command of the *Cossack* in charge of this important point, which required the most care and attention, as the enemy on several occasions threw out reconnoitring parties, as if inclined to attempt the recovery of the island. I feel it due to Mr. George A. Macfarlane, master of this ship, and Mr. George A.

Macfarlane, master of the *Magicienne*, to mention the zeal and attention with which they have sounded and buoyed, night and day, the intricate channels of this coast, enabling me (without the assistance of pilots) to get into many places where our presence was least expected.

"P.S.—Owing to a change of wind to the eastward, I regret to say that the village unfortunately caught fire from some government buildings, and, I fear, much injury was done to it. It is, however, a source of congratulation to be able to add that the fine church on the island sustained no damage whatever, owing to the precautions that were immediately taken to save it."

The generous spirit of the British naval officer pervaded both the actions and despatches of Captain Yelverton.

The month of August opened more eventfully than that of July. Dundas had resolved to bombard Sweaborg, and accordingly, on the 6th of August, accompanied by Admiral Seymour, he left Nargen, and the same day anchored before Sweaborg, where the French fleet, under Admiral Penaud, formed a junction with the British.

The attack was contemplated for the 7th; but Admiral Penaud suggested that if a mortar-battery was constructed on the Island of Langorn, it would greatly promote the success of the operations, which were delayed until that work was effected. This the French undertook, and raised a sand-bag battery, on which they mounted four of the best English 13-inch mortars. This was a work of difficulty from various causes; but was completed on the 9th. During the 8th the imperial flag floated over the batteries of Sweaborg and the city of Helsingfors; it was rumoured that the emperor, the Grand-duke Constantine, or some other member of the imperial family, had visited the place, the intention of bombarding it, formed by the allies, becoming somehow known to the enemy. On the 9th the imperial standard disappeared; but crowds of persons from Helsingfors and the shores of Finland were upon the batteries, eagerly gazing upon the mighty fleet which covered the waters before them.

During the 8th the preparations of the allies were made complete; and on the 9th, at a quarter to seven o'clock, the signal from the flagship ordered, "Gun and mortar-vessels open fire with shell." It was, from some cause, three quarters of an hour before the first shell was thrown, and then the whole line promptly followed, and a blaze of fire began the granite defences of Sweaborg. The distance selected was 3600 yards; but the gun-boats ran in 500 yards nearer, discharged

\*This list is omitted, being a mere inventory of the property destroyed, and therefore uninteresting to the general reader.

their missiles, retired, wheeling round in a circle, and firing, somewhat in the way practised by the ships which bombarded Odessa. The perpetual motion of the gun and mortar-boats rendered it impossible for the batteries to keep a precise range, so that a galling fire was kept up against the enemy with impunity. Before noticing the details of the battle, some general remarks upon the bombardment are desirable.

Sweaborg defended the roads of Helsingfors, the new capital of Finland. The fortifications which went by the name of Sweaborg were erected on seven islands, the batteries being constructed in the granite rocks of which these islands are composed. So strong were these fortifications, that Sweaborg was called the *Gibraltar of the North*. No less than 800 guns of various calibre were mounted there, and 12,000 troops were in barrack. Sir Charles Napier subsequently pronounced Sweaborg, as well as Cronstadt, impregnable by sea or land. The capture of Sweaborg would be a serious blow to the power of Russia in the Baltic, but there was little probability of so auspicious a conquest. To land troops upon the islands as long as there were batteries unsilenced and infantry to point the rifle, in their occupancy, was next to impossible—perhaps impossible. The granite was cut perpendicularly fifty feet; the island batteries flanked one another; the channels between them were closed by sunken ships and immense piles of granite and disabled guns. To attain the islands, except by starving out the garrison, was therefore out of the question; and that could not have been done, for the city of Helsingfors, itself fortified, was behind, with a powerful body of troops, and supplies of all kind, "*quantum suff.*" Helsingfors itself could only be conquered from the sea; when Sweaborg would be occupied, and the channels cleared, even then a formidable resistance could be made, for the southern batteries, so strong the previous year, were made far more formidable. Helsingfors was the second arsenal of Russia upon the Baltic, and its conquest would be of great value to the allies. There were no ships there in 1855, as the Russians contrived, with that perseverance and industry which characterises all their military proceedings, to get the whole of the ships up to Cronstadt during the winter. What our navy accomplished at Sweaborg was very important; they made havoc by vertical firing among the troops, and thus caused a heavy loss to the Russian army; they both by a vertical and sweeping fire injured the cannon, broke the port-holes, and otherwise damaged the batteries; they demolished the splendid barracks, and all the destructible material of war contained upon the islands, and by the explosion of a magazine whole batteries and

their guns were blown into the air; and this was effected without any loss of ship or life: about four officers and 110 men were killed. The computation of casualties. Our readers must not suppose, however, that Sweaborg might, in the result of such a bombardment, have fallen into the hands of the allies, or that the power of the garrison was so broken, that the fleet could approach its granite walls with impunity. Had Admiral Dundas, with his line-of-battle ships within the range of the fortifications, he could not have brought them in safety away, some would have been captured or blown up. Our readers must not, therefore, be the least astonished to hear that the Russians offered a *Te Deum* for the victory at Sweaborg. They treated it as a repulse of the allies, although the repulse of an attack from which the garrison suffered heavily. The result set about repairing their disasters, which was accomplished, placing Sweaborg in a more formidable position than ever. From Helsingfors there was as free an ingress to Sweaborg as there was to Sebastopol from the steppes of the Crimea—from Simpheropol, Bagtché Salmar and Perekop. Provisions, ammunition, gun stores, men, replaced whatever of all these was destroyed, and in such way as to resist a similar attack more effectually. In what, then, did the victory of the allies consist? In the destruction of men and materials of war at a comparatively little cost. If Russia should place any great amount of stores there again, or erect new barracks, however constructed with a view to resist a similar assault, the allies would bring new appliances of attack against them, and cause the occupation of the fortress to be so expensive in life and treasure to Russia as to assist in exhausting her resources. It did not matter where the allies compelled her to draw upon resources disproportionate to their own—they would by the same means steadily and rapidly end the war; and Russia, without losing either Sweaborg or Sebastopol by arms, would be compelled to give in, because no longer able to supply the points of defence with the necessary means. Both places would fall from imperial exhaustion if the allies were richer in resources and greater in power. Russia was unquestionably inferior to either of the Western allies in these respects; and her only hope, therefore, was to hold on until some chance disagreement weakened the alliance, or Germany, from jealousy of that alliance, joined her. Even in the latter case the allies would be the ultimate victors if they remained united, for Germany, vulnerable on all points, would become the theatre of war, and her coasts be ravaged by the avenging fleets of her enemies, which she had neither ships nor fortresses to resist. Austrian Italy would be at once lost to the im-

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sceptre, and the liberty of Poland and of Hungary would be proclaimed. The people of the realms would rise in insurrection, and all would arm against the Northern confederacy. It would be Russia and Germany against the world, and (humanly speaking) the world would win.

Returning from this general review of the bombardment, its importance and its consequences to the detail of operations, the first thing which presents itself as noticeable was the inability of the batteries to throw their shot so far as the boats by which they were bombarded. It has been already noticed that when the boats were within range their constant movement balked the aim of the Russian gunners; when the enemy perceived this, it could be seen that it produced upon them a most disquieting effect, and their fire, which at first delivered with remarkable energy, began to slacken.

After about three hours' bombardment, fires broke suddenly up from the principal island, and a large magazine exploded. Had the island itself exploded, torn from its granite base by some sudden convulsion, it could hardly be supposed that the noise would be more astounding; far over land and sea the loud report burst, so that the people on the neighboring shores supposed that by some mighty simultaneous operation all the island batteries had blown up, the Russians themselves finding this untenable, and determined to blast them rather than allow them to fall into the possession of their foes. Although this explosion and disheartening conviction that they could not obtain the range of their assailants caused the gunners to slacken the fire of the batteries for some hours, yet they suddenly renewed their efforts, as if inspired by some new impulse, or animated by some freshly discovered expedient. They had not long recommenced this fierce cannonade, when another of their magazines was exploded, rolling the very thunder of its reports to remote distances. This took place about twelve o'clock. Shells, arms, roofs of houses, and materials of war of almost every description used in war, were flung into the air, the descending shower of which fell among the garrison, maiming and wounding men, setting fire to combustible *matériel*, and causing minor explosions. The extended the like effects, until everything combustible was ignited, and the islands resembled a Pandemonium. The sailors in the line-of-battle ships crowded the yards, cheering heartily, their excitement reaching an unstrainable degree, and their desire to join in the conflict expressed in the most impassioned energy. The view of burning barracks and magazines obtained from the masts of the ships was most sublime; none who witnessed it

can ever forget it. The smaller war-steamers made efforts to near the sphere of battle. The *Cornwallis*, *Hastings*, and *Amphion* at the same instant poured forth their broadsides; the *Arrogant*, *Cruiser*, and *Cossack*, threw their fire upon one of the islands, where the troops of the garrison seemed to have been collected. The thunder of these larger ships added to the sublimity of the occasion, but it is doubtful whether they contributed much to the victory, their range being too distant: they fought with a policy too cautious to effect much. The cannonade was sustained until eight o'clock in the evening without the smallest abatement of energy on the part of the assailants; the guns of the defence were fitfully worked, sometimes with the energy of sudden hope or intense despair, and again languidly: confusion and terror appeared to pervade the garrison. There were a number of merchant ships, steam and sailing, which had been armed for the defence, also many gun-boats, and probably a few men-of-war (although it had been generally alleged that all these had been removed to Cronstadt). The shipping shared the destruction of magazines and batteries, and the marine partook of the confusion of the army on the islands. After eight o'clock the British mortar-vessels were drawn off, many of the mortars disabled by incessant firing, and no longer fit for use. At that hour the islands appeared like the craters of volcanoes, sending up their furious fires, and hurling up whatever came within the play of the previously pent up force. During the night the scene was therefore one of awful grandeur, striking every one who saw or performed a part in the terrible drama with the dread sublimity of war. The night of the 9th was comparatively quiet on the part of the assailants, their mortars being too hot for use. On the 10th the bombardment was renewed by a similar process, and with similar results. During the night the rocket-boats alone maintained the combat, arching the space between them and the batteries with streams of fire until the morning dawned. On the 11th for some time the fire was renewed, but the admiral had not a sufficient force of gun-boats or mortar-vessels, or, as Sir Charles Napier afterwards said in a speech in London, one stone of the batteries would not have been left upon another. To the shame of the British Admiralty, the admiral was without the means requisite to complete his work. Several of the mortars were split up, some splintered, others softened, and nearly all in a condition to render further use of them impracticable. During the two days and nights, and part of a third day, the English hurled 1000 tons of iron balls and shells into an area of about three square miles; 100 tons of gunpowder was consumed by them in doing so. The loss of the allies

was perhaps the most trivial ever sustained where so severe a chastisement was inflicted upon an enemy; they could not even rival in their despatches the reports of the Russians, who usually returned the loss of one man (nearly always an unfortunate Cossack) as the damage to human life in any encounters where there was a chance of concealing the real proportions of their loss. The French admiral contrived to get a Russian subject on the islands as a spy; he remained some days before he found an opportunity to return, when he reported that the entire of the dockyards, barracks, magazines, government buildings, and stores, were destroyed, twenty-three ships burned by the shells and rockets, and 1000 men put *hors de combat*. The testimony of a man of this description was very little to be relied upon. The Russian accounts of the results were very different as to the loss of men; they could not deny the destruction of buildings and *materiel*. According to one of these narratives, 111 men killed and about twice as many wounded, was the total loss. It was denied by these narrators that any vessels were wrecked or burned, except one, and only a few light craft were slightly injured. After the war terminated, an official report admitted the serious injury of several. The following extract of a letter from St. Petersburg, in 1856, after the peace, further illustrates this:—"Apropos of Sweaborg, it may be mentioned that about five or six vessels have been lately proclaimed by the Russian Admiralty to be unseaworthy, in consequence of the injuries they received at the bombardment of Sweaborg. Hitherto it had always been affirmed that only one vessel had received any damage on that occasion. These half-dozen vessels will in future be employed in the harbour service."

A fine ship, a three-decker, had not been removed to Cronstadt with other large vessels of war during the winter of 1854 or early spring of 1855. This vessel was used when the bombardment began, at anchorage between Gustafsvaard and Bak-Holmen, to prevent the allies from forcing a passage between them. It suffered so much after the first day's shelling, that it was withdrawn in the night. She was brought into shallow water, and lay upon her side there when the allied fleet withdrew from before the islands.

After the bombardment terminated, great alarm was felt in Helsingfors, and an immense covering was placed over certain buildings, marked with the words "Lunatic Asylum." They had good reason to be alarmed, for the allies, however unable to destroy the batteries of Sweaborg, could have done considerable damage to the city. A difference on this subject was said to arise between the English and French admirals. Admiral Penaud was

anxious that something should be attempted against so important a town, observing, "It was much honour in burning Sweaborg there would be more satisfaction in destroying Helsingfors." Admiral Dundas demurred the ground that injury would be visited on the inhabitants, and as "the batteries under a beautiful cathedral," that but might suffer. The reluctance of Admiral Dundas, on such grounds, to attack that place excited the astonishment of the fleet, and the people at home. Yet it is wonderful any surprise should be excited by a lord of the Aberdeen Admiralty sparing Russia, and especially where a Russian cathedral might receive any damage. Admiral Dundas knew the policy of the rulers of France and England better than Admiral Penaud did: as member of the English board of Admiralty, he had an opportunity of knowing how reluctant the Emperor was, and the ruling classes in France, really to humble the power of Russia, to compel a peace without humiliating or weakening the power of her conservative government as a counterpoise to the revolutionary ideas on the Continent, was their united object in the war. Lord Palmerston desired more than this; but the members of his government generally were nearly little disposed as the Peelites to curtail Russian power as long as Russia was conservative, high governmental, official, and aristocratic claims.

While the fleet remained in force before Sweaborg, the garrison exercised the utmost vigilance. A Mr. Hughes went in his yacht, the *War Pet*, from curiosity, to have a near look at the batteries than that obtained from the fleet; and as soon as he came within range, a shower of projectiles fell around him, his *War Pet* and its occupants escaped with difficulty. Thus ended the operations before Sweaborg, and on the 13th the fleets returned, the admirals occupying their old headquarters at Nargen. The following despatch will throw additional light on the narrative. From the *Duke of Wellington*, before Sweaborg, August 13th, Admiral Dundas wrote:—

"I have the honour to report, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that after my arrival here on the 6th instant, with the squadron under my orders, I was joined the same evening by Rear-admiral Penaud, in the *Tourville*, and the following day by the remainder of the French squadron, including, in addition to the ships of the line, five mortar-vessels and six gun-boats, with the store-ships and storeships. On the 7th instant the *Amiral* arrived from Nargen, completing the British squadron, to the ships and vessels named





margin;\* and the intention of Rear-admiral and myself being to commence operations against the fortress and arsenal of Swea—no time was lost in making the necessary arrangements.

My former reports will have informed lordships that during the past year, and the course of the last five months, the enemy have been actively employed in strengthening the defences of the place, and completing the defences; by erecting batteries on every advantageous position, and commanding every available approach to the harbour in this late navigation. It has, therefore, formed part of my plan to attempt a general attack on the ships on the defences; and the operations contemplated by the rear-admiral and myself were limited to such destruction of the fortress and arsenal as could be accomplished by means of mortars. The intricate nature of the ground, from rocks awash and reefs under water, rendered it difficult to select positions for the mortar-vessels at proper range. In completing the arrangements for this purpose, we derived the greatest advantage from the services of Captain Sullivan, of her majesty's ship *Merlin*; and the positions ultimately selected were in a curved line on either side of the islet of Oterhall, with space in the centre reserved for the mortar-vessels of the French squadron, as concerted with Rear-admiral Audouin. The extremes of the line were determined, with reference to the extent of the bay and the distance from the heavily-armed batteries of Bak-Holmen to the eastward, and of Stora Rantan to the westward of Swea—; and a most effective addition to the force of the allied squadrons consisted in a battery of lighter mortars established by Admiral Audouin on an islet in advance of Oterhall. To these arrangements into effect, I directed Captain Ramsay, of her majesty's ship *Endymion*, with Captain Glasse, of the *Vulture*, Captain Vansittart, of the *Magicienne*, and Captain Stewart, of the *Dragon*, to anchor to the eastward of Oterhall; and the mortar-vessels, under the charge of Lieutenant the Honourable Augustus C. Hobart, of the *Duke of Wellington*, were distributed to the care of those officers, whose ships were anchored on the evening of the 7th instant, in position, in readiness to warp into action; and hawsers for that purpose were

laid out before daylight. Much assistance in towing was rendered by the officers of the gun-boats, and great praise is due to all concerned for their active exertions.

"In the course of the same night, Rear-admiral Penaud had commenced the establishment of his battery with sand-bags on the rocks within Oterhall; but the active arrangements could not be completed before the morning of the 9th instant. During the whole of the previous day the royal standard of Russia was flying upon the citadel of Gustafsvaard, but was not afterwards observed. The success of our operations being dependent entirely on the state of the weather and the rapidity with which shells could be thrown, no time was lost in trying the ranges of the mortars, which proved to be accurate, and general firing commenced soon after seven o'clock. The direction of this service was confided to Captain T. M. Wemyss, of the royal marine artillery, assisted by Captain Lawrence and Captain Schomberg; and every exertion was used by these officers to press the fire of the mortars to the fullest extent which could be deemed proper. The gun-boats having been previously armed with additional guns of heavy calibre, removed temporarily from ships of the line, and the *Stork* and *Snapper* gun-boats being armed with Lancaster guns, I availed myself of the experience of Captain Hewlett to direct the fire of the two latter vessels to the greatest advantage; and his attention was specially directed to a three-decked ship of the line, moored to block the passage between Gustafsvaard and Bak-Holmen. Commander Preedy, of the ship bearing my flag, was directed to take the *Starling* and four other gun-boats under his orders, and to manœuvre and attack the batteries in front of the mortar-vessels towards the west extremity of the line. The remainder were distributed in a similar manner to stations assigned to them, with orders to engage the batteries and protect the mortar-vessels, under the general direction of Captain Ramsay, assisted by Captains Glasse, Vansittart, and Stewart.

"On the evening of the 8th instant, I had dispatched Captain Key, in her majesty's ship *Amphion*, to proceed off Stora Miolo, and to place himself under the orders of Captain Wellesley, of her majesty's ship *Cornwallis*; and I instructed the latter officer to employ the *Hastings* and the *Amphion*, and to take advantage of any proper opportunity to engage the enemy at the east end of the island of Sandhamn. Captain Yelverton, in her majesty's ship *Arrogant*, was detached to the westward, with the *Cossack* and *Cruiser* under his orders, and was directed to occupy the attention of troops which were observed to be posted on the island of Drumsio, and to watch the movements of small

vessels which had been noticed occasionally in creeks in that direction.

"Early in the day I observed that the detached squadrons in both directions had opened fire upon the enemy, and the action was general upon all points. A rapid fire of shot and shells was kept up from the fortress for the first few hours upon the gun-boats, and the range of the heavy batteries extended completely beyond the mortar-vessels; but the continued motion of the gun-boats, and the able manner in which they were conducted by the officers who commanded them, enabled them to return the fire with great spirit, and almost with impunity throughout the day. About ten o'clock in the forenoon, fires began first to be observed in the different buildings, and a heavy explosion took place on the island of Vargon, which was followed by a second about an hour afterwards; a third, and far more important explosion, occurred about noon on the island of Gustafsvaard, inflicting much damage upon the defences of the enemy, and tending greatly to slacken the fire from the guns in that direction. The advantage of the rapidity with which the fire from the mortars had been directed was apparent in the continued fresh conflagrations which spread extensively on the island of Vargon. The intricate nature of the reefs, on which the gun-boats had occasionally grounded, compelled me also to recall them before sunset, and the fire of the enemy was slack. The boats of the fleet were then ordered to be assembled with rockets before dark, and under the direction of Captain Caldwell, in command of the ship bearing my flag, they maintained a continuous fire for upwards of three hours, which was attended with considerable success, causing fresh fires and adding much to the general conflagration.

"At daylight on the morning of the 10th instant, the positions of several of the mortar-vessels had been advanced within easier range, and the gun-boats were again directed to engage. The three-decked ship which had been moored by the enemy to block and defend the channel between Gustafsvaard and Bak-Holmen had been withdrawn during the night to a more secure position, but the fire from the batteries was increased, and the engagement was renewed with activity on both sides; fires continued to burn without intermission within the fortress, and about noon a column of smoke, heavier and darker than any which had yet been observed, and succeeded by bright flames, gave signs that the shells had reached combustible materials in the direction of the arsenal; the exact situation was at first concealed from our view, but, the flames continuing to spread, it was soon evident that they extended beyond the island of Vargon, and that many buildings on the island of Swartoe were already in pro-

gress of destruction. By the judicious management of the officers of artillery, a steady fire was kept up during the whole of the following night. The rocket-boats in the evening again assembled, when the gun-boats were called, and proceeded successively in several divisions. The first, under the direct command of Captain Seymour, of the *Pembroke*, made excellent practice, at a distance of about 1000 yards from the fortress; the second, under the direction of Captain Caldwell, at a later part of the night, succeeded also in adding to the already burning; but the glare of the fire exposing the boats to the view of the enemy, they maintained their ground under a fire of bursting shells with steady gallantry. Considering the extent of injury which had now been inflicted upon the enemy, and realizing that few buildings of importance remained to be destroyed on the Island of Vargon, and that those still standing upon Swartoe were within the extreme extent of our range, and in positions where no shells had yet reached them, I was of opinion that no proportionate advantage was to be gained by continuing the fire during another day. I accordingly dispatched Captain Seymour, of her majesty's ship *Pembroke*, to communicate with Rear-admiral Penaud, with the cordiality and ready concord which we have invariably experienced from that admiral, and arrangements were immediately concerted in order given to cease fire after daylight. The fire, except at the rocket-boats, had been returned by the enemy during the night, and ceased almost entirely on his side before daylight, although the sea defences in general were little injured.

"It remains for me to transmit now for your lordships' information the inclosed report of the proceedings of Captain Wellesley, of her majesty's ship *Cornwallis*, with the detached squadron to the eastward, on the 9th instant, and I beg you will inform their lordships of the troops on Drumsio having offered no resistance to the ships under the orders of Captain Yelverton, he returned to his former anchorage the same evening. Inclosed are the lists of casualties\* which have occurred in execution of the service which I have had the honor to perform in detail; and I am thankful to say that there have been fewer than could possibly have been expected under the fire to which those who were engaged were repeatedly exposed. Some of the most severe injuries are those which unfortunately occurred from explosions of the rockets in the boats of the *Hastings* and *Vulture*.

"Their lordships will observe that I abstain entirely from reports on the proceedings of the detached squadron under the command of Rear-admiral Penaud, which will, no doubt, be fully reported to you.

\* These lists are omitted, as not of sufficient importance to justify their insertion.

explained to his own government; but I be permitted to acknowledge my deep of the valuable co-operation they have led, and to express my admiration of the conduct of those under his orders, and warmest thanks for the cordial support which I have received.

I have much satisfaction in reporting in most favourable manner on the conduct of officers, seamen, and marines under my command; and I transmit, for their lordships' information, the lists of the officers and others who were employed on the various detached service which occurred during the operations.\*

My best thanks are due to Rear-admiral Michael Seymour, who has at all times rendered me the most ready assistance. From the Hon. Frederick Pelham, captain of the fleet, I have received the most valuable support, and the energy and ability with which he has performed the important duties of his station have tended greatly to further the execution of the service, and demand my warmest thanks. I am much indebted to Sir John Ramsay, of her majesty's ship *Eurydice*, for his active and useful exertions, as also to Captain Glasse, of the *Vulture*, and to Mr. Vansittart, of the *Magicienne*, and to more than to Captain Stewart, of her majesty's ship *Dragon*, whose zeal and ready co-operation attracted my particular attention. The services allotted to Captain Wellesley, as well as those assigned to Captains Seymour, Pett, and Caldwell, were executed to my satisfaction; and my best thanks are due for the assistance rendered by Captain of her majesty's ship *Exmouth*, on several occasions. Late on the evening of the 10th inst., her majesty's ship *Merlin*, under the command of Captain Sullivan, struck upon an uncharted rock on ground which he himself had previously examined while conducting me along the coast of the mortar-vessels. No blame whatever can be attached to this officer on the occasion, and I gladly avail myself of the opportunity which is thus afforded me of calling the attention of their lordships to the untiring activity of this valuable officer. It is singular ability and zeal with which his duties have been performed that much success of the operations of the fleet may be attributed; and I trust that I may be permitted on this occasion to recommend to the notice of their lordships the services of the Lieutenant R. B. Creyke, of that ship, whose conduct has been most favourably reported.

My especial thanks are due to the officers and men of the Royal Marine Artillery for the part which their important duties have performed. The cool and steady courage

with which they continued to conduct the duties of their stations deserves the highest praise; and I have much pleasure in calling their lordships' attention to the services of Captain Wemyss, as well as to those of Captains Lawrence and Schomberg, of that distinguished corps. Great praise is also due to the officers and crews of the mortar-vessels on the occasion. The admirable manner in which the officers in charge of gun-boats maintained their stations under fire, and the general activity of the crews of those vessels upon all occasions, are deserving of the favourable notice of their lordships; but in referring to the enclosed list of the officers employed, I am unwilling to particularise any, when all have been highly deserving of their lordships' favour, and the gallant conduct of the crews has been conspicuous."

Admiral Penaud's report, written from the *Tourville*, off Sweaborg, August 11, was as follows:—

"As I have had the honour to inform your excellency by my letter of the 7th, Admiral Dundas and I presented ourselves before Sweaborg with the combined squadron, with the intention of bombarding it. At half-past seven in the morning of the 8th, sixteen English bomb-vessels, each having one mortar; five French bomb-vessels having each two of these pieces; and a siege battery of four mortars of nearly ten-inch bore, which, during the six hours' darkness of the two previous nights I had established on the Islet Abraham, at 2200 metres from the place, opened fire against Sweaborg. I am happy to announce to you, Monsieur le Ministre, that this operation succeeded perfectly; it was not only a simple cannonade which the squadrons have made against Sweaborg, it was a real bombardment, the important results of which have exceeded my utmost hopes. In less than three hours after we had begun to throw shells, we could observe that they caused considerable damage in the fortress. Numerous fires rapidly broke out on several points at the same time, and we soon saw the flames rising above the dome of the church situated in the northern part of the island Est-Swartoe. That building, however, was not touched, and it may be said to be the only one on the islands Vargon and Swartoe which was respected by our projectiles. Terrible explosions were soon after heard, at four different times; the fire had reached the magazines filled with powder and shells. The last two explosions were particularly violent, and they must have caused the enemy enormous losses both in men and *matériel*. For several minutes the explosions of shells continued. The bombardment ceased this morning at half-past four; it consequently lasted for two days and two nights, during which time Sweaborg

presented the appearance of a vast fiery furnace. The fire, which still continues its ravages, has destroyed nearly the whole place, and consumed storehouses, magazines, barracks, different government establishments, and a great quantity of stores for the arsenal. The fire of our mortars was so accurate that the enemy, fearing that the three-decker which was moored across the channel between Sweaborg and the island of Bak-Holmen would be destroyed, had her brought into the port during the night. The Russians have received a serious blow and losses, the more severe as, on the side of the allied squadron, the loss is confined to one English sailor killed and a few slightly wounded. The enemy's forts returned our fire very vigorously, and did not slacken it until the moment of the explosions above-mentioned; but the precision of our long-range guns gave us an incontestable superiority over those of the Russians. Every one in the division fulfilled his duty with ardour, devotion, and courage; the crews evinced admirable enthusiasm, and have deserved well of the emperor and of the country. I am perfectly satisfied with the means of action placed at my disposal. The mortar-vessels and gun-boats rendered immense services, and they fully realise everything that was expected from them. The siege battery produced very fine results; and it may be said that it was from

an enemy's island, on which we had hoisted the French flag, that the most destructive were fired. In this affair, as under every circumstance which has taken place since the flags have been united, Rear-admiral Drouot and I have acted with common accord. The example of the perfect good understanding which exists between the chiefs has had the best effect on the spirit of the crews of the squadrons, which in reality only form one moment of action. Every one has one object—to rival each other in zeal to cause the enemy the greatest possible misfortune, and the success of a vessel of one of the squadrons was applauded by the other with the same cries of enthusiasm as if it had been gained by its own flag. Doubtless, Monsieur le Ministre, the bombardment of Sweaborg will exercise considerable influence on the Russian people, who have now acquired the conviction that their fortified places and arsenals are not completely sheltered from attacks of the allied navies, which may must hope to be able to deal destruction on the enemy's coast without suffering any very considerable injury themselves. In sending Monsieur le Ministre, a more circumstantial report of this affair, I shall have the honour to ask of you a reward for the officers, sailors, and soldiers who distinguished themselves most in the battle."

## CHAPTER XCV.

THE SIEGE OF SEBASTOPOL IN AUGUST TO THE BATTLE OF THE TCHERNAYA.—RETIREMENT OF GENERAL SIR RICHARD ENGLAND.—LOSS OF ENGLISH REGIMENTAL OFFICERS.—GRACEFUL STATE OF THE ENGLISH TRANSPORTS.—PREPARATIONS FOR THE FINAL ASSAULT.

"Bonne espérance et droit en avant."—*Devise of the Nugents.*

BEFORE detailing the events of August, a general view of the operations of the allies, from the beginning of that month until the battle of the Tchernaya, will enable the reader to comprehend more clearly the value of each particular incident which may be necessary to record. The main object of the allied chiefs was to conduct the sap nearer to the Malakoff, which was at last regarded by the French, as it had been from the first by the British, as the key of the place. The trenches of the allies were repaired, strengthened, and enlarged. All the camp hospitals were cleared out, their occupants being sent to the Bosphorus, as it was foreseen that the coming assault would, whether successful or not, be at a cost of men unprecedented in any previous contest since the siege began. Medical stores of all descriptions, in quantities that were enormous, were deposited in connection with the camp hospitals. The materials for siege operations were

brought up to the front in such abundance that it seemed as if the besiegers were about to begin *de novo*. The troops were kept perpetually on the alert, and councils of war between the allied chiefs were frequent. The fiery sappers of the Russian gunners sped into the lines of the allies, and from these also flaming missionaries of death performed their duty and fatally their errand.

Along the Tchernaya Della Marmora, the French General Morris (reputed to be an Irish officer in the service of our ally), reinforced the enemy, and strengthened their positions. Nor were the Russians idle or watchful; within and without the city vigilance was ever wakeful, and their industry incessant. Reinforcements arrived continually to the garrison. The officers of the allied navies could see through their telescopes the mast-heads of the ships that preparing were making for a desperate resistance by





MAJUT. GEN. SIR RICHARD ENGLAND, G.C.B.

*From a Miniature lent expressly for this Work*

Malakoff and Redan, and that vigorous engagements were in progress to take the offensive in the field. These indications were communicated to the allied generals, who took measures accordingly; so that when the Russians brought on the battle of the Tchernaya, they were met by a well organised and determined resistance.

Such was the general tenor of affairs during the first half of the month of August, to the details of which more particular attention is now invited.

It will be recollected that in the latter part of June, and throughout the whole of July, the allied armies, especially the British, were weakened by the decease or illness of officers of the first rank. August opened upon the British with a continuance of the same affliction. Several excellent officers of inferior rank died or were invalided in the first week of the month; but the heaviest loss the army has yet sustained since Lieutenant-general Sir Lacy Evans was compelled by sickness to retire from the scene of his glory, was entailed by the death of Lieutenant-general Sir Richard Kempt. After fifteen months of the most constant, vigilant, and useful services; the gallant general was obliged to succumb to illness,—the result of fatigue, anxiety, and the effect of the climate,—and to return home, regretted by the army, and by none so much as by the soldiers of his own division, who were devoted to him as a man, while they revered him as a general. As no memoir of this distinguished officer was introduced into our chapter on the "Leaders of the Host," this is the appropriate place for doing justice to his services.

Sir Richard England, who is the son of one of the heroes of Bunker's Hill, was born at Halifax, in Canada, and entered the army, in 1793, at a very early age. He was engaged at the battle of the Clouds in the following year, and belonged to the 1st Brigade of Graham, which bore the chief part with the French during that siege. He suffered much from the climate of the Mediterranean, and in 1800, he was sent to the Mediterranean, and joined the army at Messina, then under the command of Murat in Calabria. In passing to the coast, however, the light company to which he belonged was actively employed for some time at Tarifa. The war being at an end, he, as a surgeon, still in impaired health, served on board the ship at Plymouth, but soon embarked for home with his regiment, which was hastily reinforced, with other reinforcements, to join the Duke of Wellington's army after the battle

The reader will find a reference at length to the services of this general in the Russian war, in vol. i. pp. 603—605. The conduct of the general and his division on the memorable 18th of June will be found in chap. xc. pp. 356—360.

of Waterloo. In 1821 he was *alide-de-camp* to Sir Colquhoun Grant, in Dublin, and soon afterwards obtained the command of the 75th regiment, in succession to the present Duke of Cleveland. The records of this period point to the condition of this corps as remarkable for its order and smartness; and after an inspection by Lord Hill it was dispatched to the Cape. There Colonel England was appointed by Sir Lowry Cole to the active post of commandant of the eastern frontier, which included the charge of a brigade of troops scattered over a border territory of considerable extent, and where energy and judgment were alike demanded, to preserve the limits of the colony from the depredations and incursions of the restless Caffres. A war with this people took place in 1834, and Colonel England had many opportunities of gaining the approbation of the governors and others by his distinguished conduct in the management of many services with which he was entrusted. A most useful body of horse, organised by him out of the ranks of his regiment, did much duty as cavalry during this war; but the Whig ministry, which had just obtained political power, disapproved in such pointed terms of the acquisition of further territory in Caffreland, that the force which occupied the wide country between the "Keiskamma" and the "Kei," under Colonel England, was ordered to abandon it; the field-works were destroyed, and our troops brought back. This service terminated the colonel's duties on this ground, much to his honour; and in 1839 he was removed to the command of the 41st regiment at Madras—a corps which had frequently changed its commanding officer. Sir Richard remained on service in that part of the world for a considerable time, obtaining the approbation of the superior authorities, civil and military. Having returned home under the influence of ill health, produced by the trying nature of the climate and his own constant exposure and varied services, he remained, then in the prime of life, unemployed for a long period, in accordance with the routine of the Horse Guards, which compelled officers to wait their turn for brevet promotion. In ten years, then, in the 61st year of his age, he was appointed to the command of a division in the army sent out to Turkey, when he served her majesty at the Alma in a manner recorded on a previous page of this History.

On the 27th of September, 1854, the division moved from the plains of Balaklava towards Sebastopol, and assisted at the first reconnaissance of that place, subsequently taking up various positions, until the left of the British line opposite the Dockyard was allotted to it, which it held to the end of the operations. Its place of encampment was selected by the general from its being concealed, though so

close to the enemy, owing to the rocks and quarries in its immediate front. It was three-quarters of a mile from the main parallel of "Green Hill," and within long range of the guns of Sebastopol—a point of less importance, owing to its partial concealment. Random shots not unfrequently proved the fact. A look-out was established in front, screened by a wall, where an officer and a few men, together with a boatswain's mate lent by Lord Lyons, were constantly on duty, to report the slightest movement in front. Sir Richard passed half his time there himself. A distinguished officer, an eye-witness, writes:—"And now the siege seriously began; sickness and daily casualties told severely upon the effective strength of the division. It had great peculiarities; for as our numbers diminished (and from the first we had but half men enough) vigilance became more and more essential. Everything depended on maintaining our parallels; for if they had been carried by the enemy the siege must have been suspended, if not raised. The officer commanding the third division had the enormous charge on his hands of guarding against such a calamity, and we now know with what slender means. But his constant application formed our only chance of success, notwithstanding that his reserves consisted only of the arrival of men who had been in the cold trenches the night before."

The details of the siege operations between the first establishment of the parallels and the battle of Inkerman, so far as they affected the third division, it is unnecessary here to recapitulate. In the action at Balaklava, and the very gallant repulse by Sir de Laey Evans of the desperate sortie of the 26th of October, 1854, Sir Richard and his division had no part. After the latter event Lord Raglan was induced to think that an assault might be attempted. Accordingly, on the night of the 4th of November, Sir Richard England and Sir George Cathcart were sent for by Lord Raglan to confer and receive orders as to storming the Redan; and after a long interview they returned together to their respective tents, with orders to meet Lord Raglan again on the 6th, which orders England alone lived to obey. Within, however, a very few hours of these generals' return, the 5th of November, the day of Inkerman, dawned; the part taken by Sir Richard on that occasion will be found in the pages devoted to the history of that battle. A few incidents not there noticed may here be brought under review. The general was enabled to bring a portion of his division into action, and to push forward some troops and two guns, which gave seasonable aid to General Codrington, whose division was now hotly engaged with the enemy. Having made

these dispositions, Sir Richard sought and attached himself to Codrington, upon whom he just devolved the command of the division. Codrington courteously, and according to military etiquette, at once offered the command to his senior officer, but England felt it was in able hands, and they acted together. It was now evident that further to the right of the Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge and the Guards were sorely pressed by the overwhelming masses of the enemy, whose murderous onslaught of fire and steel will probably never meet with parallel in the annals of war. Sir Richard grasped the only available means he had at command, and at once dispatched that support which the lion-hearted seigneurial royalty did not fail subsequently to acknowledge. During these events Sir Richard felt himself still responsible for the safety of the long lines through which the enemy might attempt to penetrate, extending over a space of some miles, including the trenches of the third division, and he rapidly revisited all positions belonging to him on the left. To the vigilance, however, of the officers left in charge of these positions, and in charge of the trenches, relieved him from much apprehension as to their safety. Mounting upon a fresh horse, the general galloped back, and placed himself opposite to the right of the enemy's real attack, finding that he could at that point best direct any movements in which the third division could be called upon to take part. He remained there until the close of the battle. Sir Richard England received the thanks of Lord Raglan for the "excellent disposition made of his force," &c.

On the 16th of June it was the opinion of the engineers that the breaching of Sebastopol might be made sufficiently effective, by a steady bombardment for a few hours, to justify an assault. Moreover, it was known to be the wish of the English and French authorities at home that an attack should be made on the 18th of June, for it was believed that a combined success on the memorable anniversary of the battle of Waterloo would do more than anything else to obliterate any unkind feelings which might exist in the French army. Accordingly, in pursuance of instructions issued by Lord Raglan on the 16th of June to Sir Richard England to co-operate with the rest of the army in storming Sebastopol on the 18th, Sir Richard England made the following disposition of the force under his command. The first brigade, under Major-general Bullard, composed of the 4th, 14th, 39th, 51st, and 89th, regiments, was placed on the Cronzoff Road at two o'clock in the morning to co-operate with the column of attack on the right in assaulting the Redan; at the same time the second brigade, under Major-general

comprising the 9th, 28th, 38th, 18th, 44th regiments, was formed in the ravine and the French picket-house, with orders to advance at the appointed moment towards the cemetery, so as to take advantage of any ground gained by the troops on his right, and to co-act with them in an assault upon the Russian Barrack Battery: "so far as circumstances would permit, Sir Richard England directed these columns by placing additional battalions in the parallels, and in the Green Hill redoubt, under the command of Colonel Buge, of the 4th foot, whose marksmen did good service in keeping up a rattling and incessant fire upon the embrasures of the battery, and in covering the advance of General's brigade. The two brigades moved forward by signal at the same moment, and the third brigade was soon brought into co-operation with the general and combined attack on the battery.

He briefly adverted to some facts and incidents relating to the third division during the progress of its most severe ordeal in the winter of 1854-5, it may be observed that England was fully aware of the necessity of concealing the suffering and real weakness of his division, and issued a general precautionary instruction to prevent indiscretion, feeling that it was of the first importance to keep the enemy in ignorance of the limited means of guarding the Green Hill redoubt and the left of the English line of assault. To have held this ground with the same security, and effectually to have defended the trenches confided to the third and fourth divisions, would have demanded a force of at least 15,000 men; but there seldom were more at this period than three or four battalions, and really fit for duty in both, and the latter was of the most dreadful description. Frost-bitten soldiers were at this time in the trenches, ill-clothed, ill-fed, and without fuel, to add to their miseries, the scurvy broke out in the division as a staple disease; salt water aggravated the disease, for it was sometimes impossible to supply the troops with fresh meat on more than three days out of five; and day by day, and night by night, as the means of holding their ground grew less and less (for a night never passed without casualties), the stoutest hearts felt that these were periods during the whole of that winter when the position might have been held by superior numbers. When the enemy offered many alarming advantages, nothing but the most vigilant vigilance, and the assiduity and perseverance, combined with the determined bravery of all ranks, saved the army from having its flank turned. In truth, so weak were the troops in these trenches after the battle of Inkermann, that every superior officer thought, after night, that the position would have

been forced. It is difficult to account for the absence of powerful sorties in this dangerous and exposed quarter, except by the fact that the Russians observed the vigilance and the preparations to receive them, and were ignorant of the real condition of the division. There was at this period no available support from the French, and at night especially the enemy might have penetrated our lines long before any aid could have been given, for the French were at a considerable distance, and there were no English regiments towards the rear. The obvious extremity of the case provoked extra vigilance: the efforts of the officers were immense; the determination of the men never could be shaken. It was supposed that the stimulus of three gills of rum a day enabled them physically to do that which might more fairly have been demanded from five times their number. The general's own uncommunicativeness on these matters, and the sedulous avoidance of those who appreciated his motives to render information which might have perilled the very existence of the division, concealed its real feebleness, and, in all probability, prevented the flank of the besieging army being overwhelmed. No pen, however, could have delineated the long train of suffering endured, or the undeviating devotion of this reduced little band, whose average loss by sickness and the sword was twenty-five men a day for many successive days. Officers were obliged to insist upon soldiers going to the hospital, who concealed their coming deaths rather than allow their jaded comrades to take their night's duty.

Sir Richard, with all his reserve of manner, lacked the power to conceal from those around him how keenly and affectingly he felt any act of kindness, or efforts made to alleviate the sufferings of his poor soldiers, and he has been known to speak of the meritorious exertions of Mr. Macdonald of the *Times*, and other philanthropists, with feelings of irrepressible gratitude. Every effort was made to secure a portion of rest, slight as it might be, to the men; and though the general was often roused up at night by alarming messages from the front, the battalions (half probably already in the trenches) were seldom allowed to be disturbed, or even to know they were threatened. No bugle was ever sounded in the camp until the general of the third division had ordered *his*, and until matters were well reconnoitred by himself and staff, all of whom were frequently on horseback twice or thrice during the same night, finding the way through the snow as they best might. Happily, after January, reinforcements began to arrive, and the duties became somewhat lighter; but of the nine senior officers of the third division who landed with it in the Crimea six, if

not seven, were killed or wounded, and the seeds of future disease were slowly but surely sown in the strong constitution of its commander.

During the siege the general naturally experienced an absence of mental repose, and it was indeed difficult enough for any one, even without cares and responsibilities, to have found bodily rest, "for," writes a competent authority, "the cannonade kept even those who were seeking a moment's rest on the alert, and it was calculated that two shots per minute gave that loud reverberation through the camp, and caused that concussion in the tents which prevented sleep." At length rheumatism insidiously assumed an inveterate and malignant form, and in its climax wholly disabled the general from continuing in the field. His stout frame gave way, and with grief he yielded to the warnings of his medical adviser, and, taking the step so earnestly pressed upon him, consented to return home, quitting the scene of strife five weeks only before the fall of that fortress, the siege operations of which had been so fatal to his companions; but he missed no service by this step, for the third division was not engaged at the final effort made on the 8th of September, 1855.

General Simpson, in his official report to Lord Panmure, thus alludes to the circumstance of Sir Richard's being invalided:—"It is with great regret that I have to communicate to your lordship that Lieutenant-general Sir Richard England, G.C.B., has been compelled, upon the recommendation of a medical board, to return to England. Sir Richard England is the last of the general officers who left the United Kingdom in command of a division. He has remained at his post throughout the trying heats of Bulgaria, and the severities and hardships of the winter campaign in the Crimea; and great credit is due to this officer for the constancy and untiring zeal he has exhibited in carrying out arduous and difficult duties on all occasions."

Sir Richard England now pursued his destiny, and in the end of August landed on his native shore, thankful to that Providence which had guarded his path, and had endued with that health which had enabled him to serve his country so uninterruptedly and so long—for he had *never for an hour* left his post, during the sixteen months of arduous and incessant service noticed in the foregoing narrative. The frequent approvals officially transmitted from the Crimea touching Sir Richard's command and management of the third division, under circumstances of trial and difficulty, were often heard of by his friends, who had also the satisfaction of knowing that these favourable opinions were acquiesced in by the highest authorities at home. The late com-

mander-in-chief, Lord Hardinge, often pressed his appreciation of those long anxious services which entailed upon general of the third division the necessity of retiring from its command. His lordship officially transmitted to him the high opinion entertained, "both professionally and socially," by Lord Raglan and General Simpson: "Most attentive and trustworthy, all mind bent on the good of the service, he met them with a difficulty—his whole being always to meet their wishes and support them." Viscount Hardinge generously pressed his own concurrence in "such honorable testimonials to his professional character."

Thus terminated the active services of general England in connection with the war against Russia. He did not escape the taint of slander, any more than others of the first rank; and good; but he had the rare satisfaction of securing the goodwill of those whom he obeyed, and whom he commanded; and in his friendships he was fortunate: he had more cause than most other eminent men to regret the lamentation of the poet—

"Those you make friends,  
And give your hearts to, when they once perceive  
The least rub in your fortunes, fall away  
Like water from ye, never found again  
But when they mean to sink ye."

Sir Richard now returned to his residence in Bath, but, in compliance with medical recommendation, retired to a cottage in the neighbourhood of Maidenhead, contemplating the probable necessity of retirement from all military employment. A short time, however, showed that his vigorous constitution was not broken, and he was soon reinstated in his wonted health and spirits. Although in seclusion he was not forgotten; the good opinion of Viscount Hardinge still clung to the reputation of general of the third division, and with solicitation on his part, he was appointed to the command of the camp at the Curragh Kildare, in Ireland.

The following brief despatch shows how the army before Sebastopol continued to be supplied by the loss of regimental officers above the rank of subalterns, during the early part of August:—

"Since the 5th instant nothing has occurred to form the subject of a despatch. I have the honour to inclose the list of casualties of the 5th instant. I regret to have to inform your lordship of the death of Colonel Cobbe, 4th regiment, which took place yesterday; he was an excellent officer, and a serious loss to her majesty's service. Colonel Layard, 38th regiment, deputy-assistant quartermaster-general, died this morning of

, on board the steamer *Faith*, in Balaklava  
our, to which ship he had been removed  
e hopes of benefiting his health."

to the date of this despatch, General  
son received stores and reinforcements  
antly. The condition in which the stores  
sometimes brought to Balaklava was dis-  
ful to the transport service. The troops  
suffered in consequence of the unclean  
of those ships, which were generally  
did vessels. On board the *Cambria* the  
was so dreadful and the bugs so abun-  
that the officers, most of them very  
g, were obliged to abandon their berths  
leep under a blanket on deck. The result  
s state of things was, that the young men  
l in the Crimea fitter for the field hos-  
than the trenches. Several laboured  
pulmonary attacks, caused by sleeping  
ck exposed to the heavy dews which  
while the vessel sailed up the Medi-  
can; some were labouring under diar-  
the result of the filthy state of the ship;  
thers, who did not sleep on deck, were  
ed with nervous and febrile disorders  
oss of rest, which it was almost impos-  
o obtain because of the vermin, and the  
able odours which filled the cabins.  
*Cambria* was so badly managed as to run  
a the Bosphorus, in broad daylight, in  
weather and a calm sea. Thus, at every  
of the progress of affairs, up to the  
e of Southern Sebastopol, confusion,  
nisation, and neglect branded the con-  
f public affairs with incompetency or  
our.

cholera, which had abated towards the  
July, burst out again in the beginning  
gust, and carried away many of the  
". The Highlanders, as usual, suf-  
much from it. A correspondent of the  
who signed himself F. H., thus de-  
the influence of climate during the first  
August, and the general losses of the  
in the trenches:—"The English loss  
trenches, at the present rate, may be  
ed at about 1000 men a month. This  
s every man *hors de combat*, for however  
time. As regards disease, I do not  
at there has been any particular varia-  
I last wrote. The weather has been  
bright, usually very warm of a morn-  
oler of an afternoon, with pleasant  
sweeping over the heights. The heat  
is not, to me, feel so relaxing as on the  
f the Bosphorus—ininitely less so than  
steam bath, Constantinople."

English cavalry suffered most from  
nearly half the number of the 10th  
were ill. The enemy lost many men,  
y officers of distinction, from the same

diseases which ravaged the allied camps.  
They also experienced a succession of disasters,  
entailing loss of life, from accident. A small  
powder-magazine blew up in the works oppo-  
site the British left; a fire broke out in the rear  
of the Redan; one of the large buildings which  
had been shattered by the English shells, fell,  
crushing some infantry and artillerymen; and  
many of the Russian soldiers were carried from  
the trenches and batteries dying of cholera,  
brought on by the flooded state of the works  
from the incessant rains.

General Codrington began his command of  
the British light division by an active and  
vigilant inspection; General Eyre assumed  
the command of General England's division.  
Neither officers could find much to improve,  
after the experienced chiefs who had so long  
trained and disciplined them for the hard ser-  
vice these gallant bodies of men had undergone.  
Both these officers, placed in the responsible  
situations confided to them, were competent,  
although not as efficient as the veteran heroes  
who previously had charge. General Windham  
was appointed to command the second brigade  
of the second division. The first division was,  
with the accession of some other regiments,  
made into two divisions: one consisted of the  
Household Infantry, the "Old Buffs" (3rd),  
the "Young Buffs" (31st), and the 13th Light  
Infantry—a corps which attracted the attention  
of our Ottoman allies, especially the Egyptian  
contingent, by having the word "Egypt" on  
their breast-plates, which circumstance soon  
became known to the pasha's soldiers. The  
other new division consisted of the fine High-  
land regiments, and the 92nd, then expected  
out, was to be added to it, constituting the  
"Highland Division."

On the 3rd of August, Lieutenant Evans, of  
the 55th, was shot through the windpipe while  
on duty in the trenches. On the 7th Major  
M'Gowan, 93rd, was carried off by the Rus-  
sians while on outpost duty.

The strength of the British army by the 10th  
was 29,000 men. French reinforcements, in  
small detachments, arrived nearly every day at  
Kamiesch during the first fortnight of August.  
The large reinforcements of the Russians, and  
their menacing manœuvres in the direction of  
the Tchernaya, rendered those accessions of  
strength desirable, large as was the allied  
force already in the Crimea.

The circumstance of a birth—or rather births  
—in the trenches became the subject of amus-  
ing gossip in both armies. A *cantinière*, who  
brought up wine for the French soldiers on  
duty, was suddenly taken with the pains of  
maternity, and delivered of twins. Both the  
mother and children were gallantly taken care  
of, every medical assistance being timely ren-  
dered and subsequently bestowed.

On the night of the 12th an attack was expected by the allies all along their lines, and preparations were made to repel it. A writer already quoted gives the following lively and picturesque description of the "turn out" of the British forces :—"There at last is some prospect of action, but not against the Malakoff, nor is it the allies who are expected to assume the offensive. Late last evening orders were given for the troops to be under arms by three in the morning. Of course Malakoff was immediately the word, and most persons supposed that the long talked of assault was to be made. This, however, was soon found not to be the case. An attack was expected to take place along the whole line. Without tap of drum, or sound of bugle, the camp was afoot at the prescribed hour, the troops forming up in profound silence. The entire army was out, including the cavalry and artillery from Balaklava. The first grey of morning found a number of officers and amateurs assembled on Cathcart's Hill, the best point of observation. There was unusually little firing yesterday and last night, and all expected that this tranquillity was quickly to be broken by the din of an engagement. The interest of the situation grew stronger as the morning advanced, and as the scarlet columns became visible, massed along the lines, motionless and expectant. Superior officers, with their staff, moved to and fro; aides-de-camp traversed the heights with orders; here and there, through the still imperfect light, which began to be tinged with the first red flush of sunrise, waved the penons of a Lancer escort. With broad day the brief excitement ended. Before the upper end of the sun's disc rose above the hills, the troops were marching briskly back to their tents. The morning was beautifully clear, and the spectacle was striking. In fine order, in serried columns, looking hardy, active, and cheerful, up to any work, the Crimean army regained its canvas quarters."

On the 12th and 13th the enemy received large reinforcements, and they took post on the heights beyond the Tchernaya. On the 13th General Marmora reconnoitred these forces, and made such dispositions in his own army as the observations he was able to make led him to suppose requisite. The Turks and French, stationed in the neighbourhood of Baidar, despoiled the houses of the Russian gentry. The Turks were only guilty in a few instances, but behaved very ungallantly and rudely in those. The French carried on a systematic plunder along the coast to Yalta. The Cossacks endeavoured to keep them in check, but were beaten off by the fire of grape from two French steamers, who moved along shore, co-operating, as it appeared, with the

marauding parties. British cavalry stationed in positions which prevented English soldiers from taking any part in these predatory proceedings, and they, to some extent, checked the French also; but the latter persisted in their enterprises, and came back loaded with booty of every description—books, statues, pictures, embroidery, upholstery, furniture, ladies' dresses, trinkets, provisions, &c. in large quantities. These were brought to the French camp from the deserted mansion of the Russian gentry.

By this date the French sap had made great progress towards the Malakoff, and the expectation of its approaching storm excited the allied armies. It was evident, however, that a battle must first be fought in the open field, before a desperate attempt—the more desperate because, should it fail, it could in no likelihood be renewed—would be made upon the extreme right flank and rear of the allies. The positions on the Tchernaya were extended, and the enemy's forces were now so considerable that he entertained the prospect of breaching through the line of the encampment by the river, and storming the right of Bosquet's *d'armée* upon the plateau before Sebastopol. The point of view from which General Simpson regarded matters will be seen from his despatch, dated the 14th :—

"During the last few days considerable activity has been exhibited in the movements of the enemy, both in the town and on the north side; and from the information we have received from the country, as well as the examination of deserters, I have reason to believe that the Russians may attempt to force the siege by a vigorous attack from the north. Every precaution is taken on the part of the allies, and the ground occupied by the British and French is strengthened. The position of the allies above the village of Tchorgoum and its front has been made very strong through the energy and skill of General della Marmora, who is unceasing in his precautions, and in the utmost disposition to co-operate in the most agreeable manner with the allies. The situation has, if anything, been rather less during the day since my last despatch. At times, however, the enemy opens heavily for a short period, causing many casualties; and among them, with regret to have to announce that of Brigadier-major Hugh Drummond, Scots Fusilier Grenadier, who was killed yesterday afternoon by the explosion of a shell. His loss is deeply felt, and who knew him, and her majesty has lost the services of a most promising officer. The firing on our side has been directed in a judicious measure against the large barracks, dockyard buildings, and the town, all of which have visible signs of the admirable practice of the Royal Artillery. I further beg to include

ns of casualties to the 12th instant. I to apologise to your lordship for having ated to inform you before, that I had tched the steamer *Indiana*, on the 8th nt, to Corfu, for the purpose of conveying 82nd regiment from that island to the ea. Draughts for the light division and regiment, to the number of 800 men, remainder of the Carabineers, and one iron of the 1st Dragoon Guards, have ed.”  
hich was the general aspect of affairs when

the memorable battle of the Tchernaya—called by our allies the battle of Traktar Bridge—was initiated by the Russians, and in which they received so decided a repulse that the authorities did not venture to conceal the fact from the Russian people. This was the first defeat which the Russians acknowledged since the invasion of the Crimea, probably because it was the first battle in which the British and Turkish soldiers took but little part, against whom the bitterness of the Russian army was intense.

## CHAPTER XCVI.

### THE BATTLE OF THE TCHERNAYA.

“By our camp fires rose a murmur  
At the dawning of the day,  
And the tread of many footsteps  
Spoke the advent of the fray;  
And as we took our places  
Few and stern were our words,  
While some were tightening horse-girths,  
And some were girding swords.”—*Ballads of Ireland.*

will be recollected by our readers that French and Sardinians occupied strong on the left bank of the Tchernaya River. h object for which the Russians initiated eattle, which is designated from the river, a to dislodge them from these posts, in case of success, to make a general k along the whole of the allied positions, of Balaklava round to the Quarantine, driv- the allies in every direction across the an upon Kamiesch.

For several weeks prior to the attack Prince Gortschakoff had been uneasy for his supplies, ot of food and munitions of war; the horses oxen by which they had been hitherto reayed had to a great extent perished, and esources of the provinces which supplied e did not allow of their being speedily re- ad. Besides, the operations of the allied gurons in the Sea of Azoff, in the latter of May, the early part of June, and the e of July, had greatly lessened the stores h and corn, upon which the garrison had en for its wants. Representations to this e had been made by Prince Gortschakoff to e government of St. Petersburg, and in reply em reinforcements were poured in with l possible rapidity, and orders were issued e with a force of between fifty and sixty e and men an attack along the line of the elrnaya should be made. Various repre- entations have been given of the opinions e Russian commander-in-chief as to the e liency of this experiment. The impres- oin well-informed military circles in Eng- an is that Gortschakoff was more anxious for ies than reinforcements, although desirous

of both, and that he was by no means confident of the policy of forcing a battle upon the Tchernaya and its confluent streams. There is little doubt that Osten-Sacken disapproved of the enterprise, but that all the inferior generals were clamorous for the speedy accomplishment of the attempt, in concurrence with the desire of the government.

The plan of action in its general features and leading detail became known to the allies after the battle was over. General Read, a Russian officer, of Scottish parentage, being slain, the plan was found in the breast of his coat. It will throw a clearer light upon the actual progress of the battle to present the reader with this plan:—

“The following is a disposition of the *corps d’armée* of the right flank (General Aide-de-camp Read):—

“1. *Composition of troops.*—Seventh division of infantry, twelve battalions. 8th *artillery brigade.*—Battery of position, No. 3, twelve guns; battery of light, No. 3, six guns; battery of light, No. 4, eight guns; battery of light, No. 5, eight guns; three regiments of the twelfth division of infantry, twelve battalions. 14th *artillery brigade.*—Battery of position, No. 3, twelve guns; light, No. 3, six guns; light, No. 4, six guns; 2nd battalion of rifles, one battalion; 1st company of 2nd battalion of sappers, quarter of a battalion; one regiment of lancers, eight squadrons; horse-battery, No. 26, four guns; one regiment Don Cossacks, No. 37, six sotnias: total, twenty-five battalions and a quarter, eight squadrons, six sotnias, and sixty-two guns.

"2. On the 3rd (15th) of August, at night-fall, General Aide-de-camp Read will descend M'Kenzie Heights with all his troops, in the steps of Lieutenant-general Liprandi, and will form his two divisions into columns on the height of the new redoubt, near the high road, having to his left the seventeenth division, commanded by General Liprandi.

"3. He will leave all his baggage at the camp, and form a waggon-stand, where the infantry will deposit their sacks. In this waggon-camp large boilers for cooking, and brandy, are to be ready on the 4th (16th) of August; the men are to be provided with four days' rations, one pound of meat, their canteens full of water, and with the requisite camp utensils. Each regiment to be provided with a case of ammunition and two ambulance carts. The other ambulance carts to remain under the orders of General of brigade Zouroff, who is charged with the conveyance of the wounded. The cavalry and artillery are to take with them as much provender as possible, such provender to be placed on some suitable spot.

"4. The head-quarters for the day of the 3rd (15th) will be at M'Kenzie Heights. General Read having concentrated his troops on M'Kenzie Heights, will immediately send an officer to the commander-in-chief, to inform him of his arrival and of his arrangements. On the 4th (16th), during the attack, the commander-in-chief will take up a position on the slope of M'Kenzie Heights, near the new redoubt. At 4 A.M., at the same moment as the movement of the seventeenth division takes place at Telegraph Height, General Aide-de-camp Read will advance, form the seventh and twelfth divisions of infantry into order of battle beyond the enemy's range, and will place in the rear, as a reserve, the regiment of lancers, supported by Cossacks. He will combine his movement with that of General Liprandi, and will advance towards the Tchernaya in such manner as to be able to cannonade the enemy on the Heights of Fedukhine, when orders shall have been issued to that effect. With this view, detachments of sappers are to be attached to the seventh and twelfth infantry divisions, and also detachments of regiments accustomed to handle flying bridges, and to throw them promptly over the canal, so as to offer a road to the infantry and artillery.

"5. When the order of the commander-in-chief to advance on the Fedukhine Hills shall have been received, the troops are to cross the Tchernaya, to the right and left, by the means of passage prepared; the damage done by the artillery will be immediately repaired by the sappers. The bridges will be thrown over under the orders of superior officers commanding the detachments.

"6. Having occupied the hills to the left

and centre, General Read will form in order of battle there, with his front turned partly towards Mount Sapoune, partially towards the enemy, covering himself in both directions by guns in position. As regards the hills on the right, having driven back the enemy, he will occupy them with troops of the first line.

"7. One of the principal cares of General Read will be to see that the irrigations of the Tchernaya are let out by the sappers, and that the bridges are thrown over as speedily as possible, to carry over with every possible speed the artillery and cavalry to the other side.

"8. After taking the Heights of Fedukhine, General Read will remain there, awaiting special orders from the commander-in-chief, in case an attack on the south side of Mount Gasforte should be thought absolutely necessary.

"9. After the battle General Read will take measures to fortify the Fedukhine Heights.

"Quartermaster-general

"MAJOR-GENERAL GROTENFELT

Such was the plan contemplated; and its early execution became desirable, as the Russian army in the field, especially when largely increased by the recently-arrived reinforcements, was suffering from want of water. Had not the summer been one in which an unusual quantity of rain fell, the sufferings of the Russian soldiery would have been all the greater, as the allies commanded the whole line of the Tchernaya (and to some small extent its tributaries). The topographical character of the ground occupied by the allies has been, generally, explained in former pages; the positions occupied on the day of battle require to be more minutely particularised.

The ground on each side of the river ascends in unequal and broken slopes to a range of hills or hillocks, on which plateaux are formed of very unequal dimensions, and at varied distances from each other. These ranges of heights approach nearer to one another, become nearer to the river in the vicinity of Inkerman, and they separate more and more widely as the distance from Inkerman increases. They are variously designated as hills, heights, and mountains, the last being the name given by the Russians. But their elevation is greatly inferior to the ranges of hills, which, looking from the plateau before Sebastopol, the scene is bounded. The high knolls which are formed on the opposite sides of the river on the acclivities from its banks are called by various names, such as plateaux, mamelots, knolls, heights, hillocks, &c. It is especially necessary to keep this in view in reading the

atches and reports of the generals, to avoid confusion arising from this diversity of terms. Descending from their extreme right on the plateau before Sebastopol, where Bosquet's forces were posted by Inkerman, the French occupied positions along the elevations on the left bank of the river to the Bridge of Traktar, at the other end of which, on the right bank, they formed a *de pont*, well defended, and detached their posts upon the acclivities ascending from the city of the bridge on the right bank.

Beyond the bridge, still farther up the river, the French line was extended, so that the line was opposite to their centre. Further to the right were posted the Sardinians, on the level grounds, with their advanced detachments thrown across the Tchernaya, occupying the banks of two tributary streams of considerable size. Both the French and Sardinians were supported by cavalry, and the position occupied commanding points. The Sardinian line a powerful English battery was planted.

Further still to the right, beyond the lines of the Sardinians, and somewhat in their rear were placed the forces of Osman Pasha, who commanded the Turkish troops in the Crimea in the absence of Omar Pasha, who was usually sailing about between Balaklava, Eupatoria, Kamiesch, and these places and Constantinople, sulky and negligent at the duties assigned to him in the comments of the allied generals. A considerable force of English cavalry were upon the extreme right, and in support.

The general view of the positions in which the allied troops were placed will prepare the reader for a detailed account.

On the Traktar Bridge, which was opposite the right centre of the French, an excellent road led to the M'Kenzie Heights, which were the head-quarters of the enemy. The M'Kenzie Heights were opposite the right flank of the French, and their range extended to the Sardinian army. The stream of the Tchernaya rising in these hills, or at all points winding its course among them, descends into the gorge of the Tchernaya, and there pours itself into the Tchernaya. The Sardinians crossed the river at the confluence; and occupied both banks of the stream. Farther to the right and to the left, Generals Scarlett and d'Allonville occupied the entrance to the Valley of Baidar; the Turks were more to the rear—towards Balaklava—than the cavalry. The chief advantage along the whole valley of the Tchernaya was in the hands of Pelissier, as his forces were numerically superior to those of the Russians. The command of the French was entrusted to General Herbillon, with General Morris, as second in command. General della Marmora commanded

the Sardinians. Osman Pasha was in communication with both Herbillon and Marmora. The lines were beyond the limits of Sir Colin Campbell's command; the English officer having chief authority was General Scarlett. Captain Mowbray, of the artillery, was the principal British officer having post within the lines. The forces of our French ally, with their arrangement, is given from an official authority; some slight discrepancies between it and the despatch of General Pelissier will be found, but the general-in-chief is, in such cases, to be corrected by this detail. It must be borne in mind that along the French front ran the aqueduct by which the Karabelnaia portion of Sebastopol was fed with water from the Tchernaya. This constituted an additional line of defence after the enemy should cross the river, and made the position extremely strong, rendering it exceedingly difficult for any large force to ascend, unbroken, with sufficient celerity the range of plateaux occupied by our ally.

"On the right of the ravine, and facing the Russian army, was encamped the first brigade of Faucheux's division (2nd Zouaves and 19th battalion of Foot Chasseurs), with the 6th battalion of the 13th artillery. This hill is strongly commanded by the crest of the plateau of Tchouliou. On the second hill, much higher than the first, were on the right the second brigade of General Faucheux's division (General Faily, with the 95th and 97th), two regiments of the first brigade of General Camou (50th and 3rd Zouaves), and the 3rd battery of the 2nd artillery. Lastly, at the extreme left, on the third hill, the rest of the division of General Camou (a regiment of African Rifles, 6th and 82nd), and Generals Wimpffen and Vergé with the first battery of the 13th regiment. Behind these hills, forming the reserve, was General Cler, with the 62nd and 73rd, and five mounted batteries, of which two were of the Guard.

"The first brigade of Herbillon's division (14th battalion of Foot Chasseurs, 47th and 53rd of the line) was placed midway on the plateau of Inkerman, under the telegraph, and near the Canrobert Redoubt.

"The division of cavalry commanded by General Morris (four regiments of African Chasseurs) bivouaced in the plain of Balaklava, behind the right of the Fedukhine\* Mountains. The Turks occupied the mountainous ground of Balaklava, against which, however, there could be no occasion to apprehend an attack; for it is a broken region, that renders any manœuvre of masses totally impossible. Whatever the intention of the enemy, he could not, in any case, do more there than make false demonstrations.

"The positions we hold being very favour-

\* The Russians gave this name to the heights which they attempted to storm by the Traktar Bridge.

able for the defensive,' said General Herbillon, in his instructions to the generals under his orders, 'we must not lose their advantages by too much precipitation. It is necessary to study the movements that the enemy may make, and to profit by the moment that may appear the most propitious to attack vigorously. The generals of division who are in positions of which they have a knowledge, will be in a measure able to judge of this opportunity. They will be supported by the general commanding the lines of the Tchernaya.'"

On the night of the 15th, the Russian army was moved down from the M'Kenzie Heights, and took post silently along the range of hills which confronted the French and Sardinian positions. In order to prevent any suspicion of such a movement, demonstrations had been made in the direction of the Baidar Valley, where General d'Allonville watched the lower part of that gorge. On the evening of the 15th, especially, d'Allonville was made anxious by these demonstrations, and telegraphed to General Herbillon accordingly. The telegraph was interrupted by the darkness, as the French used the semaphore system. Whether from this cause or some other, Herbillon does not appear to have used any extraordinary precautions, nor to have put Marmora on the *qui vive*, who was a very diligent and vigilant general.

Two divisions of the Russian army had arrived late on the evening of the 15th, and were only allowed a short time for rest and refreshment, when they were put in motion towards the intended points of attack. The emperor's orders to drive the allies from the Tchernaya was read at the head of every regiment, and his majesty's appeals to Russian patriotism and heroism produced an exciting effect upon the men. The general-in-chief did not, however, trust to this excitement alone—as usual, drunkenness was added to religious and national fanaticism, the men being largely supplied with alcohol. The stimulus of *rack* was only given to the infantry, in order to sustain their fury in the assault: the artillerymen who cannonaded the allied positions, and the cavalry who were held in reserve, were preserved in sobriety, as the part they were expected to perform required coolness in those to whom it was assigned.

On the morning of the 16th, before dawn, the attacking columns were put in motion: on their right, where the French were to be assailed, General Read commanded; on the left, against the Sardinians, the command devolved upon Liprandi. The morning was misty—a circumstance the advantage of which frequently fell to the Russians in their attacks, and on this occasion they made it available for a furtive advance upon the allies.

Liprandi's force descended the Tchou Heights upon Tchorgoum; the advanced post of the Sardinians was held by 200 men, who were stationed above the right bank of the stream, which fell into the Tchernaya there. These 200 men were supported by a rifle battalion, who took post on the left bank of the stream. The Sardinians did not expect an attack, and no preparations more than ordinary were made to receive one. The sentries beyond the outpost heard the tramp of a large body of men, and discharged their muskets. The rocket advanced, and fired; and the 200 men who occupied the advanced position were instantly engaged with a large body of the advanced guard of the enemy. These 200 men fought with the coolest gallantry. They knew that the only way to prevent the main body from being surprised in the obscurity of a morning mist was by maintaining a prolonged contest, however unequal their force to that of the enemy. Nobly did they fulfil this duty: a fourth of the entire Sardinian loss being sustained by that small body of men. So steady was the fire of these companies, that the Russians were kept in check for many minutes. Nor did the little band retire as the enemy came on in increasing force; they, with intrepid resolution, crossed bayonets with the advancing ranks, and were engaged in a fierce hand-to-hand struggle when the rifle battalions in support arrived, and covered their retreat. This was effected with masterly skill, due credit alike to the discipline and bravery of the Piedmontese. When the sharpshooters arrived, the Russians were leaping from the parapet of the epaulment—behind which the advanced companies were placed—amongst gallant defenders, who made no movement in retreat until ordered by the commanding officer of the supports to do so. They crossed the stream, fighting as they retreated, and, receiving further supports, fell slowly and securely back upon the main defence, which was, in consequence of the enemy having been kept so well at bay, ready for the corps assault. The flying batteries of the Russians discharged an eager fire on the retreating Savoyards; but so badly was that fire directed, that little loss was inflicted. The mist which rose from the river prevented the enemy from directing with effect the fire of his artillery; and the same cause, together with the smoke from the cannon and musketry, which lay densely over the scene of contest, rendered it difficult for the English and Piedmontese to find the range of the advancing foe.

While this was going on in front and on the flank of the Sardinians, the French were also attacked. Their first intimation of battle was the sound of musketry, opened by the Piedmontese advanced companies when they issued

the descending corps of the enemy. French stood to their arms, but before had time to muster, the balls from the heights, which were crowned with many, scattered the dying watch-fires, and in among the tents. A moment after, French advanced posts on the other side of Tchernaya were assailed. They did not their positions with as much tenacity as Piedmontese brothers-in-arms; they retreated quickly, but with that address so peculiar to the French, rapidly followed by the enemy, who manifested at once resolution and vigour.

It was on the extreme left of the French, near the Traktar Bridge, that the Russians gained access to the left bank of the river. The defence was commanded by General Camou. He was fiercely assailed by probably the whole of the seventh division. His skirmishers were swept back after a brief and desultory resistance, the enemy dashing into the breach, and forcing the passage manfully. The general in command was the first to leap into the river, and was

"Bravely followed by his grenadiers,  
Tho' bullets flew like hail about their ears."

The left bank was gained almost instantaneously, and, with a celerity for which Russian troops had not the credit, they formed, descended the slopes. The French poured a deadly fire from the margin of the aqueduct; the Russians crossed that line of defence unmolested by the increasing roll of musketry, and gained the summit of the plateau, where the main body of Camou's division stood, and whence his artillery played with tremendous effect upon the advancing host. Before there was time for the assailing troops to deploy, the 50th regiment of the line and the 3rd Zouaves poured in a close volley, with which it was broken. Before any attempt at formation could be made,—the assailers being, properly, neither in line nor in column, but confused and crowded on the upper portion of the acclivity,—the two French corps charged with the bayonet, and rolled the disordered mass of troops into the aqueduct mouth. The conduct of the Russian officers was worthy of all praise. They endeavoured bravely and re-formed their men at the aqueduct, the 82nd regiment of the line charged them in flank, and they were hurled down the Tchernaya. As they passed through the river, and clambered up the opposite banks, the French batteries played upon them with grape and canister, strewing the water's brink with the hill-side with the slain.

Thus, the attack on the extreme left of the Russian line was signally repulsed; and on the extreme right the obstinacy and skill of

the Sardinian outpost and supports rendering a surprise impossible, caused the enemy to hesitate upon the expediency of attacking so strong a position, manned by soldiers so resolute. Liprandi ordered a heavy cannonade, which was answered with superior skill and spirit by the Sardinians; while loud above all the booming of the battle the English battery of heavy guns could be heard, as by its sure and terrible fire Liprandi's artillery was shattered, and lanes swept through the columns of his infantry.

While the Sardinians were contesting the banks of the Tchouliou, and General Camou so effectually defended the Lower Tchernaya, General Read, in person, precipitated himself upon the French centre, by way of the Traktar Bridge. After the battle, Gortschakoff accounted for his defeat by alleging that these movements on the allied left and centre were premature—that Read was ordered first to ascertain the success of Liprandi at the wooden bridge of Tchorgoum before either the stone bridge of Traktar was stormed, or the Tchernaya below the bridge was crossed. The directions found on the person of General Read do not bear out that criticism, which seems to have been an after-thought on the part of the prince; besides, Liprandi acted in the early part of the combat as if his part were only a feint, and that the key of the allied positions was the Traktar Bridge. Liprandi pushed down his troops in pursuit of the retiring Piedmontese until they reached the wooden bridge which crosses the Tchernaya above the junction of the Tchouliou, but there the defence of the gallant mountain-men was so tenacious, that if he designed anything more than a diversion for Read, his conduct was pusillanimous, or utterly unaccountable. If there were blame to be cast anywhere for the defeat, it should be upon the living Liprandi, or Gortschakoff himself, and not upon the slain Read; in fact, the Russians came on in the same way as at Inkerman, were defeated pretty much in the same way, and endeavoured by a similar pretext—the slander of a fallen general—to account for their repulse.

Whatever might have been the orders given to Read as to making his attack dependent upon the success of Liprandi, he did not wait for a result, of which the conduct of that general gave no promise, but launched his seventh division against Camou, and was beaten back signally, as we have seen, while he personally superintended the charge upon the Traktar Bridge. The French fled across the bridge and the river after a feeble resistance: in some ambuscades on the bank a show of determination was made, but they were soon driven out. Crossing the bridge, and at various portions of the river, where, despising the pontoons which

they brought for the occasion, the Muscovites boldly rushed through the water, wading to their middle, and gained the bank and the gorges which opened from the bridge with the most daring courage and dashing celerity. Such prompt action on the part of Russian infantry had not before been witnessed by the French, and was not supposed to be characteristic of the troops of that nation.

The twelfth Russian division, supported by the fifth, made good the passage of the bridge, and of the river above the bridge, in spite of the skilful dispositions and intrepid fighting of General of brigade de Faily. To the left and right of the bridge were the batteries of Captains Vautré and Saily, and these made havoc among such of the enemy as used the planks and flying bridges. Those who rushed into the water were beneath the range of shot, and were more concealed by the mist. The flying bridges and heavy planks were struck by the cannon-balls, and broken, or thrown into the river, and many of the assailants perished in that manner; but on so many points was a passage sought, and by methods so independent of one another, that the arrangements of De Faily proved utterly inadequate, and the Russians swarmed up the slopes. The French literally ran up the heights, and had no time to spare in their efforts to escape their determined pursuers. Although (as already remarked) the width between the heights above the Tchernaya increases up the river from Inkerman, yet where the action was fought was an exception, so that the enemy had a steep ascent. The regiments intended to act in support arrived opportunely, as the heavy masses of the enemy directed their surging advance against De Faily to their right, and Herbillon to their left. A battalion of the 73rd regiment of the line strengthened the position of De Faily; while General Cler debouched with three battalions—one of that regiment, and two of the 62nd—upon the hill, to the right of the Traktar gorge. There a terrible contest had made progress before the supports were fairly brought into action.

General Fauchaux, aided by Commanders Darbois and Algeo, at the head of two battalions of Zouaves, and one of Chasseurs, had withstood a host. Both commanders had fallen, and 400 of their brave soldiers lay around them, when Cler arrested the impetuosity of the enemy by a volley discharged at once into their compact mass. At this moment the Zouaves had given way; but falling into line with Cler's battalions, they joined in a bloody bayonet charge, which swept the enemy more rapidly down than he had ascended, until the river for a moment impeded his course. The French, halting, opened a steady and deliberate fusilade upon the defeated soldiers as they

pushed through the stream, and struggled the opposite banks. Here they found ladders which they had cast away in their want of use to them in a mode they had calculated when they carried them into action as accessories of their attack.

De Faily's reinforcement proved equally efficient. This intrepid officer advanced before his men, his sword gleaming in the light which now began to conquer the morning mist. He was gallantly followed; the brigade delivered one volley, and a bayonet charge after the manner of the British, which sent the enemy in flight back upon the Tchernaya. These brilliant charges very much resembled that executed at Busaco by Colonel Walla, when, with four companies of the Connaught Rangers, he precipitated a French column down from the heights, just as they were about to deploy, and attack in flank the Hon. Colonel King and his Fusileers (the 5th).

The Russians, baffled and repulsed at all points, did not yet despair of victory. The seventeenth division, which was with Liprandi on the heights above the Tchouliou, was pushed down against the French right under Fauchaux; the twelfth and fifth divisions immediately re-forming, divided themselves into the columns, and once more assaulted the British of Traktar.

At this juncture the mist entirely cleared away, and the appearance of the attack was beautiful as seen from the Fedukhine Heights: the glittering helmets of the Russians, and the sheen of their bayonets seemed like waves succeeding waves, rolling onward as they reflected the sun's rays. They did not advance like troops which had experienced defeat. The seventeenth division had not been in very severe action, although for some time previously they had been kept in check above Tchorgoum by a Turkish column, moved over by General Memora, and some companies of his *Bersaglieri* (riflemen of Piedmont). The French made suitable dispositions to arrest the new danger. Colonel Forgeot, who commanded the horse artillery, and had not come into action when the Russians were retreating after the failure of their first assault, now placed seven batteries of his force along the front of the French line, more especially to the right below the position occupied by Fauchaux, where the ground being undulated rather than steep, favoured his dispositions. General Pelissier himself now arrived upon the scene of action, speedily followed by General Simpson, the latter rather as an observer. Pelissier brought up the reserves, Levallant's division of the 1st corps, Dulac's division of the 2nd, and the Imperial Guard.

Liprandi commanded the Russians, where the assault was in the direction of the division of Fauchaux and the right of Herbillon.

tion; Prince Gortschakoff in person directed assault against the left of Herbillon's division and the division of De Failly, General having fallen in the previous attack. He attempted to cross the bridge and to ford the river was not found so easy of accomplishment; as when Read directed the previous charge. The *tête de pont* on the Russian side defended for a short time fiercely; but the French pressed on in such overwhelming numbers that it could not be retained. Colonel Cler, at the head of the 95th, threw himself upon the bridge and defended it foot to foot, until the French batteries at either side supported him, sweeping the further end of the bridge with a *mitraille*, before which great numbers of the assailants fell. Still the river was crossed in several places, and the heights ascended; but the left wing of Herbillon's division and the supports under Cler, repulsed the French with a fatally precise fire, and once a bayonet charge pushed them back upon Tchernaya. The right of Herbillon's division and the division of Faucheux were not reached by the bayonet on this occasion; the batteries of Forget's horse-artillery poured so destructive a fire, that the Russians retreated, wavered, and fled, before they felt the touch of French steel. Thus, once more, the left bank of the river was clear of the French; but this immunity did not continue long, for the seventeenth division, as if ashamed of its repulse, rallied with alacrity, and, reinforced by the regiment of Odessa, composed of several battalions, made a more determined charge than ever, and this time upon the extreme right of the French. The object of Liprandi was to be to pierce between the French division and the Sardinians; this would open for the French a passage to the plain of Balaklava. General Marmora perceived the intention of Liprandi before the attempt was developed, and sent the second Piedmontese division, under General Trotti, to form along the aqueduct. In this division he supported by Sardinian and Prussian cavalry, in case opportunity should be offered for their action. Besides these extended dispositions, he directed several batteries upon the flank of the Russian column. Liprandi judging that he had little to fear from the French in front of him while so large a force was directed against the French right, knowing that if any attempt were made by the Prussians and Bersaglieri would keep them at bay until reinforced, he thus detached a large portion of his troops against the flank of the French. Before Trotti had time to deploy on the extreme of the hill occupied by the French, the battle there had raged with great fury. The writers represent Trotti's division as only engaged when the enemy was repulsed, and the efforts of the Sardinians as playing upon

the flank of the flying Russians; but French officers of the highest authority, who were present at the action, and Sardinians, who were also engaged, represent the discomfiture of the assault as due in great part to the heavy fire of Trotti's batteries and the guns of position, which were turned upon their exposed flank. This was the circumstance which really prevented the execution of the out-flanking movement, for the troops who sought to effect it, taken in front and flank by cannon and musketry at close range (the mists no longer present to cover their advance), were sacrificed in prodigious numbers, and staggered back to the aqueduct, falling in lines beneath the fire of their triumphant foes. Yet this bleeding, stricken mass rallied upon the aqueduct, and opened a formidable fire of musketry upon the French, taking little or no heed to the Piedmontese upon their flank. The Odessa regiment, which had hitherto remained in support, and in observation of which the Sardinians were obliged to manoeuvre with circumspection, now made its way through the shattered but obstinate remnant of the seventeenth division, and ascended the hill in close column, preserving its order under a most galling fire, and moving with the most steady and perfect discipline. This fine body of men directed its way to the extreme right of the French, where a battery had been placed, and behind the battery General Cler, with two battalions, was concealed on a slight declivity. His orders were that not a shot should be fired until the drums beat the charge. The Russians advanced with the greatest audacity, charging the battery with the bayonet; the gunners, having given a terrible salvo, sought shelter. The drums instantly beat the charge; the two battalions sprang forth and fired; a sudden flash from the long line of bayonets gleaming in the morning sun—a cheer—a shock—another cheer, and the proud brave regiment of Odessa fell as the ripe leaves are cut by the blast of an autumnal storm. Many perished on the slope, many in the aqueduct and in the space where it joins the Tchernaya. The avenging French pressed on with order but rapidity, and smote with terrible energy, as if a winged sword flashed from Heaven upon the vanquished. Trotti poured in his fusillade along the flank, and the guns from the Sardinian batteries showered death upon the doomed battalions. The colonel and nearly all the officers were among the slain. One-third of that fine body of men were seen clambering up the sides of the Tchouliou, or seeking shelter where any projecting crag afforded them a partial cover. The battle was over—the victory was won; but the punishment to be visited upon the enemy was not even yet exhausted. They had brought over three fieldpieces in the last attempt near the stone

bridge, which were well placed and well served. In the Russian eagerness never to lose a gun, many men were lost in their efforts, which were successful, to carry the pieces away. Their sufferings were very considerable in front of the Sardinians, for as Gortschakoff collected and deployed his beaten battalions upon the heights, the English battery, composed of guns of tremendous power, threw its missiles among them. The loud roar of the English artillery, which smote the ear above all the din of battle, now seemed to break out with redoubled fury, as Captain Mowbray cannonaded the enemy, who formed his lines upon the opposite plateaux, the left resting on the Telegraph Hill—or, as General Marmora designated it, the Tchorgoum Mamelon—and the right resting on the lower slopes of the M<sup>o</sup>Kenzie.

Considerable discussion has been raised as to the possibility or propriety of a cavalry charge upon the flying enemy, and Mr. Russell says that if a Murat had commanded the cavalry, thousands of the enemy would have been made prisoners and their batteries captured. This, however, is by no means certain. A cavalry pursuit on such ground would probably have been, in some respects, a repetition of the scene at Balaklava when the light cavalry were slaughtered. The Russian batteries on the heights would have mowed down their fellow-soldiers of the retreating infantry, according to their custom, in order to reach the victorious cavalry. Marmora did order forward the Sardinian and English cavalry immediately at his disposal, and prisoners were made and fugitives cut down, but General Pelissier would not support that movement, for the reasons alleged above. Some French officers gave out that Pelissier would have pursued the Russians with the whole cavalry force, had not General Scarlett refused to expose his troopers to so great a risk; but there was no truth in this. The English general was not only ready to act, but he and his horsemen were burning for a charge. Pelissier was actuated by a prudent and just reluctance to sacrifice the gallant soldiers of an allied nation where the issue was so uncertain; and the results did not promise that the prize would compensate for the hazard of the undertaking. Sir Edward Colebrook, who paid a second visit to the Crimea immediately after this battle was fought, kept a journal of what fell under his observation, which was afterwards privately circulated among his friends. Sir Edward favoured the author of this History with a copy, from which the following extract is pertinent to the discussion as to the propriety of a cavalry charge. The whole of Sir Edward's sketch of the scene of conflict is extremely interesting as well as correct, we therefore give it entire:—

"The 22nd (August) we started with M Tupper for the Tchernaya and scene of Russian attack; we passed over the field the light-cavalry charge of last October, ascended the opposite heights, now occupied by the French. As Tupper was present the action with the horse-artillery, and been over the field afterwards, I could have had a better guide. I was struck some points of resemblance to the position occupied by the Russians before the Alma, carried by the British. A river winding slightly in front, between steep banks, here there fordable, but full of holes; the artillery placed on the side of a gently rising hill forming a natural glacis, sweeping the plain by which the Russians advanced. The French position was, however, much stronger than the Alma. Our troops were able to find under cover of the hill, after crossing the river, though some were unfortunately pushed forward in confusion, which occasioned some loss. The Russians, on the other hand, were exposed during the whole of their advance. The Tchernaya besides was a more difficult river to pass than the Alma, and, moreover, the French position was defended by a second water-course, viz. the aqueduct, which, though little more than a ditch, was a deep one, with high banks, and they were lined by troops. When we add to this that the Russian artillery were placed on the spur of the opposite hill, at long range, and unable to advance as our troops moved forward, their attack on this occasion was rash in the extreme. Some guns were brought down in the plain, at some distance from the river, but they were too weak in number and unable to hold their ground."

"This attack may be said to have been a fight for water; the white cliffs opposite were said to be very deficient, and the mass of Russian troops are kept on the Belbek. If they carried the heights, they would have occupied a strong position with a river behind their rear, and been ready to move off at any time, while our large force would have been hemmed into a narrow space, starved for want of water, or, in spreading to obtain it, they would have been open to attack. Some impatience has been expressed at our French success not having been followed up, and it is said that our cavalry were invited to pursue the retreating Russians and decline."

\* "Major-General Sir J. Scarlett has pointed out to me that this is incorrect. What really took place is described in the following passage of Marshal Pelissier's despatch on the occasion:—'For a moment I felt inclined to order a portion of the cavalry to charge, and cut off the remnant of the 17th Russian division between Tchernaya and Traktar Bridge; with this object in view I prepared some squadrons of Chasseurs d'Afrique, which were joined by some Sardinian squadrons, and by General Scarlett's regiments, the 12th Lancers, and the 1st India; but the retreat of the Russians was so rapid

bold to say, if the inspection of the field by an idle amateur is worth anything, an attempt to follow the enemy with any force alone would have been madness. The Russian artillery were well placed for defensive positions though not for attack, and the French, even if it crossed the river (which was not very easy in face of an enemy), would have met with destruction. It would have been in fact, another Balaklava. If any pursuit was attempted, it should have been by the whole force, but allied movements cannot, from their nature, be as rapid as bystanders wish; and pursuit to any distance was not the question, as the position the Russians fell back upon was of immense strength. The Russians besides, though beaten, fell back in good order, and their retreat was covered by the cavalry and guns.

We followed the course of the Tchernaya river in front of the Sardinian position, and made to their outposts on the hill occupied by Russian artillery on the 16th. I had the sole object in this—I was able to view the field of battle from the Russian side, and to see the white cliffs that bar our passage to the north. They look like white walls, rising for miles to the east without a break, and any attempt to carry them by direct assault would be, I should think, perfectly hopeless.

This was to me a day of much interest. I felt the excitement of the sight of conflict, but I was spared the horrors of the field when the strife is over. The French were removed, but the field bore abundant evidence of the struggle, remains of accoutrements, cartridges, and Russian bread in great quantities.

The appearance of the field, as seen by General Colebrook six days after the battle, was evidence of a fearful struggle, what must have been the exhibition of horror presented when in the bright noon and afternoon of August day the wounded were collected, and the narrow sphere of the conflict was open to view. The dead lay in heaps on both sides of the river, especially where the most desperate efforts were made, and the regiment of Odessa was cut to pieces on the French right. The Bridge of Traktar was covered with the dead and wounded; the river was reddened with blood—the allies could

have only made a small number of prisoners. This fine cavalry might have been reached if the enemy's batteries still in position. I deemed it not to expose it for so small a result. So far from advancing, part of the British cavalry put in motion to support the French squadrons in order to advance was countermanded. As the text was current in camp after the action, and has received countenance from my journal, and has been already privately circulated, I am glad of the opportunity of inserting this correction in

not even water their horses in it for several days. The French loss was only 19 subaltern officers killed and 53 wounded; 152 sub-officers and soldiers killed, 146 missing, and 1163 wounded. The Sardinians lost only 250 men. The Russian sacrifice to this sanguinary enterprise it is impossible to estimate with accuracy. The French buried 2129; the Russians buried 1200: making the number certainly slain 3329. There were 1664 wounded Russians carried by the French ambulances from the field, and 400 prisoners were taken uninjured. The wounded borne away by the enemy were very numerous, and many perished during their retreat in the evening, whose bones were left to whiten on the slopes of the M'Kenzie. It is probable that 10,000 were lost to the Russian army altogether, for it was believed that the numbers they buried on the right bank of the Tchernaya were greater than announced in their report; besides, they dug deep graves on the heights, to which, for hours after the battle was over, they were busied in carrying those who, borne to their hospital accommodation in the rear, had proved mortally wounded. It may be easily conceived that the slaughter was immense from such numerous assaults made by compact bodies of men, and continued without intermission for five hours.

An armistice for the burial of the dead took place; but in consequence of the Russians barbarously firing on the French ambulance-parties, who were carrying away the Russian wounded from the field, by which many of those poor wretches were mutilated or killed, Pelissier refused to bury their dead; Gortschakoff, without any apology for the barbarity thus practised by his soldiers and sanctioned by his officers, sent down 2000 unarmed men to aid in the work of burial. They were attended by a Cossack guard to prevent their deserting.

Probably the Russians never fought with a greater contempt of death—not even at Inkerman—which was attributed to the excitement of intoxication infuriating their combativeness, intensifying their fanaticism, and stupifying them to a sense of danger. The regiment of Odessa behaved best where all behaved well. Their skill did not equal their vigilance, alertness, and caution in making the surprise, nor their courage in executing the duty imposed upon them. It became obvious that the Muscovite army was no match for the allies in the field.

As soon as the conflict closed Pelissier published an order of the day, in which he thus proclaimed who the officers were by whom the most efficient services were rendered:—

“Camou and Fauchaux's divisions have nobly upheld their ancient reputation. The gene-

als of brigade, especially De Failly, Cler, and Wimpffen; Colonels Douay, Polhes, Danner, and Castagny, are entitled to the gratitude of the army. I cannot mention here all the emulators of their valour; but I must particularly mention the skilful manner in which Colonel Forgeot directed our energetic cannoniers, and the brilliant conduct of the artillery, both of the Imperial Guard and of the divisions."

Pelissier sent a telegraphic despatch to the French emperor, who received the glorious news while the Queen of England and her royal consort and children were enjoying the festivities of St. Cloud. In the early part of August her majesty was observed in London as looking anxious and dispirited; at times her countenance, when she appeared in public, bore traces of the deepest care; but the latter part of August must have revived her hopes, as she never despaired of her army, nor doubted the justice of her cause. On the day she prorogued parliament, previous to her visit to Paris (as already related), she received the telegraphic despatch of the bombardment of Sweaborg, and soon after, amidst the greetings of the French court and capital and nation, along the electric wire flashed the glorious intelligence of the decisive victory of the Tchernaya. Amidst the solicitous attentions and hospitalities of St. Cloud, the Tuileries, and Versailles, the emperor snatched leisure to congratulate his army, of which he was ever mindful, whether disease and disaster decimated it, or glory illumined its eagles. He thus addressed Pelissier:—

*Palace of St. Cloud, August 20.*

"GENERAL,—The fresh victory obtained on the Tchernaya proves, for the third time since the commencement of the war, the superiority of the allied armies over the enemy, when in the open country; but if it does honour to the courage of the troops, it does not the less mark the excellent dispositions which you have made. Address my congratulations to the army, and receive them also on your own part. Say to those brave soldiers, who for more than a year have supported unheard-of fatigues, that the term of their trials is not distant. Sebastopol, I hope, will soon fall beneath their blows; and should this event be delayed, the Russian army (I know it from information that appears positive) could not maintain, during the winter, the struggle in the Crimea.

"This glory acquired in the East has greatly moved your companions in arms in France; they burn to share your dangers. Consequently, with the twofold object of responding to their noble desire, and of procuring repose for those who have already done so much, I have given orders to the minister of war for all the regi-

ments remaining in France to proceed, by galleys, to replace in the East those who are to return.

"You know, general, how I have lamented being detained far from that army which has again added to the lustre of our eagles; now my regrets diminish, since you hold to me the prospect of the speedy and decisive success which must crown so many of your efforts.

"With which, general, I pray God to bless you in his holy keeping.

"NAPOLEON."

This eulogy was deserved; never did soldiers of France behave more valiantly. At the spot by the bridge where De Failly's gallant brigade combated, and on the batteries where Commander Darbois and the rest of his battalion withstood a host until sunrise, French valour shone conspicuous; might well receive the applause of France and the emperor.

Great curiosity was felt all over Europe to learn in what light the Russian commander would place the affair before his imperial master, and in what dress the Russian government would clothe the account of so signal a comfiture. Curiosity was gratified, and was acknowledged, but the Russian emperor claimed a triumph in the same breath. He admitted that his legions were repulsed in attack, but he at the same time represented it as more a reconnaissance than a battle. He acknowledged the failure of his efforts to disturb the allies from the positions they assumed, but swaggaringly boasted how he had withdrawn his forces to a better position, and for hours he awaited the enemy, who did not dare to come over and attack him! As if the Russians could be imposed upon—blinded by bigotry, fanaticism, ambition, to whatever pretext—by the idea that any general would abandon his strong lines, where he had repulsed a powerful enemy, to attack him in all his inaccessible positions, where even victory would be barren of results. The foregoing description of these positions, by Sir Edward Blydenbrook, will show the reader the folly of such exploit, and it is to be supposed that those who could read in Russia were by that well acquainted with the nature of the ground defended by the Russian armies. The first report was the authorised Russian report. "A report was received yesterday from the de-camp General Prince Gortschakoff, dated August 5th (17th), containing the following details, which explain his short telegraphic despatch of the same day. Desirous of driving away the enemy from the siege-work of Sebastopol, and at the same time to assist the forces of the allies, Prince Gortschakoff

took an offensive movement in the Valley of Tchernaya with a portion of the troops posted on M'Kenzie Heights. On the 4th of August, at 4 A.M., these troops divided themselves into two columns; the right commanded by Aide-de-camp General Read, in a front direction against the so-called Fedukhine Heights; and the left, commanded by lieutenant-general Liprandi, advanced on Goum. In a moment the two columns drove away the enemy from the right bank of Tchernaya. Lieutenant-general Liprandi occupied the Heights of Tchorgoum. On its right the right column advanced with extraordinary rapidity towards the river, crossed it in the violent fire of the enemy's batteries, crossed a large canal or aqueduct, and followed on by the excitement of battle, advanced directly on the Fedukhine Heights. In the interval the enemy had already had to bring up considerable forces to the advanced point of their fortified position. The head of the right column, who were scaling the scarpment, met a desperate resistance. All the efforts of our brave infantry were fruitless. On this occasion we suffered a serious loss. General Read and the chief of staff, Major-general de Weimern, were the only ones to fall. The commander-in-chief, hurried up in all haste to the right column, seeing that our troops were wasting their efforts on that point, ordered a retreat from the Tchernaya.\* Having retired to half-cannon range, Prince Gortschakoff ordered his lines of battle to halt, in the hope the enemy would pursue us and offer us an opportunity of fighting them in the open. The allies, however, did not stir from their positions; after remaining four hours in front of our adversaries, our troops quietly retreated to M'Kenzie Heights. In announcing the losses we have suffered, Prince Gortschakoff at the same time pays a tribute to the example of courage displayed by our troops in the sanguinary combat of the 4th (16th) of August, and he attributes the losses to the excess of the right column. The enemy having checked our attack, did not dare to take an offensive, despite his numerical superiority." The army at the disposal of Pelissier was numerically superior, as this report asserts, but it was numerically equal to the forces which Prince Gortschakoff had then at command for operations. The above report was founded on the Muscovite general's despatch, but excludes the view the Russian government desire the people to take, with more perspicuity. At this moment Aide-de-camp General Baron Wrewhew was at the side of the commander-in-chief, was a cannon-ball. A quarter of an hour previously he had been shot under him, but, despite the wound he then received, he remained by the side of Gortschakoff."

and brevity than the letter of the prince to the war-minister at St. Petersburg.

The desires of the public in Western Europe, and in Sardinia and Turkey, to peruse the despatches of the allied generals was very great. That of the French general was the most full and important; it was dated the 18th, and was addressed to Marshal Vaillant in the following terms:—

"You will have learnt by my telegraphic despatches of yesterday and of the day before the general results of the battle of the Tchernaya; to-day I send your excellency a detailed report of that battle so glorious for our arms.

"For some days, although the enemy abstained from any apparent movement, certain indications made us suppose he would attack our lines on the Tchernaya. You know those positions, which are excellent, and which are covered to the full extent by the Tchernaya itself, and by a canal, which forms a second obstacle. The Sardinian army occupies the whole of the right, opposite Tchorgoum; the French troops guard the centre and the left, which joins after a declivity our plateaux of Inkerman. Independently of a few fords, which are bad enough, there are two bridges across the Tchernaya and the canal: one, a little above Tchorgoum, is under the guns of the Piedmontese; the other, called Traktar Bridge, is below, and almost in the centre of the French positions. Looking straight before one towards the other bank of the Tchernaya, you behold to the right the Heights of Tchouliou, which, after extending themselves in undulating plateaux, fall somewhat abruptly towards the Tchernaya below Tchorgoum, opposite the Piedmontese. These heights diminish opposite our centre; and starting from that point to the rocky sides of the M'Kenzie plateaux, there is a plain about three or four kilometres in width. It is by that plain the M'Kenzie Road leads across the Tchernaya at Traktar Bridge, and, after passing through our pontoons leads into the Balaklava plain.

"A strict watch was kept all along our lines—the Turks, who occupy the hilly ground of Balaklava, were on the alert, and watched Alsou; and General d'Allonville, also put on his guard, doubled his vigilance in the high Valley of Baidar. My mind was quite at rest, moreover, as regards the extreme right; it is one of those mountainous regions where it is impossible to manœuvre large bodies of men. The enemy could only make false demonstrations there; in fact, that is what occurred. In the night between the 15th and 16th of August, General d'Allonville notified that he had troops opposite him, but his attitude imposed upon the enemy, who attempted nothing on

that side, and dared not attack him. During this time the main body of the Russian troops, which had descended from the McKenzie Heights with the intention of debouching near Aitodor, advanced, favoured by night, on the Tchernaya; to the right the seventh, fifth, and twelfth divisions crossed the plain; and to the left the seventeenth division, a portion of the sixth and the fourth, followed the plateau of Tchoulou. A strong body of cavalry and 160 pieces of artillery supported the infantry.

"A little before daybreak the advanced posts of the Sardinian army, placed as videttes as far as the Heights of Tchoulou, fell back, and announced that the enemy was advancing in considerable force. Shortly afterwards, in fact, the Russians lined the heights of the right bank of the Tchernaya with heavy guns (*pièces de position*), and opened fire upon us.

"General Herbillon, who commanded the French troops on this point, had made his arrangements for battle to the right of the Traktar Road. Faucheux's division, with the third battery of the 12th artillery in the centre; his own division, with the sixth company of the 13th; to the left, Camou's division, with the fourth battery of the 13th. On his side, General della Marmora had ranged his troops in order of battle. At the same time, General Morris's fine division of Chasseurs d'Afrique, speedily joined by General Scarlett's numerous and valiant English cavalry, took up a position behind the hills of Kamara and Traktar. This cavalry was to take the enemy in flank, in case he should succeed in forcing a passage by one of the three outlets of Tchorgoum or Traktar, or at the incline to the left of General Camou.

"Colonel Forgeot, in command of the artillery of the Tchernaya lines, kept six batteries of horse-artillery, two of which belonged to the Imperial Guard, ready to act as a reserve. Six Turkish battalions of Osman Pasha's army, led by Sefer Pasha, came to lend us assistance. Finally, I ordered forward Levaillant's division of the first corps, Dulac's division of the second corps, and the Imperial Guard, comprising reserves capable of remedying the most serious *contretemps*. The thick mist which covered the depths of the Tchernaya, and the smoke of the cannonade, which had just commenced, prevented us distinguishing against which particular point the chief effort of the enemy would be directed, when, on our extreme left, the seventh Russian division came tilt against Camou's division. Received by the 50th of the line, the 3rd Zouaves, who charged them with the bayonet, and by the 82nd, which took them in flank, the enemy's columns were compelled to make a *demi-volte* to recross the canal, and could only escape the fire of our artillery by getting out of range to rally. That division did not appear again during the day.

"In the centre the struggle was longer more desperate. The enemy had sent divisions (the twelfth, supported by the first) against Traktar Bridge. Many of their columns rushed at once upon the bridge, and the temporary passages they constructed with ladders, pontoons, and madriers. They then crossed the Tchernaya, the trench of our line advanced bravely on our positions; but, assisted by Generals Faucheux and De Failly, the columns were routed, and the men recrossed the bridge occupied by the 95th, and were pursued beyond it by the 2nd Zouaves, the 97th of the line, and by a portion of the nineteenth battalion of Chasseurs-à-pied.

"However, while the artillery was roaring on both sides, the Russians re-formed their columns of attack, the mist had cleared, their movements became distinctly visible. Their fifth division reinforced the twelfth, which had just been engaged; and the seventeenth was preparing to descend the Heights of Tchoulou to support these two first divisions.

"General Herbillon then ordered General Faucheux to be reinforced by Cler's brigade, and gave the 73rd as a reserve to General De Failly. Colonel Forgeot, moreover, placed batteries of horse-artillery in position, and gave him on this front a total of seven batteries to be brought to bear upon the assailing masses. The result was that the second attempt of the Russians, in spite of its energetic character, proved of no avail against us, and they were compelled to retreat with great loss.

"The seventeenth Russian division, which had come down throwing out large bodies of riflemen as skirmishers, had no better success. Received with great resolution by General Cler's brigade, and by a half-battery of the Imperial Guard, harassed on the left by the troops of Trotti's division, who pressed it closely, that division was compelled to recross the Tchernaya, and to fall back behind the batteries of position which lined the heights from where it had started.

"From this moment, 9 A.M., the defeat of the enemy was inevitable. Their long columns withdrew as fast as they could, under the protection of a considerable body of cavalry and artillery.

"For a moment I felt inclined to order a portion of the cavalry to charge and cut off the remnant of the seventeenth Russian division, between the Tchoulou and Traktar Bridges. With this object in view, I had prepared some squadrons of Chasseurs d'Afrique, who were joined by some Sardinian squadrons, and by one of General Scarlett's regiment of 12th Lancers (from India), but the retreat of the Russians was so prompt, that we could not have made a small number of prisoners, and the fine cavalry might have been reached by

the enemy's batteries still in position; I found it preferable not to expose it for so small a result. General della Marmora did not, however, stand in need of this support to retake the advanced positions which his posts occupied on the Heights of Tchoulou. At three o'clock the whole of the enemy's army had disappeared. The division of the Sardinians and Dulac's division relieved the divisions engaged, as they stood in need of some rest. I sent back the first corps of Levaillant's division, and the cavalry returned to its usual position. This splendid action does the greatest credit to the infantry, to the horse-artillery, to the *Garde*, to that of the reserve, and to the system of divisions. I will shortly ask your Majesty to place before the emperor the names of those who have deserved rewards, and submit to the approbation of his majesty which I may have awarded in his name. Losses are doubtless to be regretted, but they are not in proportion to the results obtained and to those we have inflicted upon the enemy. We have eight superior officers killed, nine subaltern officers killed, and three wounded; 172 non-commissioned officers and soldiers killed, 146 missing, and 150 wounded. The Russians have left 400 prisoners in our hands. The number of their killed may be estimated at more than 3000, of their wounded at more than 5000, of their number 1626 men and thirty-eight officers have been taken to our ambulances. Of the slain found by us are the bodies of several generals, whose names I have not been able to ascertain.

The Sardinian army, which fought so bravely at our side, has about 250 men *hors combat*. It inflicted a much greater loss on the enemy. One hundred prisoners, and 150 wounded, remain in its hands. I try to announce to your excellency that General della Marmora has informed me that the Count de Montevecchio, whose character and talents he greatly appreciated, was gloriously at the head of his brigade.

I must point out to your excellency the bravery with which General Scarlett's cavalry, at my disposal by General Simpson, behaved. The martial appearance of these excellent squadrons betrayed an impatience for the happy and prompt result of the day did not allow me to gratify.

The English and Sardinian position battered the Turkish battery which Osman had sent to Alson, fired with great precision and success. I thanked Osman Pasha for the promptitude with which he sent me six battalions under Sefer Pasha (General Izki), four of which during the day occupied the passage near Tchorgoum.

Nothing remarkable took place during the

day on the Sebastopol side. General de Salles and Bosquet were, however, prepared to drive back with energy any attack of the besieged. I send your excellency with this report the copy of a plan for the battle of the 16th, found upon the body of a Russian general, supposed to be General Read, who commanded the enemy's right, and was especially entrusted with the attack on Traktar Bridge."

General Simpson wrote as follows. His despatch was also dated the 18th, and addressed to Lord Panmure:—

"In my despatch of the 14th instant I informed your lordship that I had reason to believe that the Russians would attempt by a vigorous attack to force us to raise the siege. This they endeavoured to do on the morning of the 16th, but the result was most glorious to those of the allied troops who had the good fortune to be engaged.

"The action commenced before daylight, by a heavy column of Russians, under the command of General Liprandi, and composed of the sixth and seventeenth divisions, with the fourth and seventh divisions in reserve, attacking the advanced posts of the Sardinians.

"The ground occupied by them is on commanding hills on the right of the position, on the left bank of the Souhaia River, where it forms its junction with the Tchernaya, with two advanced posts on the opposite side. These were held with very determined gallantry for a considerable time, but being separated from their supports by the river, and not having the protection of artillery, they were compelled to leave the most advanced one.

"About the same time the fifth and twelfth divisions, to which was added a portion of the seventeenth, advanced against the Bridge of Traktar, held by one battalion of French infantry of the line, who were for a short time obliged to yield and fall back upon the main supports; with these, however, they quickly retook the bridge at the point of the bayonet.

"Again the Russians attacked with persevering courage, and were enabled to follow up their advantage by gaining the heights which rise precipitously on each side of the road; their success was but momentary—they were driven back across the river, leaving the ground covered with dead and wounded.

"The Russian general, in no way daunted by the failure of his two attempts, ordered a second column, of equal force to the first, to attack; they advanced with such impetuosity, covered by the fire of their numerous artillery, that a third time the bridge was carried, and the heights above it crowned; but they were again repulsed, and retired in great confusion into the plain, followed by the bayonets of our gallant allies.

"The general officer who commanded the Russian column, and who is supposed to be General Read, was killed, and in his possession was found the orders for the battle, signed by Prince Gortschakoff, who commanded in person. From these it would appear that it was a most determined attempt to force us to raise the siege. Had they succeeded, Balaklava was to have been attacked by one portion of their army, whilst the heights on which we now are, were to have been stormed with the other; at the same time a vigorous sortie was to have been made from the town on the French works on our extreme left, from the Quarantine, and another on the works on our extreme right on Mount Sapoune.

"The action which I have endeavoured to describe is most glorious to the arms of the French and Sardinian troops. To meet the force of the Russians the former had but 12,000 infantry, and four batteries of artillery engaged; the latter had 10,000 men in position, 4500 actually engaged, and twenty-four pieces of cannon.

"The Russian force consisted of from 50,000 to 60,000 men, with 160 pieces of artillery, and cavalry to the amount of 6000. This disparity of numbers will readily explain to your lordship the difficulty that would have been experienced, had an attempt been made to follow up the advantage by a pursuit. The Russian retreat, moreover, was protected by the fire from the heavy guns in position on the M'Kenzie Heights.

"The loss sustained by the Russians is estimated at between 5000 and 6000 men, including 600 prisoners, whilst on the part of the allies it does not amount to more than 1000 men.

"This brilliant affair has caused the greatest delight amongst the ranks of the allied army; and whilst it adds fresh lustre to the gallant achievements of the French arms, it is with the utmost pleasure that I have to record the intrepid conduct and gallant bearing of the Sardinian troops, under General della Marmora, who have for the first time met, conquered, and shed their blood against our common enemy, who is now disturbing the peace of Europe.

"Captain Mowbray's battery of 32-pounder howitzers was placed in advance with the Sardinian troops, and did most excellent service in preventing the advance of the enemy's artillery. Our cavalry, under Lieutenant-general Sir J. Scarlett, K.C.B., was placed in the plain of Balaklava, prepared to take advantage of any circumstance that might present itself; but the opportunity did not arise for calling upon their services.

"I regret that I am unable to give a more detailed account of the part performed by the

Sardinians, as up to this time I have not received General della Marmora's report."

General Simpson again sent home a despatch on the 21st:—

"In my despatch of the 18th instant, I was unable to give as detailed an account of the part taken by the Sardinian troops in the battle of the Tchernaya, as I could have wished. I have since received General Marmora's report of which I have now the honour to send you a copy.

"The killed and wounded of the Russian army exceed, if anything, the number I originally stated. An armistice was granted, to enable the enemy to bury the dead, and vast quantities were carried away. The fire from the batteries of the allies has been very effective, and the result attained has been sufficient to enable the works against the place to progress satisfactorily.

"I beg to inclose the list of casualties to the 19th instant. Major M'Gowan, 93rd Highlanders, who was reported to me as missing, in my despatch of the 11th of August, I have since ascertained was attacked whilst posting his sentries in advance of the trenches, wounded severely, and made prisoner."

The inclosed report of the Sardinian general was dated from Kadikoi on the 17th:—

"The interest which you are so kind as to evince in everything relating to the Sardinian expeditionary army makes it imperative upon me to inform your excellency of the share taken by the troops under my command in the engagement on the Tchernaya yesterday.

"Upon receiving the report of Colonel Deshayes, attached to the French headquarters, which you were good enough to communicate to me on the evening of the day before yesterday, and by which we were led to expect very shortly an attack on the line of the Tchernaya, I at once gave orders that my troops should be under arms yesterday morning at an earlier hour than usual.

"At break of day our outposts stationed on the mamelon, which commands Tchorghou, were enveloped in a well-sustained fire of artillery, which proceeded from three batteries posted opposite to the breastworks by which our outposts were covered, and on the mamelons further to the right, which formed the two banks of the Tchouliou. They were at the same time vigorously charged by the Russian columns, which came on with fixed bayonets, and attacked our breastworks in front and rear, the men composing these columns carrying ladders with them to scale the parapets. The preconceived signal of alarm was immediately given, and the troops took up the

which had been assigned to them in participation of this attack.

I begged his excellency Osman Pasha to keep up the Turkish troops which were stationed furthest off; and I ordered the fourth battalion of riflemen (Bersaglieri) to the support of our outposts, which only consisted of three companies, in order that these latter might be enabled to hold their ground as long as possible, and thus give us time to complete our arrangements.

Attacked in the rear by the enemy's artillery and charged by three columns of infantry, our outposts, after an hour's firing, fell back, and reinforcements I had sent to them greatly retarded their retreat. At the same time I made every effort to silence the enemy's artillery. In this endeavour I was assisted by the Turkish fieldpieces from Alsou, and by the Turkish battery, with which you were good enough to reinforce us. Several of the enemy's ammunition waggons exploded between seven and eight o'clock.

In the meantime the Russians had stationed their batteries near the centre of their position, and had opened a most effective fire of artillery from the *tête de pont* at Traktar, and on the other positions on our left. A column of infantry, under cover of this fire, attacked the column, which formed the extreme right of General Herbillon's division. The first column had crossed the Tchernaya, and surmounted the steep ascent of the mamelon, in spite of the fire of the tirailleurs, when it was furiously attacked by the French troops in front, and hurled back, broken and dispersed, into the Tchernaya.

When I considered, from the subsequent dispositions of the enemy's forces, that he only intended to make a demonstration of artillery against our position, while he concentrated his main body chiefly on the extreme right of the division (Fauchaux), on which point a Russian column was now advancing, I ordered the column of my fifth brigade, under the command of General Mallard, to march to the support of the right wing of the French, and I placed two of our batteries in a position from which they could obtain an oblique fire upon the Russians. At the same time I requested the English cavalry to move down into the position to be in readiness to charge. I had given orders to my own cavalry.

When the soldiers of my fifth brigade were at the Mamelon they found that the Russian attack had been already repulsed; but five of the two batteries of the second division (Trotti) appeared to do great execution against the second Russian column, which, checked by the French troops, and harassed in front by the fire of our batteries and the flank of our battalions, fell back in the

greatest disorder. I then ordered some of our battalions to advance under cover of the riflemen (Bersaglieri), but I was requested to countermand this movement.

"The enemy, repulsed at all points, commenced his retreat. One column, which appeared to me to consist of a division, retreated by the Valley of the Tchoulion. Another division, the one which had attacked our outposts and the French right in the morning, fell back upon the zigzag mamelon; while a third division followed the road which leads to M'Kenzie's Farm. I took advantage of this state of things to re-occupy with my troops the zigzag mamelon, in which design I succeeded perfectly, in spite of the imposing force which the enemy still retained on that point. In the meantime, three battalions of Turkish troops advanced into the Valley of Tchorgoum, to replace the battalion of Cialdini's brigade, which was occupying the Heights of Karlooka. Later in the day I crossed the Tchernaya with four squadrons, and marching in a parallel line with the zigzag mamelon, came upon the old Russian redoubt, whence I could easily discern, at a little distance before us, a very fine array of regular cavalry, supported by horse-artillery. It was distributed in twelve separate bodies, and must have been composed of at least fifty squadrons. This cavalry did not fall back on M'Kenzie's Road till the whole of the infantry and artillery had effected their retreat.

"The losses sustained by our troops, a portion only of whom were engaged, were very inconsiderable. They amount to about 200 men placed *hors de combat*; and I impute the fact of our not having lost more men mainly to the works with which we fortified our position, and to the batteries of heavy guns which you were so obliging as to lend us for their defence. It is, however, my painful duty to announce to your excellency that Count Montevecchio, the general commanding the fourth brigade, is mortally wounded; a ball passed through his chest."

Two days after the battle Admiral Bruat addressed a despatch to the French minister of marine, which places in a very interesting light the progress, character, and results of the battle. This despatch also gives other information:—

"I went yesterday morning to head-quarters, whence the general-in-chief conducted me to the field of battle of the Tchernaya. The exact number of the loss of the enemy could not be ascertained, but by the time we had returned to head-quarters it had been found that 1700 wounded Russians had been taken up, and that 400 prisoners have fallen into our power. In order to clear our ambulances, the general-in-chief requested me to

send to the Bosphorus all the wounded Russians whose condition would allow of their being carried to Kamiesch. In addition to the *Montezuma*, which carries 250 of our own sick, I dispatched to-day to Constantinople the *Wagram* and the *Charlemagne*, of the line, and the steam-frigate *Labrador*, which will together receive on board 1200 wounded, 400 prisoners, and 600 *gendarmes* of the guard. On their return from the Bosphorus, these vessels will bring to Kamiesch the brigade of General Sol, comprising about 3200 men. I can now make known to your excellency the general impression which the victory of the Tchernaya appears to me to have produced in our army. No engagement had ever before proved in so striking a manner the superiority and moral ascendancy of our troops over those of the enemy. The arrangements made by the Russian army indicate a well-concerted and well-studied plan. No error similar to that of General Soimonoff at the battle of Inkerman was committed on this day. The Russian divisions attacked our positions at the prescribed hour, and with a perfect knowledge of the ground; they took possession of the Bridge of Traktar, and forced the Sardinian advanced posts to fall back. When the brigade of General de Failly assumed the offensive, 1500 or 2000 Frenchmen drove back 8000 Russians beyond the Tchernaya, and in an hour after 45,000 Russians retreated before 10,000 or 12,000 of the allied troops. The affair of the 16th was much less a battle than an immense sortie, repulsed with incredible vigour. The enemy had not advanced out of reach of his heavy batteries, and he retired under the protection of the works which crown the plateau of M'Kenzie, as soon as he perceived that our troops were not intimidated by the considerable masses which he had deployed on the plain. He had, perhaps, hoped to draw us under the fire of his heavy batteries, and to get our troops among the heights, whence his artillery could have played upon us with destructive effect. The general-in-chief did not allow himself to be led into this imprudent pursuit. By bringing forward his cavalry, he might have made a few prisoners, but our squadrons must have passed over the Bridge of Traktar, which was within reach of the enemy's guns, and they must have entered the plain under a cross-fire from artillery and musketry, and having behind them a fordable river, the banks of which are very steep. Thanks to the intelligence of the general-in-chief, our success remains intact and complete; the enemy has returned within his lines, and the army of relief having been paralysed, the siege may be carried on with security. The difficulties which it presents are doubtless but little lessened by our victory; it is still a work of perseverance

and of method, but the issue of it can no longer be doubtful. Russia will not have to gratulate herself on the prolonged resist of Sebastopol. Her finances and her arms are almost entirely exhausted in support at the extremity of the empire, a struggle the conditions of which are to our advantage. If Sebastopol had fallen after the battle of Alma, it would only have been a surprise. Russia would have lost a fleet and a naval arsenal, but the prestige of her power would not have been seriously weakened. Now the contrary, her strength has been worn in long and useless efforts: her old soldiers have disappeared; she now brings forward the field of battle more young recruits, tried battalions, and the wounded and prisoners who fall into our power appear worn out by fatigue and insufficient nourishment. The Russian government, deprived of the resources of the Sea of Azoff, can no longer replenish its storehouses; its soldiers only receive for their rations bread, salt, and water; brandy is distributed on days of battle, and scarcely meat. When the rains of autumn overflow the roads, I know not how the enemy will be able to procure food for his numerous army. Its situation appears to me most critical; I see in the attack of the 16th, so well followed up, a greater symptom of discouragement than of daring. The perspectives of the future call for a vigorous effort on the part of the Russians; with us, on the contrary, counsels prudence. The general-in-chief yesterday morning opened a fire from our batteries. If we succeed in silencing those of the enemy, our advances will be pushed with great activity; if it be found necessary to await the arrival of mortars to obtain a result, the delay, the consequences of which had been a cause of apprehension, will be attended with less inconvenience than otherwise. We know by the avowals of the Russian generals themselves, what losses they incur by fire; these losses cannot but increase, and the means of the enemy for repairing them every day diminish. In the meantime our army receives constant reinforcements, lives in abundance. In spite of the fatigues to which it is subjected, its herculean supports it; and the facility with which a new loan has been subscribed for proves that France will not abandon it. The victory of the Tchernaya appears to me, therefore, calculated to tranquillise the least confident minds. It is a grand affair, the first effect of which will be to restore confidence to all who had been somewhat shaken by the capture of the 18th of June.

"I have received the most satisfactory accounts from the Sea of Azoff. The flotillas continue to scour the coast, and ex-

and alarm in every direction. The *Des-*  
left yesterday for the Strait of Kertch,  
on board a reinforcement of 400 ma-  
the English also send 800. The gene-  
chief, at my request, has ordered Colonel  
to concert measures with Commander  
of the *Pomone*, for occupying Taman

and Fanagoria long enough to completely de-  
stroy the buildings which the Russians have  
preserved in these two establishments. The  
materials will be made use of for building  
barracks on Cape St. Paul. With timely  
precautions the garrisons of the Strait of Kertch  
will pass the winter there without suffering."

## CHAPTER XCVII.

### OF SEBASTOPOL FROM THE BATTLE OF THE TCHERNAYA TO THE EVE OF THE FINAL ASSAULT.

"To possess all the various qualifications requisite for command is not very common, even among those who are good officers in an inferior rank; hence, unless there is a wide field for selection, the chances must be much against its being possible that a satisfactory choice should always be made. . . . In order to insure such selection not being made lightly, or from favouritism or political motives, we would suggest that such promotions should be given in such form as your majesty may be pleased to determine; the recommendation in which the services of the officer shall be detailed being made public, with a view to insure the responsibility which ought to attach to appointments thus made out of the regular course of army promotion."—*Report of Commission on Promotion in the Army, 1854.*

truth of the motto selected for this  
r was exemplified before Sebastopol at  
period of which we now write. General  
on, a safe, careful, industrious, and zeal-  
leader, did not possess the requisites for  
command any more than his predecessor.  
did certainly more experience as to the  
attendance of large bodies of troops, for  
respect Lord Raglan had none what-  
but he was equally deficient in energy,  
al activity, enterprise, and comprehen-  
sion of conception. He did not possess

The French general was a good engi-  
neer, but was said to manage infantry  
differently, and to be very incompetent  
use of cavalry. He also lacked personal  
energy, being exceedingly corpulent, and far  
advanced in years. He was accustomed to  
sit about the camp in an open carriage,  
surrounded by the useless pomp of a large escort  
of hussars. Canrobert, although fond of dis-  
pensing with this useless trouble to the  
commander, and was daily seen on horseback—  
alone, or attended by a single aide-de-  
camp—visiting every post, and in-  
specting everything. For a siege, Simpson was  
superior to Raglan, but Pelissier was a de-  
terioration upon Canrobert: he was  
unintelligent, enterprising, and resolute.

During the latter part of the month of Au-  
gust promotions were made by the British go-  
vernment in the manner condemned by the  
author of this chapter. That we may not  
be querulous or actuated by hostility to  
the government of the day, we give a specimen  
from the pen of Mr. Russell, of the grievances  
with both army and navy were subjected  
to this cause:—"The vacancy occasioned  
by the death of Commander Hammet, of the  
HMS *Albatross*, is filled up, I understand, by the pro-  
motion of Lieutenant Pasley, of the *Royal Al-*

*batross*, who is thus put over the heads of at least  
five or six lieutenants of the Naval Brigade—  
lieutenants of ten years' standing, or even  
more, and who have now passed eight months  
in the trenches, and been in four bombard-  
ments. This needs no comment from me; but  
it may be thought to require explanation from  
those who ordain and sanction a system of pre-  
ference, which, to persons uninitiated in the  
mysteries of naval promotion, must seem un-  
just. In one point of view, it is an invidious  
task to draw public attention to such cases as  
this; but it should always be understood that  
no slur is intended to be cast on the person  
preferred. Lieutenant Pasley may be a most  
meritorious officer, but one naturally feels  
curious to become acquainted with the services  
that entitle him to walk over his seniors, who  
for two-thirds of a year have been engaged in  
actual and severe warfare, have been decimated  
by Russian shot, and have taken their full  
share of hardships probably unparalleled in the  
history of war since the campaign of 1812."

The evils of a divided command had been  
much felt at the battle of the Tchernaya, and  
continued to be felt afterwards while the allies  
were in expectation that the attack would be  
renewed. Osman Pasha, the Turkish general,  
could not be prevailed upon to take part in any  
general combination, pleading the directions of  
Omar Pasha to hold fast by his positions.  
Omar was angry with his own *status* in the  
allied counsels and operations, and seemed  
more disposed to embarrass than aid the con-  
duct of the war. General Herbillon, as senior  
general of division, had commanded at the late  
engagement until Pelissier arrived, but the  
whole line, from Baidar to Inkerman, was  
afterwards placed under the command of the  
chief of the Imperial Guard, Régnaud de St.  
Jean d'Angély, as *général d'un corps d'armée*.

This measure did not seem to please Osman Pasha, who maintained his separate authority ; and it placed Marmora also in difficult relations, as his chief was General Simpson, the Sardinian corps being attached to the English army.

The Russians continued to throw forward parties in reconnaissance, and the Cossacks made a prompt incursion upon the lower part of the Baidar Valley on the withdrawal of the French cavalry, and carried away stores of hay and other forage, with huts, utensils, arms, accoutrements, &c., which it is hardly likely that d'Allonville had intended to abandon.

On the 23rd large bodies of Russians were seen in observation of Marmora's corps, and an attack was expected there on the morning of the 24th. For this the gallant Piedmontese made ready with their accustomed coolness, but the enemy did not venture upon the hopeless task of dislodging them from their positions.

The general statements of deserters were to the effect that an attack all along the line, from Baidar to Inkerman, and along the trenches, from Inkerman to the Quarantine, might be daily expected. The French Imperial Guards were consequently placed in position upon the Fedukhine Hills, and other French troops were moved down as supports.

Notwithstanding the large reinforcements received by Gortschakoff prior to the battle of the Tchernaya, troops continued to arrive at his camp for a week after in small detachments; and a "Tatar" spy brought word on the 24th that two divisions of grenadiers were expected soon. This news put the allied generals again on the alert, and dispositions were made to repel an attack in greater force than that made on the 16th.

Three redoubts were erected for the protection of the Traktar Bridge, which the French called *Raglan Redoubt*, in honour of the deceased British chief; *Bizot Redoubt*, in honour of their own general of engineers, who had been slain; and the *Redoubt de la Boussinière*, in honour of the artillery colonel of that name, who fell upon the 18th of June.

There were various other works erected by both French and Sardinians, which made the allied positions like a great intrenched camp. The Turks, upon whose flank the enemy might descend from Baidar, did nothing to strengthen their posts, nor could their neighbours, the Sardinians, induce them to cut a sod, or raise a shovelful of earth. The policy of Osman seemed to be, doubtless under the directions of Omar, to do nothing, except fight when attacked, which no doubt the gallant Ottomans would have done.

The French cavalry returned to their old post, and were accompanied by some battalions of infantry, who reconnoitred the Baidar Valley,

and climbed the mountains, continuing their course to the Upper Belbek. They suffered their reconnaissances from want of water. The French dragoons also made reconnaissances along the road to Yalta, as if some appearance of the enemy in that direction was expected.

Two companies of the 89th English regiment of the line were stationed in the Valley of Vanutka, which is separated by a ridge from the Baidar Valley. It was suspected that the Russians were in this neighbourhood in some strength, but the troops in the valley were not molested. Some French artillery joined them, and these were followed by other French troops, and all were engaged in making gabions for the siege, abundant material for such a purpose being there easily found.

The following despatch of General Simpson, dated the 25th of August, will show his view of the proceedings of the Russians in the field:—

"Having been engaged since daylight in careful observation of the position in front of Balaklava, I am unable to address your lordship at any length to-day. The enemy have been concentrating troops at the M'Kenz Tasova, and Carales, their left extending far as the village of Makoul, and are supposed to have received considerable reinforcements which probably consists of two divisions of grenadiers, which have been conveyed in from Bagtché Serai and Simpheropol. The bridge across the great harbour is nearly completed, and large bodies of men are employed in erecting earthworks on the north side of the harbour. Intrenchments have been thrown up on the Severnaya Hill, extending from the sea coast to the site of the first lighthouse, facing the north. From various sources we learn that the Russians on the right bank of the Tchernaya are held in perfect readiness for offensive movement. Our siege operations progress steadily, with, I regret to say, heavy casualties on our side, as your lordship will see by the accompanying lists."

The demonstrations observed by the British chief continued to be made, and so menacing did they become, that he thought it necessary to reinforce the lines upon the Tchernaya, and ordered Sir Colin Campbell, with the Highland division, to take ground upon the extreme right, near Kamara. Fifty guns were also ordered by General Simpson to the support of the allied force.

Co-operating with these preparations, Mr. Beatty, of the railway corps—if we may so designate Sir Moreton Peto's *brigade*—was directed to superintend the formation of two rails: one from the *Col de Balaklava* to Kamiesch, which would facilitate communications between the French and English depots; and the other from

dikoi, joining the old line (as it may now be led), to Tchorgoum, or rather to that part of the Sardinian position which faced the village. The railway people who survived the toils and toilsness incidental to their task and to the fate had gone home, but French and Sardinian soldiers undertook the work; and Mr. Beatty was assisted in his superintendence by Mr. Campbell and a few others of the railway officials who remained. The original line of way was so broken up by the rough uses to which it had been subjected that it required to be renewed. Mr. Beatty undertook to place it in a working condition to last the winter, should the troops be compelled to remain, and this was now generally foreseen. The reform became the order of the day at Balaklava; and, under the administration of General Freemantle, harbour-regulations were introduced, which were conducive to the public advantage.

The British cavalry were occupied much during the latter part of August in taking up various positions behind the right centre, the left, and the extreme right of the allied lines; their splendid appearance was the theme of commendation amongst French, Sardinians, and Turks.

Rigadier Cameron's Highland Brigade was ordered closer to the rear of the Piedmontese, where they took up a position with a detachment of the Bersaglieri.

September opened upon the Tchernaya as usual—ended—in suspense to the allied armies, in vigilant expectation of a renewed effort. The Russian army on the McKenzie Heights began, however, to diminish gradually; reports alleged that they were withdrawing to the Belbek, that the cavalry had suffered heavy losses of animals from want of forage, that, therefore, a large division had been sent away to Bagtché Serai. Still the Russian engineers, sappers, and artillery were busy in strengthening their positions, and a battery was erected on the projecting spur opposite the "Fedukhine Mountains," which commanded a good path to the Tchernaya.

The 2nd large masses of the enemy were observed concentrating on Upa, Ozenbach, and Aliou; and Prince Gortschakoff in person made a close reconnaissance of the allied positions. So near to the period of the final attack as the 4th of September, General Simpson was in expectation of an attack in that quarter.

In the description of the battle of the Tchernaya an interesting quotation was made from a pamphlet privately circulated among the friends of Sir Edward Colebrook, with which the author politely favoured us. The following are some of the visits made by him to the allied positions above the river shortly before the capture

of Southern Sebastopol, will assist the reader in forming a better idea of the scene then presented by the allied forces, and of the strength of their positions:—"The reports of an intended attack by the Russians were so rife in camp, that we started again this morning with the early dawn, and had a delicious ride to Kamara, which I had not visited since the beginning of October last year. How changed the scene! The ground now alive with French, Sardinians, Turks, and English, was then the neutral ground of the two armies, and a scene of complete solitude. The eye then ranged from the white cliffs that marked the Russian position, to the green slopes along the range of the south coast, without discerning a sign of life. The valleys below me are now not merely full of human beings, but large herds of cattle cover the plain. Visited the Highlanders, who marched here yesterday, and again to-day, to strengthen this part of the line. This is a measure of precaution that one cannot reprove; but the difficulty of moving any large force against our right flank is evidently so great, that I scarcely think it was needed. The heights beyond Kamara command a fine view of the country eastward of the wall of white cliffs which bar our passage to the north. It is composed of hill and dale, with narrow valleys, evidently passable; but a large force with artillery would experience great difficulties, and a small one would be crushed. The lower one (the Aitodor) is the quarter from which it is said the attack is to come; but I scarcely think the enemy could bring against us from this quarter a sufficient force to make the attack the principal one; and it would, moreover, be so far separated from the main body as to render combination very difficult. The Highlanders are encamped in a delightful situation, on the slope of the hill, as if the object was to show themselves to the enemy. They are not a little pleased to be out of the trenches, and are preparing for a stay of a few days. This favour to a division which was encamped at Balaklava the whole of the most trying season, and has scarcely had six weeks of trench work, is a subject of much, and, I think, just animadversion."

The following observations as to the difficulty of relying upon the information obtained on the spot, amidst the events passing, confirms the opinion frequently expressed in the course of this History, that it is only by a comparison of the accounts of a number of eye-witnesses, carefully collated, and the whole submitted to the judgment of competent military authorities, that accuracy could be maintained. It has been by this method that the relations of facts in our pages have been preserved from material error. Sir Edward made in his journal of the

28th of August this entry:—"I rode with Gaspar Tupper and Twopeny to the Baidar Valley, ascending the Marine Heights, and crossing the ridge to Vanutka Valley, and thence followed the Woronzoff Road. We were anxious to make the excursion as soon as we could, and while the French troops were in occupation of Baidar; and it may serve to show the difficulty of procuring information of what is passing in other parts of the same army, if I mention the different reports that reached us of the state of things we should find there. 'Our own Correspondent' told me on the preceding day, upon the authority of one of General Jones's staff, that the Russians were in occupation of the Phoros Pass, and the French had fallen back. I repeated the story in the cavalry camp, and it was instantly contradicted by an officer present, who said some officers of the quartermaster-general's department had reconnoitred in that direction, supported by a French escort, and there was no truth in it. The next morning, as we started, an officer we fell in with repeated the original story, on the authority of some friends whom he named, who had been at Baidar the previous day; but a few miles further on, Sir Colin Campbell, whom we fell in with, treated the whole thing with ridicule, and turned the balance the other way; and so it remained for the rest of the day. Our ride onwards was very refreshing. Well-grown trees, and hills covered with wood, were grateful to eyes dazzled by the glow of the plain and blinded with dust. Vanutka somewhat resembles in its form and breadth a west of England valley, but with an appearance of wildness and nature, as if unfrequented. We did not descend into the Baidar Valley; the view from the pass by which it is entered from the west was to me disappointing; the surrounding mountains are wanting in grandeur, and are only partially clothed with wood. It is a fine broad, rich valley, but scarcely deserving its reputation, if I may be allowed to judge of it from one point of view. As the heat was oppressive, I returned home by the Woronzoff Road and the Sardinian positions. The mountains on my right were evidently impenetrable, except at rare intervals, and then only by wild pathways. I was set quite at my ease as to the probability of any attack on this side. The occupation of the Baidar adds nothing to our security. Next morning, Tuesday, rode up to Kamara, and breakfasted with Sir Colin. The country lay like a map before us, and Sir Colin pointed out what he considered the position of the enemy, and the points from which they might probably attack us. It seems the Russians are not dependent on the M'Kenzie Road alone for their advance, as they have formed another towards Aitodor, descending

the white cliffs, and passable for artillery; they, besides, have another road through the country further eastward. They can then choose their point of attack, and advance without being observed. This is their advantage, for our position is so strong that with good troops it would be impregnable. Of this I had good means of judging, as I to a ride with Captain Mansfield, Sir Colin aide-de-camp, after breakfast, and went to the hill occupied by the Sardinians, and the conical hill further to the right, forming an advanced post of the Turks. The former is the most commanding position; artillery placed here sweep the opposite hills and valleys, and an enemy advancing by the latter could not deploy. But the great advantage of our present line is, that the Russians could not place their guns effectively. Sir Colin told me that if the attack of the 18th had succeeded, we should have made a push for the Aitodor. This part of the Russian position has, however, been subsequently strengthened by heavy ship-guns; but in the event of the siege operations being successful, I have little doubt we shall make some attempt to force the position either at that point or further westward."

In the foregoing pages of this chapter, the narrative has been confined to the circumstances of the opposing armies in the field, where proceedings assumed an increased importance after the battle of the Tchernaya. Attention will now be directed to the progress made in the works before Sebastopol, and within the city.

Immediately after their disaster at Trak and Tchorgoum, the Russians laid a bridge of boats across the harbour between the north and south sides, showing that their confidence in the defence of Southern Sebastopol was gone. Over this bridge vast convoys of material for war and stores were seen daily proceeding from the south to the north side of the harbour; subsequently a bridge of less capacity was thrown across further up, and deserters who swam to the French ships of war declared that the powder had to a great extent been removed from the sea defences, and that the enemy had anticipated defeat at Southern Sebastopol by every timely measure possible to the occasion. Several deserters perished in similar attempts to reach the ships by swimming, although aided by various supplies carefully provided.

On the day that the battle of the Tchernaya was fought, the allies opened a heavy fire along their intrenchments, which the enemy fiercely returned. Nothing worthy of description occurred before Sebastopol during the first week after that battle. There were frequent alarms, and there was much cannonading. On the night of the 20th-21st, the French

extreme left bombarded with great fury; the enemy responded with promptness, and sustained the response with animation. The 56th British regiment of the line was at Balaklava, and was attached to the division. There was much discontent among the old soldiers at the circumstance of "new lads" being almost the only description of recruits which "arrived out." Many of the poor boys sickened and died almost immediately. The officers complained of a fearful evil amongst themselves: nearly all the lieutenants who joined regiments in the Crimea were mere striplings, ignorant of their profession in every way, and utterly unfit for service. They were of little use to the older soldiers, and often an incumbrance; like the recruits they were soon invalidated, and might just as well have been detained at Scutari and sent to the Crimea. Among the lieutenants was a large proportion of very young and inexperienced men, and many of them imperfectly drilled. Young lieutenants were even in command of companies. The advantage of such a state of things, both among the officers and in the ranks, was afterwards proved at the grand assault on the 8th September.

The French perseveringly worked on their trenches towards the Malakoff; but the rocky nature of the ground in front of the Great Redoubt, and the commanding position of that position rendered it impossible for the English to dislodge the French by any forward thrust, but by very slow degrees. Meanwhile, the loss of men on the part of the allies became very great; the French lost more than the English, but the English lost more in proportion to their numbers. The French were maintained every night by the British, and prevented the enemy repairing the damage done to his parapets and embrasures through the day, was constant and skilful. The fire directed upon the British trenches in consequence was very severe. The losses expected from night to night may be judged of by the fact that, from the 20th to the 23rd, including both dates, the British had 2 sergeants and 4 rank and file killed, and 8 officers, 8 sergeants, and 168 rank and file wounded—200 men in three days. The losses from the 24th to the 26th August were—24 rank and file killed; 9 officers, 6 sergeants, and 137 rank and file killed, wounded, and missing. On the 24th, Major Warden, 97th, and Lieutenant J. F. W. R.E., were slightly, and Captain J. F. W. R.E., was severely wounded. On the 25th, Captain R. Drummond was dangerously wounded, and Lieutenant-colonel Seymour, Scots Fusileer Guards, was severely hit in the head by a piece of shell; Lieutenant J. F. W. R.E., 34th, was slightly wounded the same day, and on the 26th, Lieutenant Rous, of the

90th, and Captain Arbuthnot, R.A., were wounded severely. From the 27th to the 30th August, 1 officer, 1 sergeant, and 20 rank and file were killed; 6 officers, 4 sergeants, and 152 rank and file were wounded. On the 28th, Captain Forbes, Grenadier Guards, was very slightly wounded. On the 29th, Captain Farquharson, Scots Fusileer Guards, and Major Graham, 41st regiment, were severely wounded; and on the 30th, Captain Wolsey, of the 90th, acting as engineer, and Lieutenants Ware and Brinkley, 97th, were severely wounded.

On the 25th, Lord Stratford de Redcliffe arrived in the Crimea from Constantinople for the purpose of investing with the Order of the Bath such officers as her majesty was pleased to confer that honour upon. The ceremony did not take place until the 27th, in the front of General Simpson's quarters. A canopy decorated with the allied flags was erected there, the standard of England surmounting them. A guard of honour consisting of men from every arm of the service attended the ambassador. General Pelissier and his staff were in attendance. An observer, a member of the English medical staff, more particular than polite, described the general as "a thick, puffy, dark little man," and General Simpson as "a tall, lank, grey-headed, sedate-looking person."

The honour was conferred on Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, Rear-admiral Sir Houston Stewart, Lieutenant-general Sir Colin Campbell, Lieutenant-general Sir H. Bentinck, Lieutenant-general Sir W. Codrington, Lieutenant-general the Hon. Sir James Yorke Scarlett, Major-general Sir Richard Airey, Major-general Sir Harry Jones, and Major-general Sir William Eyre.

On the conclusion of the imposing scene, the bands struck up "God save the Queen," and the artillery fired a royal salute. The troops then filed off and retired. Lord Stratford remained for several days, conferring with General Simpson, Admiral Lyons, and the medical staff, on various matters important to the service. The next day General Simpson sent the following despatch to the minister of war:

"Since the attempt of the enemy to force the passage of the Tchernaya, on the 16th instant, no movement of aggression has taken place; but all the accounts I have received tend to show a disposition on their part to renew the attack. I have considered it necessary to send the Highland division, composed of the 42nd, 71st, 79th, and 93rd regiments, under the command of Lieutenant-general Sir Colin Campbell, to reinforce our extreme right, and they are now encamped on the slopes of the heights overhanging the village of Kamara. I have likewise placed fifty guns and the cavalry in reserve, to act on the first appear-

ance of the enemy. The 56th regiment has arrived, and I have attached it to the first division. The siege operations are progressing favourably; but, owing to the brightness of the nights, a large amount of work cannot be executed. The raft bridge, from the north side to the south shore, has been completed, and is actually in use by the enemy; and a considerable increase of troops, with a good deal of movement, is observable in the town. The installation of the Knights of the Bath took place yesterday at my head-quarters, and was conducted with great dignity and solemnity by Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe. The effect was most imposing, attended as the ceremony was by the naval and military commanders-in-chief of the allied forces; and after the delivery by her majesty's ambassador of a peculiarly eloquent discourse upon the character and history of the most honourable Order, the several knights were respectively invested with the insignia of their class. I transmit the weekly report of the principal medical officer, which shows a decided improvement in the health of the army, and the list of casualties to the 26th instant."

As evidence of the corruption pervading every state department, each of these gallant officers had to pay £164 13s. 4d. for the honour thus bestowed upon him. Poor men of merit are necessarily barred out from such rewards.

On the night of the 29th of August a 13-inch shell from the city burst through the roof of a tumbril, from which the French were discharging powder into one of their magazines, near the Brancion Redoubt. The cartridges in the tumbril were of course exploded, and the proximity of the magazine caused the explosion to be communicated to it, and a fearful report, followed by sheets of flame, broke over the works. There were at the moment seven tons of gunpowder in the magazine, besides shot and shell. These were hurled into the air, and were scattered over the trenches, falling in showers on the redoubt. Four officers and thirty-six men were blown up, and three times as many were wounded, some mortally, many seriously, by the shells and balls, or their fragments. The last reverberations had scarcely died away over Sebastopol, when a loud cheer ascended from the enemy's works, which was answered by angry salvoes from the French and English batteries.

On the night of the 30th a body of Russians succeeded in gaining the advanced trench of the English before they were observed. The guard made little resistance, being chiefly composed of feeble recruits. The enemy very promptly began to pull down the gabions, and to fill up the parallels, while a portion of them advanced to attack the next parallel. The 97th

regiment received them with a steady and resolute fire, by which they were utterly defeated. The men of the 97th then charged, led by Captain Brinkley and Lieutenants Preston and Ware; the captain and Ware were wounded, and Preston was killed. The gallant officers, especially Lieutenant Preston, behaved nobly, emulating the example set by the brave Captain Vicars, who on a previous occasion of like peril so heroically died. Captain Pechell behaved also with great gallantry and was wounded slightly; four days afterwards he was killed in the trenches. Colonel Bunbury received and deserved the notice of General Simpson.

Such losses, however severely felt by the English, were still more severe and frequent with our allies, who had nightly 150 men killed and wounded in the trenches. The Russians suffered far beyond the injury they were able to inflict. Pelissier remarked—"I lose a fine brigade in ten days; the enemy loses a division a week, and if this goes on for a month he will be deprived of a *corps d'armée*."

On the 1st of September, five days before the opening of the bombardment, Sir Edward Colbroke, under the guidance of his friend, Colonel Chapman, visited the trenches, and his journal contains the most striking and graphic description of the appearance of the opposing lines, which we have perused or heard from those who, like Sir Edward, were witnesses. His description thus commences:—"The batteries are this year so much advanced, and the formation of the ground so peculiar, that it is impossible to judge of our attack except by an actual visit. We rode down to the battery which bears the name of my guide, by a ravine strewn, as are all those leading to our trenches, so thickly with shot, that I could not be asking whether some of the heaps had not been collected by hand. Every bend on the hill had acted like a funnel to mass them together in this peculiar way. Arrived at the battery which now constitutes our first parallel, I found before me the battle-field of the last six months; our works pushed on for upwards of half a mile in advance, and crowded with men as they approach the front; Rifle-pits and Quarries, the scene of our struggle in the spring, and the cemetery to which our troops perished on the 18th of June. Chapman recommended a nearer survey from an advanced battery on our left, and we passed along the edge of the great ravine, dividing the French and English lines, by a singular path, here and there running under masses of projecting rocks, which form natural caverns,\* where our men find shelter, and in some cases are turned into magazines. We reached the promised battery at last, which rests on the ravine, and

\* The Ovens.

ence of the second parallel. We were by Neville, of the engineers, who came on duty. The scene was very striking; the Staff Battery (Russian) rose high on the left, and seemed, to my unprofessional eye, to be about as far as we could get. Before us lay the creek which formed the harbour, which we could follow to its length, and which this battery was to command. On our front I could distinctly see the long outline of the Russian works, forming almost one continual line of fortifications; and on the extreme right we saw in profile the Malakoff (in itself a fine work), and the French works carried up to the edge. I was not left to enjoy my view long, for a midshipman, who was about in a very lively manner, as he warned us that we were going to open fire, the seamen began to point the guns. I moved a little to one side, to watch the effect of the shot, some of which were directed at the bridge of boats, and others against the Russian works. The range of the former was too far to be relied upon; one excellent shot had been fired from this battery a few days before. I said Chapman, 'let us move a little to the left, for we shall soon have a shot from the French which we had hardly gone twenty yards to see.' When a volume of smoke from the Staff Battery was followed pretty closely by another, of a shot over our heads, and shot and shell were hurled in rapid succession; two of them struck the parapet, scattering the dirt over us, and entering an embrasure without causing any injury, another bounded off our magazine, and the remainder plunged into the ravine below. This was too hot to be pleasant, and I began to think of the difficulties of a retreat, though I was snug enough under the parapet, the road by which I came was very dangerous. However, my guide was determined to go to this, and we returned by the left. We had to pass the line of fortifications, and stopping at a new work of formation, which Chapman wished to see, we had an amusing specimen of the manner in which the working-parties threw down the parapet and shovel when the look-out man called 'shot,' and rushed to the parapet, in the course, I followed their example. I was sorry to be out of this, and should have felt more apprehension, if it had not been for the coolness of my friends, and the courage of the men in the batteries, and the small number of casualties, which made it difficult to see it as a scene of danger. We moved to the right, till we reached the ravine which separated the left and right attack, and then we went into the zigzags. These, in some places, were no cover, the bare rock protruding from the surface. Apart from the lively scene, which distinguished it, my visit has

been a very instructive one. It has enabled me to judge by observation of the extent of these works, the difficulties under which they are carried on, the bearing of the fire of the batteries, and the peculiarity of the ground. Though the ravines run with a certain regularity the ground does not; it is broken into hills and mamelons, which complicate the warfare, and give a field for military skill, which any map imperfectly explains. For instance, the broken ground called the Quarries immediately in front of the Redan, covers a battery which bears on the Malakoff, and supports the French attack. I do not think it is sufficiently known that many of our works were carried on and completed during the middle of that trying season that wasted the army. The second and third parallel were so made. Whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the propriety of pushing forward the siege at such a cost of life, it must add, if anything can, to the admiration of the energy and fortitude of our countrymen to know that in the midst of difficulties, such as rarely have been encountered by any army, we steadily advanced against the enemy's works, and that there was no moment of faltering in our progress. The Garden Battery, whose fire I experienced, has been the most troublesome during the siege, and caused more casualties than any other, enfilading our advanced works, and never silenced by our fire."

Rumour ascribed insubordination to the garrison, and it was observed that strange shouting and discharges of musketry were on some occasions heard from within the city. Deserters alleged that in one of these instances of riotous noise, an officer of distinction and 100 men were executed for disobedience.

By the beginning of September the French works were pressed up so close, that one of their trenches was designated the "slaughter-house;" half of those who nightly entered it were returned killed or wounded. Mr. Russell made this entry in his journal:—"From the head of the French sap one can now lay his hand on the abattis of the Malakoff." He represents Major Graham, an amateur, as having done so, and paying as a penalty the loss of his arm; and Mr. Gauchier, a midshipman of the *Caradoc*, as incurring a dangerous wound by his daring conduct near the same spot. By the time the last (as it is generally called the sixth) bombardment\* was opened, the French sap was carried to within twenty-five yards of the salient of the Malakoff. The English, however, were not able, for the reasons already assigned as accounting for the slowness of their progress, to approach nearer to the Great Redan than 200 yards.

\* We have not numerated each general cannonade as a bombardment.

On the north side the enemy threw up prodigious earthworks, and seemed to place his only hope of an obstinate resistance ultimately there.

The Malakoff and Redan suffered under the daily fire of the besiegers, and the Russians made repeated and gallant efforts to repair the embrasures in the open day; the only result was a terrible sacrifice of life from the sure aim of their enemies.

The armament of the allied lines assumed extraordinary magnitude and power. The Green-hill Battery, which in the bombardment that had last taken place was so prominent, appeared in the rear; in advance of it a battery of fifteen mortars was constructed, as well as other new batteries armed with ponderous artillery. Everything portended that one of the bloodiest struggles which war ever set man to make with man was about to take place. The remark was touchingly true with which a correspondent of the *Times*, signing himself E., commenced a letter on the 1st of September:—"There is many a fine fellow in camp thinking this morning of some pleasant terrain, where partridges abound, and friends are gathered, intent upon harmless slaughter, who will never see the old country again."

The spirits of the men were, however, buoyant, especially as the grand finale approached. Amidst all these terrible preparations for a battle of artillery, the most dreadful the world had ever seen, and which had as yet occurred even around Sebastopol—and while all were talking daily of the assault and carnage by which the objects of the bombardment were to be made effectual, the men enjoyed great liveliness of spirits, and heartily joined in every diversion which their wit could devise. The sailors were the gayest of the gay: the following is a specimen of their amusing devices:—

#### THEATRE ROYAL, NAVAL BRIGADE.

On Friday evening, 31st of August, will be performed—  
DEAF AS A POST!

To be followed by

#### THE SILENT WOMAN.

The whole to conclude with the laughable farce entitled  
SLASHER AND CRASHER.

Seats to be taken at 7 o'clock. Performance to commence precisely at 8 o'clock.

God save the Queen! Rule Britannia!

Upon this Mr. Russell remarks:—"And right well they played. True, the theatre was the amputating house of the brigade, but no reflections as to its future and past use marred the sense of present enjoyment. The scenes were furnished from the *London*, the actors from the brigade. There was an agreeable ballet-

girl, who had to go into the trenches to v a 68-pounder at three o'clock in the morning, and Rosa was impersonated by a prepossessing young boatswain's mate. Songs there were plenty, with a slight smack of the foreca and a refrain of big guns booming down ravine from the front; but they were highly appreciated, and the dancing was nounced to be worthy of Her Majesty's, Terpsichore and Mr. Lumley retired from concern. Nor were fashionable and illustrious personages wanting to grace the performance with their presence, and to relieve the mass of 2000 commoners who cheered, and laughed and applauded so good-humouredly. Young elegant contemporaries types need not blush to print such names as the 'Duke of Newcastle,' who paid marked attention to 'Deaf as a Post,' and led the *encore* for a pipe of the first force; as 'Lord Rokeby,' who was as assiduous as his grace, besides those generals, brigadiers, lords, and honourables. The sense of enjoyment was not marred by long-range guns, which now and then sent lobbing shot near the theatre, and never did any harm; and if the audience were amused so were the performers, who acted with surprising spirit and taste. What would Benbow or grim old Cloudesley Shovell have thought of it all?"

The cavalry at this period were strengthened as to numbers by drafts from England; like those sent out to the infantry, they were composed of mere boys, without discipline, physical power, and they drooped and pined with sickness soon after their arrival, but not being exposed to the same hard work as the newly arrived infantry drafts, they did not die in the same proportion. On the 4th of September General Simpson thus addressed Lord Pembroke:—

"From the heavy fire maintained by the enemy on the head of our sap, the progress made has been slow, and accompanied by much must be expected, by several casualties among the sappers and working-parties; and it is with great regret that I have to report the death, last night, of Captain Pechell, 77th Regiment, whose conduct I had occasion to commend before your lordship's notice in my despatch of the 1st instant. Within the last few days a second bridge has been commenced from the north shore to Karabelnaia, the object being evidently to expedite the removal of stores from the dockyard. The continued reports received induce General Pelissier and myself to believe that the enemy still meditate an attack in force on our positions on the Tchernaya, and meet which the troops are kept in a constant state of readiness. The 82nd regiment has arrived from Corfu, and have disembarked at

I intend them to relieve the 13th regiment Balaklava, which has joined the first, under Lord Rokeby. The health of the troops is excellent. I inclose the list of names."

The general does not relate in this despatch fully on the morning of the day he wrote, dawn, a heavy fire was opened by the Russians, followed by a sortie, which was the result of effecting injury upon the head of the Turkish camp, and of slaying and wounding

several officers. Two sergeants, Coleman and O'Grady, distinguished themselves: the latter fell dead while requesting permission to storm a rifle-pit with a small party of his soldiers.

At last the memorable 5th of September arrived, when the grand and final bombardment was opened. A description of it, and of the assault which followed, is reserved for another chapter; meanwhile, the attention of the reader must be directed to other spheres of action, where the arms of the allies had chequered fortunes.

## CHAPTER XCVIII.

### THE WAR IN ASIA MINOR.—DEFENCE OF KARS.

"Here stand, my lords! and send discoverers forth  
To know the numbers of our enemies."

SHAKSPEARE. *Henry V.*

In the former chapter the narrative of affairs in Asia Minor was brought up to the month of June. The struggles of General Williams and the band of European officers to secure Erzerum against the enemy, and the hopelessness, yet determined and persevering efforts of Williams to conquer all obstacles, are depicted; the futile correspondence of General Raglan with Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, and the enlightened and judicious interference of Lord Clarendon on his behalf are also detailed.

We have now to relate how the Turkish and Russian governments conducted the war in Asia Minor, and in what a different manner everything relating to it was regarded by the two nations. From the beginning of June until the month of September, the men of its garrison were captives, the Western governments, wholly with the Crimea, neglected the defence of Turkish Armenia, and all but forgot its brave defenders as spoils for the

The Turkish government seemed to abandon the regions to their fate. Officers were left to high command simply because of court favour. The government of the provinces conducted its military affairs in Asia as the Turkish government did everywhere, except checked by the people: commands were issued because of the rank of the candidates, and not to those in high places, or their position in the Divan, irrespective of experience or personal adaptation to control large numbers of men.

The Russians, on the other hand, showed in the campaign they took how well they knew the value of their Transcaucasian conquests, and how venerable the Turkish empire was in their estimation. While the forces of Russia were being driven from the Danube, they had thrown a man from Russian Armenia,

Georgia, or Mingrelia; while the baffled and discomfited Paskiewitch, Gortschakoff, and Luders, were fugitives behind the Pruth, Andronikoff and his fellows were beating the Turks at Kuyukdere; even long after, when the defenders of the great Crimean fortress were finding shelter in the northern forts, and looking down upon the burnt and shattered ruins of Southern Sebastopol, for which they had so long vainly battled and bled, Mouravieff was capturing the northern capital of Asia Minor, and the army which had constituted its garrison. The Russians never relaxed for an hour their efforts upon the Georgian and Armenian frontiers because of any defeats suffered in Europe, or the waste of their armies there. The French seem to have kept a selfish rather than a vigilant eye upon events in Anatolia. It is notorious that the expedition of Omar Pasha, which took place in the autumn, and was intended indirectly to relieve Kars, was impeded by the allied generals in the Crimea, the British commander being governed on the occasion by the superior will of Pelissier. The French took no interest in the war on the Asiatic shores of the Black Sea, because they had no possessions which Russian influence over Persia and Central Asia could endanger. Besides, they were jealous of the oriental dominion of England, and would not object to see our Indian empire at all events weakened by apprehensions from Central Asia. It is quite certain that our allies gave as little assistance as it was possible to give in that direction to the Turks, or to the British officers sent among them. This was a short-sighted policy on the part of our ally, for the Dardanelles may be reached more effectually and speedily by way of Asia Minor than by way of the Danube, and wherever the double-headed eagle appears, there the eagle of France must encounter it at whatever disadvantage. If France allow

Russia to emerge into the Mediterranean as a great military, and, then necessarily, great naval power, it will not be for her to restore the European balance. She would then be compelled to act a secondary part to England, without whom she could neither have help nor hope. Amidst such a complication of circumstances and interests, England should have saved Kars at any cost, however enormous; she should never have suffered it to be invested; she ought, for the sake of her own Asiatic influence, to have seen to the defence of Anatolia, and to have pushed back Russia behind her own frontier line. Victory in the Crimea saved Turkey, and humbled Russia at St. Petersburg; but France had the chief glory there, while the victories of Russia in Asia humbled England before Persia and the petty states of Central Asia, without affecting the prestige of France in any way. Happily, the glorious conduct of the British officers at Kars, and all through the Asiatic campaigns, redeemed our influence.

The successful ambition of Russia in the East, during the last and present century, was an earnest that she would strain every nerve to hold her footing, east as well as west of the Black Sea. The following sketch of Russian conquest on both shores of the Euxine, within three-quarters of a century, ought to have roused the Western governments to provide for the repulse of Russia, as well on the Asiatic as the European shores of the Euxine:—

## ACQUISITIONS FROM TURKEY.

Country north of Crimea .....	1774
The Crimea and country between the Sea of Azoff and Caspian .....	1783
Country round Odessa .....	1792
Bessarabia .....	1812

## ACQUISITIONS FROM PERSIA.

Mingrelia, on the Black Sea.....	1802
Immeritia .....	1802
Ganja .....	1803
Karabagh .....	1805
Sheki.....	1805
Shirvan.....	1806
Talisk, on the Caspian .....	1812
Georgia .....	1814
Erivan, Mount Ararat, and Etchmiazin ..	1828
Akalzik .....	1829

Early in the summer of 1855, General Mouravieff, as has been already shown in a previous chapter, succeeded Prince Bebutoff as commander-in-chief of the Asiatic army of the czar. This vigorous general took every precaution to secure his communications, and with activity and spirit took the offensive. On the side of the allies everything depended upon the skill and courage of General Williams, who had little support which he could rely upon but the heroism and military proficiency of a band of British and Hungarian officers. His importunities for help to Constantinople had not been attended to, and England made

no direct effort to supply him with anything. Lord Clarendon and the British government were well affected to him, and zealously affected to the cause; but either they were incompetent to manage any system of relief, or relied upon their representations through the ambassador at Constantinople producing effect upon the Porte, or they supposed Lord Raglan would provide relief. We cannot but think that had the allied generals in Crimea been men of genius, or even of extensive information and solid mental power, would have devised some practicable scheme for the relief of General Williams. There were ships, stores, and ammunition at Balaklava, and enterprising naval and military men, able and willing to undertake any task assigned to them, that could have been spared; not only was nothing done by the allied commanders, they repressed and chilled what others would have attempted. From first to last Williams was sacrificed to a cabal at Constantinople, which Lord Stratford and certain pashas in an inglorious part, just as the noble and dauntless Guyon had been sacrificed by similar jealousies and intrigues, in which the same and other persons had figured.

When Mouravieff commenced an offensive part, Williams was at Erzerum, and the various pashas were taking matters as quietly as possible. Pasha did at Eupatoria. The Christian populations were disaffected, the Greeks ready to fly to arms for Russia, and already engaged as spies, in which avocation the Armenians competed with them, the former actuated by bigotry, the latter by interest. The Kurdish and other Mohammedan tribes, although bigoted Mussulmen, were ready to sell themselves to irregular troops to Mouravieff, and the Cossacks, who were hearty in the cause of Turkey, held back in disgust, in consequence of the bloody and barbarous deeds which they saw and cowardly Bashi-bazouks perpetrated.

The difficulties of Williams were insurmountable; but his spirit was equal to them. Finding that Kars was menaced he hastened thither, still further strengthened the defence, and prepared the garrison to meet the enemy in the battery or the field. His example and his genius inspired all classes, so that the citizens of Kars offered to arm in the defence without pay, and the Turkish soldiers demanded to be led against the enemy. It was absolutely necessary, however, for Williams to remain on the defensive, because of the numerical inferiority of his troops, and their deficiency of *matériel* of war. The various departments of an army which require to be in proportion to order to secure its efficiency, were far other at Kars. Williams had scarcely any cavalry, the few he had were inefficiently provided

were no engineers, or intelligent sappers, miners, to carry out properly and promptly the orders of the European officers. His whole force did not exceed 17,000 men, while that of Mouravieff consisted of 28,000 infantry, 10,000 cavalry, and more than their proportion of artillery. Of this force 25,000 men advanced upon Kars at the beginning of June. Vassif Pasha, the muschir (or field-marshal) of the Russian army of Asia, became alarmed; and the Russians were within four hours' march of the city. He proposed to Williams to fall back upon Erzerum. This was regarded simply as a measure of weakness and timidity on the part of an honest but unenterprising muschir; and since the war terminated, circumstances have been used to justify the belief that he had been misled from the Porte to induce Williams to this step, without positively insisting upon it. At all events, the Turkish pashas, after hostilities closed, continued to denounce the defence of Kars as bad in strategy. They said that Williams destroyed their army, and that it was to be caught at Kars as in a trap, instead of falling back upon Erzerum, where, by obtaining reinforcements, and in the midst of his supplies, to operate on a new base against the enemy: these are the reasons we shall confute in another page. General Williams set out from Erzerum, and he left Colonel Calandrelli, an Italian officer, engaged in making intrenchments and otherwise fortifying Erzerum. On the march the general and Dr. Sandwith met Effendi, a Polish renegade, who brought despatches from Colonel Lake. The doctor gave Dr. Sandwith a most gloomy account of the prospects of defence at Kars, and at the same time represented retreat from it as the only safe course, Mouravieff having at his command a powerful cavalry—a computation not far beyond the truth. He also insinuated that Colonel Lake and Captain Thompson were likely to be overruled by the pashas to abandon the defence of Kars—a supposition as little likely to be acted upon as any well could be. On the route from Kars to Erzerum, and Madame Williams, the wife of a German officer, who followed the fortunes of her husband in the East, but who was prudently sent away from the impending horrors of a siege. On the 7th, an escort of lancers and the Engineers of the Kars' garrison met the general on the road to greet his arrival; the whole of the army after entered the city amidst the cheers of the soldiers and inhabitants. Williams and his suite were delighted to find that by Colonel Lake's assiduity and the care of the camp of Kars had been amazingly improved. The excellent plans of Guyon, which were partly carried out by Colonel Lake,

acting in the name of General Williams, and by the superior means at his disposal. Dr. Sandwith declares that the provisions were found to be insufficient for a siege of any duration, and that there was only sufficient ammunition for an expenditure of three days. The horsemen he and other officers describe as ill-disciplined, but rudely brave, and all accounts concur in representing the horses as in a ludicrous condition, so long had they been deprived of adequate forage. One might apply most fitly to this cavalry the description given of the English troopers by an enemy, in Shakspeare's *Henry V.* :—

“ Their horsemen sit like fixed candlesticks,  
With torch-staves in their hand; and their poor jades  
Lob down their heads, dropping the hides and hips,  
The gum down-roping from their pale-dead eyes;  
And in their pale dull mouths the gimmel bit  
Lies, foul with chewed grass, still and motionless;  
And their executors, the knavish crows,  
Fly o'er them all, impatient for their hour.”

Dr. Sandwith found that of 2000 beds which he had applied for three months before as absolutely essential to the wounded and sick,—whose numbers would be great in case of a protracted siege,—not one had arrived. General Williams was all but driven to despair by finding that the pasha of Erzerum, instead of sending to Kars three months' provisions, as the general supposed he had done, these indispensable supplies were left at Yenekoï, a long day's march from the city! There were not enough of arabas and horses in sufficient numbers to convey them, and if there had been, before the convoy could arrive the Russians would hear of its errand through their Armenian spies, and by a *detour* secure the prize, and make the escort prisoners, as that escort would necessarily consist of infantry, from the deficiency of troopers in the garrison.

Schwartzzenburgh, a German officer, reconnoitred the enemy before his arrival, and reported his army to be 40,000 in number—a gross exaggeration. The following is a correct, although popular, description of Colonel Lake's fortifications. Kars is situated under a precipitous range of rocky hills, which run east and west. The ascent in the western extremity is easy—“it is a sort of mamelon called Tahmasp.” The eastern extremity of the range is abrupt, rocky, and precipitous; this is called Kara-dagh, and is within a mile of the town; Tahmasp is twice that distance. The range is separated by a gorge (or valley, as the Russians call it), through which flows a river passable by bridges, one of which only was constructed by Colonel Lake. On the south of Kars a large plain extends for some miles, and is then barred by a range of easy sloping heights. These hills commanded the city in a military sense, and Lake therefore fortified them. Several open works covered these heights before

the arrival of either Lake or Williams, which had been erected at the suggestion of the gallant but unfortunate Guyon. On the west of Kars there was an old open work, called "Veli Pasha Tabia," which Lake converted into a strong defence. A block-house was so placed within the Tabia and protected by earth as to be bomb-proof; this was dignified by the name of Fort Lake, and was mounted with four 36-pounders and four smaller guns. This Colonel Lake considered to be the key of the place. Breastworks extended from this important position for a mile and a half eastward to the gorge, strengthened at intervals by strong redoubts; at the extremity of the gorge there was a redoubt called Teesdale Tabia, which had been placed by that very young officer at the close of 1854. This was, however, commanded by a fort at the opposite side of the gorge, called the Arab Tabia, after the glorious earthwork of Silistria, which there defied the power of Russia. The Arab Tabia was, in turn, commanded by the eastern forts on Kara-dagh. These defences, on the northern side of Kars, were united to the works on the plain by forts and breastworks. The weakness of the defence was its extent. It would have required an army as numerous as that of the besiegers properly to man such extensive works, and all must be garrisoned, or they would, of course, be seized by the enemy, who, by possessing any one link in the chain, was thereby in a better condition to seize all the rest.

On the 10th, a citizen of reputation waited upon General Williams with the brave offer of arming the citizens, and politely added the intention of "bringing as many of the Giaours' heads as Veeliams Pasha might like to accept, and lay them at his feet; Inshallah!" (please God). "Veeliams Pasha" informed him that it would not please God at all, nor please him; that enemies, dead or alive, were to be treated with lenity and mercy, and to be exempt in either case from insult. This greatly astonished Osman Agha, as this senior of the city was named; but nevertheless he would fight, and so would all the citizens. The muschir, Vassif Pasha, and Hussein Pasha, a Circassian chief, and Ismael Pasha (the Hungarian General Kmety) co-operated with General Williams in every possible way.

Lake employed himself in instructing the officers in their duties, and Teesdale displayed extraordinary activity, and, notwithstanding his extreme youth, great wisdom and skill. One might apply to this intrepid and clever young warrior the words of the great dramatist:—

"I do not think a braver gentleman,  
More active, valiant, or more valiant, young,  
More daring, or more brave, is now alive  
To grace this latter age with noble deeds."

Dr. Sandwith and Colonel Lake had a

narrow escape of life in an outpost skirmish two days before the Russian army arrived before the place. Colonel Lake and the doctor were reconnoitring the Russians with a small body of regular cavalry and a troop of Bashi-bazouks, the latter being in advance. A Russian regiment of cavalry was in observation, and made an attempt to cut off the English officers. Colonel Lake ordered the cavalry to retire, which, at the moment the Bashi-bazouks perceived, they uttered a yell and took to flight, rushing among the regular cavalry, and throwing them into disorder; before they could re-form, the Russians were amongst them, cutting down the Turkish troops with desperate earnestness, who fled scarcely offering any resistance. The British officers escaped only by the fleetness of the steeds. At last the Turks were rallied, and the Bashi-bazouks made a wonderful display of bravery, firing their pistols at the distance of 1000 yards.

At daybreak on the 16th of June the advanced guard of the Muscovs attacked and drove in the pickets of the Moslems. The outposts made a brave but abortive defence. The advanced guard of the enemy consisted of three regiments of Cossacks, supported by horse artillery and a rocket troop; before these the Bashi-bazouks rapidly fell back, fighting wildly and irregularly. The Turkish light infantry retired in skirmishing order, offering to the Cossacks an opportunity of which they had the skill or courage to take advantage. When the Turkish light troops fell back, the main army of Mouravieff gradually appeared. It was a fine body of men, their arms and helmets gleaming in the midsummer morning sun; they formed before the town, taking part with celerity and order. Perhaps no Russian army was ever held so well in hand by a general, nor did a Russian chief before command a more compact and well appointed body of troops. Mouravieff had not his force in line before half-past six o'clock. His reconnaissance was soon effected, and his orders given. These orders were instantaneously obeyed, and the attempt upon the town began. The troops of the Russian general were drawn up upon the road, and the slope of country skirting on either side the road from Guruk entering Kars upon its eastern suburb. The aspect presented by his army was very imposing, and well calculated to intimidate the less happily-appointed Osmanli. The infantry of the assailants composed three strong columns, these were flanked by three regiments of Cossacks, and supported by 48 pieces of cannon. Behind these was a column of reserve infantry, and an immense commissariat train, protected by Kurdish cavalry in the czar's service. When the Bashi-bazouks retired before the advanced guard, the cavalry of that

tempted to enter the town with them, so hot the pursuit; for the Bashi-bazouks had immediately covered the retreat of the infantry, were exposed to imminent risk in doing so in the swarms of Cossacks which crowded upon them. As the Russian cavalry made a dash to enter the town, they were received with such a fire from the Turkish artillery as rendered a flight more speedy than their design—a good proof of their discretion. The Russian guns moved up and opened a heavy fire under cover of which the cavalry re-formed, and made another dash for the town. They were again met by so severe an artillery fire that they fled, and this time so hastily and recklessly that they never halted until they reached the main body. The guns limbered up and followed them, receiving, however, considerable damage from the Turkish cannon. The smart affair seemed to cool the haste of the Russian chief, who drew off his army, and encamped between Zaiur and Akche Kaleh. Ouravieff was evidently surprised at the bold and skilful resistance which he encountered, and resolved to deliberate before a plan of assault should be carried into execution.

The Turks were much encouraged by their success; and the news of a great victory, exaggerated in every conceivable way, spread among the wild tribes of Northern and Central Asia and was borne by innumerable voices to Constantinople, and even to Crimea. Williams tempered this elated feeling while he used it, impressing upon the army that they were a match for their foe; that as the advantage in numbers and equipment was on the enemy's side, they must make up for this disparity by their courage and discipline, by indomitable labour and patriotic sacrifice. To these exhortations the men responded with enthusiasm, repeating again and again that "Williams Pasha was no ordinary man."

The conduct of the Turkish cavalry was far beyond what Williams himself had any expected would be the case, although he had a high opinion of the mettle of the wild horsemen of Asia Minor than any of his officers possessed. Much of their improved spirit had been produced by that most gallant man,

The following letter from General Williams shows the state of his mind as to the operations which were passing around him, and throws further light on the Russian attack. It was addressed to the Earl of Clarendon:—

*Kars, June 17, 1855.*

LORD,—Yesterday being the feast of the Holy Trinity, I fully anticipated an attack, and the troops were consequently held in readiness

throughout the preceding night, and stood to their arms before daylight.

"Our advanced posts were driven in soon after daylight, and the Russian army appeared on the height about half-past six o'clock: its advanced guard consisted of three regiments of regular Cossacks, supported by artillery and rockets. The main body of infantry marched in three columns, flanked by three regiments of dragoons, and supported by six batteries of eight guns each. In the rear appeared a strong column of reserve infantry, then the waggons, carrying, as I have since heard, three days' provisions. The whole force could not have been less than 25,000.

"Nothing could be more perfect than the handling of the enemy's army as it advanced upon the front of our intrenchments formed by the line of works called Arab Tabia, Kara-dagh, and Hafiz Pasha Tabia, and facing the Gumri Road. Our cavalry, pickets, and Bashi-bazouks retired, skirmishing with the regular Cossacks until within 1000 yards of our lines, when the enemy's cavalry made a desperate rush, supported by its reserves of skirmishers, and also by a rocket troop, to enter the camp with our outnumbered cavalry under Baron de Schwartzburg, but they were instantly checked by the artillery from Arab Tabia, Kara-dagh, and Hafiz Pasha Tabia; they then fell back upon the main body of the Russian army, which retired in the same order in which it had advanced, and, after halting for a few minutes, finally disappeared over the hills, and has resumed its old camping-ground at Zaiur and Akche Kaleh.

"As the enemy carried off their dead, we could not ascertain their loss, but it is estimated from one hundred to one hundred and fifty; ours amounted to six killed and eight wounded.

"The spirit of the Turkish troops was excellent, evincing, as they did, as much readiness in the defence as they had shown in the construction of their epaulments. If the enemy had attempted to carry his original intention into execution, he would, I confidently believe, have met with signal disaster.

"The precautions which I have recommended the muschir to take are in no wise slackened, and we are now preparing for an attack of the heights in the rear of the city. The labour of the officers of my staff have been incessant; and I have to record my thanks to Colonel Lake, to Major Teesdale, and Captain Thompson, and to Dr. Sandwith, as well as to Messrs. Churchill and Zohrab, the secretaries and interpreters, whose duties are equally arduous and fatiguing.

"I have, &c.,

"W. F. WILLIAMS."

The citizens were true to the promise made in their behalf by old Osman; and boys of fourteen were armed with rusty muskets, and the swords of deceased fathers, who perhaps had carried them bravely. Veiled figures were to be seen embracing these youths, and telling them to go and fight the infidels, followed by a mother's or sister's prayer. Many of the Russian cavalry, on the 16th, in their foiled attempt to enter the town by a *coup de main*, were brought down by shots from those old muskets fired by these tiny hands. The rocks of Kara-dagh furnished admirable cover, from which citizens and soldiers were able to take deliberate aim at the cavalry.

Day by day anxiety and vigilance prevailed in Kars, and the Russian army was reinforced. Dr. Sandwith states that soon after their first appearance before the place they amounted to 40,000 men, their cavalry numbering 10,000. This does not agree with other trustworthy accounts, which represent the number as 10,000 less; but the doctor is also trustworthy, and we have no means of saying on which side the error lies.

On the 20th of June the garrison was cheered by intelligence from various directions that help was at hand: 600 Lazistan riflemen, a bold and sanguinary band, were announced as hiding in a neighbouring village, ready to enter that night. The pasha of Batoum, although himself menaced by a powerful force, his own army only numbering 3600 men, was organising irregulars for the muschir's service; and 2000 Abasian Caucasians were represented as on the march to aid the garrison. The last of these communications brought very improbable news, the second very little to be relied upon; the first was not only likely, but true, for the next morning the Lazistans entered, with their tricolour banners flaunting in the air, and the star\* and crescent gleaming upon them. They marched in, singing a wild chorus, in which sundry dreadful things were threatened to the Giaours, and great things said of the faith and the faithful. The song also flattered the singers a good deal, who were, nevertheless, very likely persons to do anything out of the way fierce. They were an active, agile, muscular set of fellows, with beautiful rifles, and having in their girdles formidable-looking *kamas* (broad, long daggers), and *at least* a brace of huge pistols. They seemed under perfect control by their chief or *deribey*, and were regarded by the citizens with the sort of welcome given to persons whose aid is desirable, but whose company, except in hard necessity, would be gladly dispensed with.

At this juncture the position of the enemy

\* When the Turks conquered Constantinople, they found these emblems everywhere, which the Byzantine

was essentially different from what it was on the 16th, the day of the attack. Mouraviev broke up his encampment on the position already referred to; and as flank marches had become all the fashion, the general effect of one which was strategically better than the others in the Crimea, of which so much was written there, and in Paris, London, and St. Petersburg. Mouraviev surrounded the Turkish intrenchments, and placed himself near the weakest part of the Turkish position.

The first great trial to the garrison was the interruption of its communications with Erzurum. This was effected by the rains, without any intervention of the enemy, for some days; but Mouraviev was too good a general not to cut off all hope of supply and correspondence in that direction. To accomplish this, he again moved his camp, taking up his position on the south-west of the town. At the same moment intelligence arrived that the garrisons expelled from the forts on the Black Sea, during the operations which we have already described, having been accomplished in and after the second Kertch expedition, had directed the march by way of Tiflis to join the army Mouraviev.

Day by day Bashi-bazouks forced their way into the place, but most of them were *canars* and robbers. It seems unaccountable that cowards should make their way through difficulties to a place where there was so much occasion for combat, and that depredators should place themselves under the discipline of a besieged city, where there was not sufficient food for the garrison. Fanaticism probably the explanation of such conduct. The Lazistans became discontented before they were one week within the lines; they wished for more fighting and more notice. The muschir did not know how to manage them. What Turk ever did know how to manage the Lazistans, or any other refractory Asiatic tribe whatsoever? The *Ingleez* pasha had a new scope for his varied abilities in mediation between the muschir and Ali Bey, the Lazist chief; and he patched up a peace, more effective, however, although a patchwork, than that which the Paris Congress ultimately achieved under the presidency of M. Walewski.

So early as the 22nd of June intrigues were discovered which would be inconceivable anywhere out of Turkey or the Spanish peninsula. The civil governor of Kars sent word to the citizens not to obey Williams Pasha, as he was a Giaour—an infidel, and they were true believers. Williams adopted in this case the only safe policy in the East—one well expressed by the trite and vulgar phrase, "take the bull by the horns." He summoned

Greeks had employed. Supposing them to have some magical efficacy, they adopted them.

a to a council, exposed his villany, calmly  
ned to his lies, and let him go away under  
ague impression that something very ter-  
y, such as was out of the line of any but an  
glees pasha" to inflict, would await his  
diction of duty.

ne spirit and character of the Russian  
ral, so early as the 23rd of June, began to  
ay itself. The Cossacks captured the  
the letters were read by Mouravieff. He  
y, by the rules of war, appropriated all  
ical and military intelligence, and courtes-  
y, by the prompting of a generous and  
y nature, sent a flag of truce to convey to  
English gentlemen their home letters.  
ravieff was born in Russia by some  
mistake; the most chivalrous of nations  
to be proud of him. He made war as a  
soldier, an accomplished gentleman, and  
e-hearted, humane, gentle, generous man.  
er he set his foot on English soil, he will  
a reception such as Englishmen know  
to give a truly gallant and generous  
y.

ne surrounding pashas were now energetic  
ising irregular troops; but of what avail  
they be in a garrison without supplies?  
ender and provisions were necessary; and  
the pasha of Erzerum might have sent,  
did not, or sent, and left on the road,  
he must have supposed the Russians  
have captured them. It is marvellous  
Williams did not make sure that the pro-  
s sent from Erzerum were not actually de-  
at Kars. He had no confidence in the  
of Erzerum, yet he seems to have trusted  
sily to his fidelity in the one grand vital  
r of provisions.

mour of attack and preparations to meet  
turbed the streets of Kars by night and  
until, on the 29th, a large force detaching  
from the main body of the besiegers,  
ed westward; their object was rightly  
ctured—it was to seize the corn at Yen-  
They captured and burned it. The  
employed by Williams were as useless, or  
as mischievous, as Guyon had found  
in 1853-4. The Armenians sold them-  
to the highest bidder, which was Mou-  
f, and the Greeks brought all the intel-  
e to him as much for love as for money.  
the Bashi-bazouks betrayed him. If ever  
was placed in a position purely and in-  
y vexatious and discouraging, this Eng-  
gent and general was so placed. We  
er much that, with Williams' knowledge  
ia Minor, he should have put any con-  
e whatever in any spy. Major Edwards,  
Punjaub, seems to have attained to the  
tion of management in the matter of  
al spies. The more open, frank, and  
utforward a man is, the best chance he

has with spies anywhere, but most of all in  
the East. Williams was not deficient in these  
qualities, but he was beset with difficulties so  
peculiar and unprecedented that no human  
genius could have surmounted them all. That  
the man should have hoped and struggled not-  
withstanding, should have compelled fortune to  
wait on him so long, and have brought, as it  
were, his conqueror to do him homage, proves  
his greatness.

On the 3rd of July Mahmoud Effendi, at the  
head of 500 Bashi-bazouks, was sent out on a  
reconnaissance, with stern orders to attack  
none but armed men, and not to plunder.  
They sallied forth with great ostentation, a  
most extraordinary-looking set of ragged  
rascals—

"Scarce blood enough in all their sickly veins  
To give each naked cuttle-axe a stain."

They had not gone far on their expedition  
when they met some Russian infantry, who  
fired, and Mahmoud and his cavaliers galloped  
away.

On the 8th of July a body of Bashi-bazouks  
were attacked by a party of Russian skir-  
mishers, and, of course, galloped off in mad  
haste after firing their long pistols into the air.  
The first to run was the colonel, and he kept  
the lead, his banditti were not able to keep up  
with him. Such were some of the immortal  
defenders of Kars! General Williams insisted  
upon the degradation of the colonel to the ranks.  
The same day one Omer, a Mussulman in the  
service of Russia, deserted and brought fifty  
of his irregular Mussulman troops with him.  
The muschir made him a pasha.

It would be impossible to recount all the  
demonstrations on the part of the enemy, and the  
frequent skirmishes between the irregular  
cavalry of both armies. The Bashi-bazouks  
always fled, but generally inflicted some injury  
on their pursuers. On one occasion, as the  
enemy overtook them, each Bashi-bazouk, who  
lay crouched on the mane of his horse, sud-  
denly turned and fired; five Russians fell dead,  
and several were wounded; the Bashis escaped  
unhurt: first in fight, first in flight, these  
strange horsemen were the only available  
men for a certain kind of useful work which  
Williams had.

By the middle of July it was found that  
during the whole period which had elapsed  
since Williams had arrived in Kars, the pro-  
visions had been pilfered, and that systematic  
peculation of food and provender had reduced  
both below the limits to which Williams sup-  
posed they had sunk. Up to this time small  
supplies of vegetables so frequently arrived  
from the country as, on the whole, to consti-  
tute a considerable arrival of food; but now the  
blockade was perfectly established, and no hope  
of any similar resource could be entertained.

During the remainder of July and during the first week in August, the Russians remained unaccountably inactive. The internal troubles of the town were great, the Lazistans demanding food under menaces of fighting their way out. Williams still preserved his influence, and sustained the public hope; his own hope was sustained only by the promises of relief from Batoum and elsewhere, and by the gallant spirits of the little circle of European officers by which he was surrounded, obeyed, and loved.

The month of August did not open favourably for the besieged. The Lazistans contrived to find their way out in bands, and plunder the neighbourhood, and when called to account for their bad conduct, presented their rifles and drew their *kamas* on the British officers Teesdale and Thompson. After much resistance they were captured, disarmed, flogged, and imprisoned, which vigorous proceeding put an end to Lazistan insubordination. The besieged were much troubled by the skirmishings at the outposts, the Cossacks endeavouring to kill or capture the Turkish grass-cutters, and the Bashi-bazouk cavalry striving to protect them, but so irregular were the tactics of these warriors that their efficiency was always doubtful. Even if possessing fodder for their horses, they would have been an incapable force. The English officers who knew India well would have been glad of even a few squadrons of the excellent irregular cavalry of India, which ought to have been employed in this war, at all events in the Asiatic department of the struggle. We concur with an officer of the Company's service, who in a letter thus remarks:—"Had two or three of these regiments been sent to co-operate with the sultan's generals in Asia, there would have been no difficulty in escorting the supplies from Erzerum, and no necessity for the capitulation of Kars. The irregular cavalry are free lances, receiving monthly pay for the service of themselves, their horses, and arms. They are armed with either sword, carbine, or lance, and each man selects the weapon with which he is most expert—an incalculable advantage in hand-to-hand encounters. The horses are surveyed and passed by European officers, and none admitted under a certain value. In many regiments this is fixed at 400 rupees, or £40. Their dress consists of a small turban, worn generally on the side of the head, long blue frock-coats, and high jack-boots. The irregulars of the Deccan use the Mahratta saddle and bit, the former heavy, but never known to wring a horse's back if properly adjusted; the latter excessively severe at will, but, with a light hand and trained horse, the finest military bit in the world. They take immense pride in the condition of their horses,

and in the brightness and temper of their arms. They use wooden scabbards, and their swords generally old regimental ones, are as sharp as razors. They never draw them, except when obliged, and never return them to the scabbards without wiping them. They ride long, their seat is the most erect and graceful I know. The handling of their horses and the rapidity with which they wheel, halt in a career, and again dash off like a bird on a wing, beat hollow any Arab or South American I have ever seen. It is impossible to conceive finer specimens of the Asiatic warriors than are presented by many of these wiry Mahrattas. They are the *beau idéal* of light cavalry, and graceful and picturesque in their way as even were Prince Rupert's cavaliers. The service is very popular, and none but men of proper caste, and unblemished character can get admission. Those of the Deccan are composed entirely of the gentry and small landed proprietors, whom caste compels or inclines to a military career. The high sense of honour and the chivalrous nature of some of these high-caste gentlemen remind one more than anything else, in these practical times, of the days of Bayard and Gaston de Foix. No promises, no threats will induce a high-caste Mussulman of the Deccan to give up his arms. If compelled to do so he is disgraced for ever. Not many years ago, during some disturbances, several sirwars of the Deccan Irregulars were desired to deliver up their arms. They murmured, they entreated, they declared that they were compelled to do so their caste was gone; death was preferable. The order, however, was imperative, there was no appeal. When the officer came to receive their arms they asked once more if there was no chance. They were told none. At once, by a preconcerted movement, they put their pistols to their breasts and shot themselves. Is not that the metal of which to form soldiers? They are constantly ready for active service, and the celerity with which they prepare for the longest marches is as incredible as the marches themselves. I remember returning from an unsuccessful pursuit at Aurungabad, some years ago, with late Brigadier Mayne, than whom no more gallant *sabreur* ever drew sword on the plains of India, and as we approached the cantonment of the 2nd or 3rd Irregular Cavalry of Nizam's contingent, he ordered the assembly to be sounded. There was not then a soldier visible, and we took out our watches to time them; in six minutes from the first note of bugle-call the whole regiment (with the exception of a few stragglers in the bazaar), with their camels and baggage tattered, were in parade, and ready to march on the instant to Hyderabad or Cabul. The length and rapidity of their march is marvellous, and would

pe establish an *alibi* for a whole regiment out difficulty. They are still the same rattas whose swift mysterious marches r Hyder and Serajee paralysed Hindostan, nearly drove the British from their newly-irred territories. One word more, and I done. Half Europe is now mad on the et of the Zouave dress. It is declared to *par excellence*, the dress of a soldier, un- lled for beauty, comfort, and convenience. well suited for Europeans, how admirably ted must it be for our Sepoys, suited at to their climate and their nationality. ing can be finer than a Rajpoot or Brahmin y swaggering through the bazaar in his n and flowing robes, off duty; nothing ludicrous than the helpless appearance of ame individual in tight stock, tight red tight black trowsers, with boots and shako tch, trussed for parade."

mongst the calamities resulting from want valry, most of the bullocks of the garrison carried off early in August; while British rs, unable to send out scouts, were kept ofound ignorance of the movements of avieff. At last tidings were brought, ow, that he was before Erzerum with reater portion of his army. A sergeant valry made his way into the Turkish lines, nformed the general of the actual state e case. Veli Pasha, at the head of 5000 sh troops, was posted at Toprak Kaleh to the Russians at Bayazid. The vanguard posted at Kuprikoi, where the vanguard e Russians encountered them. The light eces of these forces exchanged a brisk ade. At dark, Veli retrograded towards um, through the plain of Hassan Kaleh. he effected judiciously, sending on first aggage and heavy artillery. Having ed within two hours of Dévéboyonou, renched position where Veli intended to d himself, he sent on the *chaoust*, or ser- , to inform the muschir at Kars of his edings. The *chaoust* could only give the onal information that at dawn of day he d down from a mountain, and saw the oys in pursuit—but the Turks would be o reach the fortified position upon which retreated.

the 7th of August, Mouravieff being t with the divisions before Erzerum, his l in command persuaded himself that he effect the conquest of Kars; but only d how powerless the Russian army would een without the genius of Mouravieff. Russians came on soon after daylight in columns, and were met by a tremendous om the guns of position on the Kanli . The balls ploughed through the co- of the enemy, who retired and re-formed; nd time they made a similar attempt—

similar results followed; a third effort was made in like manner, and ended just as the other attempts had terminated. Only one shell reached the Turks. The slain and wounded of the enemy were hundreds, which could be verified as the Russian ambulances carried them away, and were permitted to do so unmolested. While this was going on before the Kanli Tabia, the cavalry threatened Hafiz Pasha Tabia and Kara-dagh.

Just as the enemy retreated from these last-named places, Teesdale, who, from the opposite side of the defences had heard the firing and galloped up to the menaced position, ordered a monster cannon to be elevated, and, "laying the piece" himself, threw a ball of enormous magnitude into the midst of the retreating squadrons, causing signal havoc among them. The enemy galloped out of range too quickly to be in any danger of a repetition of hostilities from "the big gun." Thus Teesdale had the honour of firing, with his own hands, the last and the best shot of the action. When Mouravieff heard of the consummate folly of his lieutenant, he was much enraged, and made criticisms upon the skill of the officers of his army not at all commendatory.

The conduct of Captain Thompson, at this crisis of affairs, was passing excellent. His post was the Kara-dagh; his vigilance never seemed for one moment to tire; from dawn to dusk his glass was perpetually directed to the enemy; he lay down when he could no longer watch them, obtained an hour's repose, and then rose and visited every sentry round the works. "No part of our position," says Dr. Sandwith, "was better if so well guarded as that where this Argus had taken up his quarters." Teesdale and Kmety were posted at Tahmasp Tabia. Kmety was a Hungarian, and Dr. Sandwith did him but justice when he called him "a gallant man, and a first-rate soldier." Both Thompson and this Hungarian had so far rendered great service. The infantry was brought to the state of organisation it then assumed by the efforts of Thompson; Kmety's services were intelligent, and he was unremitting at his post. Of Lake, Dr. Sandwith said, "All day long he is working at the intrenchments; his couch is his saddle, for he is all night visiting the sentries; he does his best to wear out an iron frame."

Intelligence arrived that many officers had fallen in the recent attack, and among them the general in command. Officers' funerals were observed on the 9th in the enemy's lines.

On the 10th of August, Mouravieff retired from the vicinity of Erzerum. Having reconnoitred the intrenched camp at Dévéboyonou, he abandoned the hope of making any impression upon it. Throughout the month

of August, unfounded rumours continually reached Kars that troops landed at Batoum, Redout Kaleh, Trebizond, and elsewhere, which are not particularly noticed in this narrative, as they will properly fall within the scope of another chapter.

On the 10th of August, the same day which brought Mouravieff again before Kars, General Williams wrote to Lord Clarendon in these terms:—

“Mouravieff, before his late advance towards Erzerum, had been reinforced by a regiment of infantry from Georgia, making up a total of thirty-three battalions of infantry. The force he left to observe us consisted of eighteen battalions of infantry, three regiments of cavalry, and fifty-four guns. As neither our numbers (which I abstain from stating) nor our organisation could hold out a chance of success in any attack upon such an army as now observes us, I have advised the muschir still further to strengthen his intrenchments, and this counsel his excellency has steadily carried out, through the zealous superintendence of Colonel Lake.

“During the absence of the Russian commander-in-chief the general in command of the corps of observation has kept our garrison on the alert, more especially his cavalry, which, from its superior numbers and discipline, is master of the neighbourhood. But on the 8th instant the enemy, losing sight of his usual precautions, advanced with large masses of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, to within gunshot of the Kanli Tabia, on the south-east angle of our intrenched camp, when a well-directed fire from the guns of that redoubt obliged him to retire with the loss of several officers and many men.

“With regard to the movements of General Mouravieff, I learn through a verbal message from Veli Pasha, sent by an orderly dragoon from the close vicinity of the Dévéboyonou, that he had executed his instructions by falling back from Kuprikoi on that pass, which I had selected, and in part fortified, before I left Erzerum; but I am still ignorant of what has subsequently taken place between the two armies in that neighbourhood, although a week has elapsed since the arrival of the orderly dragoon above alluded to. If, however, we can believe a man who has just reached Kars from the Soghanli-dagh, and who assures me that General Mouravieff's *corps d'armée* was camped last night on this side of that mountain pass, and consequently in the plain of Kars, I must draw the gratifying conclusion that he has found Veli Pasha's position, joined to the fortifications of Erzerum, too strong to molest without losses which he was not prepared to risk. Be this as it may, I trust the allies will, by a prompt diversion in Georgia,

oblige General Mouravieff to retire, otherwise nothing can save Kars from falling into hands. We are now on two-thirds of ration of bread, and the cattle seized from villages will not supply animal food for anything like the period named in my last despatch. The horses of the cavalry and artillery begin to feel the want of barley, and will soon be unfit for service.”

During the week after the date of General Williams' despatch, the garrison was alarmed by perpetual cavalry reconnaissances, and changes of position on the part of the blocking force. During that time also symptoms began to appear of a disposition to desert the part of the Bashi-bazouks and Lazi, were these indications of unfaithfulness were confined to these departments of the garrison. In consequence of this state of matters the muschir, at the general's suggestion, issued a proclamation on the 18th, declaring that persons caught in the act of desertion should be shot instantly.

On the 19th a protracted skirmish did little execution on either side. A spy was detected, and was tried next day, and shot the day following.

On the 21st a large Russian convoy was observed, accompanied by two siege-guns. The garrison was much troubled by the proof of the enemy's intention to persevere, and not to content himself with the slow process of a blockade, however effectual. Colonel Lake armed Kanli Tabia with four additional guns, all very large calibre. On this day General Williams again addressed Lord Clarendon on the general peril of affairs:—

“Since I had the honour to address your lordship on the 15th instant, the enemy's infantry and artillery have remained in the positions they then occupied. The cavalry, supported by horse-artillery and rockets, however, has taken a strong hill position to the north-west, about an hour's march from our lines, and, assisted by his numerous irregular horse, cuts off communications with Erzerum, *vid Olti*, with Ardahan, or, indeed, any other place whence we could draw supplies of any kind.

“A convoy of 3000 arabas, or country carriages, and 2000 camels, is now in sight, coming from Gumri. Battering guns, drawn by bullocks, accompany this convoy. I have, therefore, requested Colonel Lake to convert the barbette battery of Kanli Tabia into one with embrasures, and to take such measures for strengthening the armament of this and other works as the occasion requires.

“The weather is oppressively hot, yet the troops are in excellent health, the hospital list amounting to 289.

“Should her majesty's government and the allies determine on making Trebizond the base

operations against Georgia, I still at an immediate and powerful demonstration will be made by a Turkish army from Kaleh; and for the present defence of a, I would beg strongly to urge the of a division of General Vivian's force on, and a rapid advance upon Erzerum, as to insure the retention of that important post in the hands of the allies, this division of the contingent found able to succour us."

It will be seen from this despatch that the object of Ferik Williams was a diversion in Georgia by Omar Pasha, which was at that time terminated upon. In a separate chapter the means and efforts to relieve Kars will be related, when the scheme of a diversion by Omar Pasha will be related and discussed. It is probable that the reader's attention, however fixed on the fact that the commission proposed great things from an expedition in Georgia from Redout Kaleh, as in future of the discussion of the relief of Kars it will appear that the general altogether desired Soujuk Kaleh, some distance to the west of the former, as a base of operations.

On the 22nd, several of the citizens of Kars were charged of being spies were seized, among them a surgeon; the latter was acquitted, but the rest of them, were either condemned to death or sent to prison for further investigation. The succeeding week several Armenians were committed to prison as being in correspondence with the enemy; it was probable that the whole Armenian population would have been used to the enemy in any form for which they had opportunity, except fighting, for that race have no taste in these days. The British agent, and the Turkish authorities, came after (September 14th), upon the fact that the traitors hitherto had been all Armenians, not one Christian having been implicated. It is difficult to reconcile this statement with the journal of Dr. Sandwith, and the information from other sources. It was easy to detect Mohammedan deserters or traitors; they were not used to it; treason among Christians was comparatively rare, whereas the Christian population of Kars and Erzerum had long been disloyal, and skilful in all sorts of intrigues in the interest of Russia. It had been admitted, however, that the reforms had just been decreed by the sultan, and extended to the citizens of Erzerum and Kars. General Williams, in a very wise way, at a time most opportune, greatly checked the reasonable practices and tendencies among the Armenians with which these conditions had been visited by the Turks, renouncing voluntary obedience to the sultan's throne

II.

impossible; disloyalty was not only patriotic, but Christian, in the esteem of both Greeks and Armenians. Besides, these races were so furiously bigoted, that they sympathised with the fanaticism of Russia; and however Greek and Armenian might dispute with one another about creeds and forms, and quarrel with one another for the precedence of their respective rites, they were always willing to unite in promoting Russian aggrandisement as the chief hope afforded them of humbling their Moslem persecutors. Probably the principal grievance felt by both Armenians and Greeks was, that they had not the freedom of persecuting one another, all other Christians, especially Latins, and the Turks most of all. Much as General Williams seems to have known of the Turkish empire, from the banks of the Nile to Tunis, from Constantinople to Kars, he does not seem to have had a very clear insight of the genius and spirit of the religious sects.

On the 25th of August the general sent this despatch to the English Foreign-office:—

"I am sorry to inform your lordship that great apathy reigns at Erzerum, from the highest functionary to the lowest; every pasha and bey who has been charged with missions from this camp to that city has, in his turn, disappeared from the scene—a scene from which all of high rank are glad to escape. I therefore trust that, through your lordship's representations, they may receive from the Porte the most stringent orders to execute the directions forwarded to them by the muschir."

Upon this despatch Colonel Lake remarks, in his work entitled, *Kars and our Captivity in Russia*:—"While we had to endure this neglect the enemy was receiving reinforcements, pressing more closely on our pickets and advanced posts, forage became so scanty that we were compelled to send away our half-starved cavalry horses, and so closely were we now beleaguered, that we could scarcely get a messenger safely out of the camp. A memorandum made by our general on the 1st of September, received by Consul Brant at Erzerum at sunset on the 5th, proves our condition at this crisis of the blockade. 'The most is made of our provisions; the soldier is reduced to half allowances of bread and meat, or rice-butter; sometimes 100 drachms of biscuit instead of bread, nothing besides—no money. Mussulman population (3000 rifles) will soon be reduced to starvation. Armenians are ordered to quit the town tomorrow. No barley; scarcely any forage. Cavalry reduced to walking skeletons, and sent out of garrison; artillery horses soon the same. How will the fieldpieces be moved after that? The apathy of superior officers is quite distressing. We can hold out two months more. What is being done for the relief of the army?'"

The 26th of August was a day of considerable interest to the garrison from a daring exploit of Kmety and Teesdale. To the north of the city were posted some strong detachments of the Muscovite cavalry. Between these forces and the defences were some rich fields of barley, ready for the sickle. To hold these fields until the harvest was reaped and carried away was the project contemplated by the enterprising Hungarian, and equally enterprising Englishman. How impossible would such a plan have seemed to the "cautious" commanders-in-chief in the Crimea, French and English; and how certain of failure would any plan for the like have proved, if there were spirit sufficient to undertake it! What confusion and blunders would have attended every step! Our heroes at Kars accomplished this perilous feat; it was prepared with foresight, and taken with resolution. But how was this valuable harvest of barley ever to be captured? There were no cavalry to face the formidable sotnias of the enemy, and what general would attack them with infantry? Besides, if the force which might attempt to seize upon the fields should not be cut to pieces by the cavalry, how were they to hold them until the barley was reaped? Or if they should succeed in doing so, how was it to be carried away? Would not an overwhelming force of the enemy fall upon them, annihilating or capturing troops, reapers, and carters together? It seemed to be an undertaking very improbable of accomplishment; but, somehow, fortune often opens up a way for those who, under adverse circumstances, court her smiles by genius and valour. The force selected for this hazardous feat consisted of a strong detachment of rifles, and four of the heaviest field-guns in the place. These were to proceed direct to the cavalry camp of the enemy at Ainali, the force of which consisted of a strong brigade, comprising two regiments of dragoons, several parties of mounted Kurds, several sotnias of Cossacks, and a few squadrons of other irregular cavalry. To obtain some security against an attack in force while denuding the barley-fields of their treasures, the plan was adopted of posting Hussein Pasha upon the height of Tahmasp with two trumpeters. From this elevation he could overlook the Russian camp, and, in case of any dangerous movement, the two trumpeters would give a warning blast. Having completed their arrangements, the two heroes sallied forth at the head of their force. A broad valley had to be passed, very favourable for the action of cavalry; but, nothing daunted, the enterprise was begun, and the barley-fields were attained. The Russian cavalry trusted to the fieldpieces attached to their brigade, which opened upon the Turks,

whose fire was superior in weight, more skilfully directed. The Cossacks charged upon Kmety's flank; but a party of riflemen, concealed among the barley, such a fire upon them, that they wheeled about, leaving such a proportion wounded behind them, as proved gallant little Turks were good marks. During the battle of artillery, and in charge, the reapers worked away, and succeeded in cutting down and carting the corn. At that juncture a shrill note from the trumpets gave the alarm. Hussein Pasha had so much commotion in the Russian camp, and the with which their cavalry took to horse, he gave forth the trumpet sound, as arm. Kmety did not seem in a hurry; the Russian cavalry and field-guns had retired out of his large fieldpieces. Hussein Pasha, anxious, renewed the warning, and far more than before, the clangour of the trumpet in the plain. Still Kmety did not seem to be alarmed, and Hussein began to fear that all was lost. He sent an aide-de-camp, who met the Hungarian and his *alter ego*, Teesdale, and their brave Turks, "making no haste for good speed," and by the steadiness of securing an orderly retreat. The heroes were safe to the garrison; not a man was hurt, their booty, of unspeakable value to them, was as completely as it was skilfully and bravely won. As Kmety came safely under the protection of the defences, Mouravieff's whole army appeared in order of battle, just in time to see what valour and capacity had emanated from beneath the beards of his astounded soldiers. The Muscovite army drew up on the slope of a hill opposite Tahmasp. The trumpets of the garrison sounded the general alarm, the drums beat to arms, and the citizens, hurrying to and fro, seized their weapons, and sought their posts for the expected conflict. The batteries were all manned, and the garrison looked forth upon the opposing host until darkness fell upon the scene. The Russians remained on the ground all night, expecting a sortie, and shivering intensely from the frost; for, while the days were fiercely hot, the nights, as is common at that season in Armenia, were intensely cold. Had the enemy attacked, the garrison was in an excellent condition to have performed its duty; the soldiers were full of confidence in themselves and their leaders, the citizens, to some extent, would have fought bravely in the batteries; and the defences then assumed most formidable strength; the whole of the lines were protected by the *de loup*, which would have rendered the success of a night assault next to impossible.

On the 29th of August another sortie was hanged; but the hanging of a few spies

an end to the communication of intelligence to the enemy, which led Jeff to adopt the policy of a blockade than of the usual siege approaches, would have been attended by a greater ture of life among his troops. Thus nth of August closed; no help for the arriving from Erzerum or Trebizond, diversion effected from Redout Kaleh, or from any other quarter; everything ng upon the skill of the British and officers, and the bravery of them and mon soldiery.

On the 2nd of September a flag of truce sixty Turkish prisoners from the camp to the garrison: these men were liers nor citizens (with a few except- out peasants and small land occupiers e vicinity. The object of Mouravieff ng them was to corrupt the citizens, ause the troops to desert, they having ll prepared by his agents for the per- e of this work. Some of them did st to fulfil their dishonourable bargain, e betrayed him: of both classes a few nged, and the rest terrified. It did t their advent to create disaffection; a battalion of rediffs had to be broken the men dispersed among other corps. e these fled, and were captured and

On September, General Williams wrote Clarendon:—

On the 1st of September mutiny and have had to be repressed by strong s. The vigilance of the enemy is . He has been reinforced by 2000 and presses, if possible, still more on our pickets and advanced posts, daily struggle takes place for forage, as for several days failed to supply ts; a large portion, therefore, of our ed cavalry horses has been sent from o, in order to seek subsistence beyond ntains and out of the reach of the cavalry, which cannot be estimated at a 10,000. General Mouravieff, with try and artillery, occupies the same which he held when I last wrote. with the utmost difficulty that either foot messengers escape the vigilance emy, and I abstain from entering into which might fall into their hands. rison preserves its health, notwith- the great difference of temperature day and night: its spirit, I am happy s excellent."

Beginning of September rapidly de- new miseries within the closely-pressed and all the former inconveniences ensified. The horses died very fast;

the weather was still too warm to allow of their flesh being salted and prepared for human food. General Williams determined to save the remainder of the horses, and as many men as they would mount. By this means the garrison would be relieved of surplus mouths, while, for the purposes of defence, its hands would not be greatly weakened. A thousand horses of all sorts, which had been used for every variety of purpose, were mustered at Tahmasp at sunset, and received an excellent feed of barley. As soon as it was twilight, they gradually defiled through the Valley of Chorek in the direction of Olti. The suspense and anxiety of the garrison were very great, and many a prayer followed them. Some fore- told their destruction, others their capture; while an opinion prevailed with many that they would never dare to cut through the strong cavalry forces of the enemy, and would return to the lines. Silence and suspense reigned over the defences, all listening with painful intensity for the sound of horses' hoofs, or the clash of arms, when pistol-shots suddenly interrupted the stillness; they were only a few—a mere discharge from some Cossack outpost. Silence again ensued for a few minutes; a volley of carbines attested a severe cavalry skirmish; this was scarcely over when a long roll of musketry filled the air; this, too, ceased, and the crack of rifles at intervals terminated the sounds of conflict. The gallant Turks had driven in the pickets, which, retiring upon the main body of the cavalry outposts, there discharged their carbines and fell back upon the infantry, who, supposing a sortie, received the Turkish cavalry with a heavy musketry fire, falling back upon their supports. At last they perceived that it was not an attack; that a portion of the garrison was actually cutting its way through the Russian lines, which was successfully performed: a dropping fire after them, as they won their perilous way, was all the enemy could do. What number of these cavalry was killed or captured was not ascer- tained; some lay wounded, and were taken care of by Mouravieff, who was as humane as he was wise and brave; others crept away and found shelter among the country people; but the great proportion galloped through, escaping the shot and sabre of the Muscovs.

On the 4th of September forty soldiers deserted to the enemy at once. This was the severest shock to the garrison it had yet experienced; this *grand coup* of the disaffected was followed by various similar attempts on a small scale, and when the fugitives were caught they were executed. On the 5th of September the muschir offered a reward of 500 piastres, and General Williams a reward of 2000 from his private purse, for detection of any deserter.

The horses which were unsuitable to send

with the force which cut its way through the Russian lines were gradually slaughtered, until the dogs of the town lay about the streets gorged with feasting upon their carcasses.

The food of the inhabitants was becoming scarce, but General Williams having bought up large supplies at the beginning of the siege, was enabled to dispense rations of corn daily. He also bought from the rich and distributed among the poor. The exertions of Mr. Zohrab, the interpreter, were most beneficial in these matters. Concerning the exciting events of the blockade up to this date, the fullest and best account is to be found in a parliamentary "Blue-book;" the works of Dr. Sandwith and Colonel Lake are meagre and incomplete. The volume of Dr. Sandwith is well written, and in many respects an interesting book. Colonel Lake acts better than he writes, for although his book was written after that of the learned and gallant doctor, it is much less graphic and complete as to the incidents of the blockade. In turning to the despatches of General Williams, we glean the true state of things with far more of particularisation and minuteness than can be obtained from the journals of his staff. To give the whole of these despatches to our readers would be impossible, because of the space they would occupy, but the pith and prominence of the information they contain, and of those written by Consul Brant, of Erzerum, is transmitted to these pages.

Early in September, the general wrote to the foreign minister of England a despatch containing the following remarks:—

"We have just heard that one of the detachments of infantry and cavalry (under Coblian Ali Bey) which so harass us, has marched towards Ahkiska, which place is menaced by an incursion of irregulars, by order of Mustafa Pasha of Batoum. This will convince your lordship that a serious demonstration from Redout Kaleh would cause the immediate departure of at least a large corps of General Mouravieff's army, whose camps remain where they were when I last had the honour to address your lordship."

"It was evident that whatever tended afterwards to alter the general's opinion, his main hope in September was the accomplishment of

a diversion, by Omar Pasha, from Redout in Mouravieff's rear. This seems to have the hope of all the European officers, although Dr. Sandwith was less sanguine than his allies in the rear of the blockading Consul Brant wrote in the same spirit. General Williams, although he, a few afterwards, began to hesitate as to the expediency of such a plan. Lake and Sandwith also subsequently blamed the Turkish governments for ever thinking of acting otherwise than from Trebizond to Batoum. It would be hard to expect governments to have been better informed than the British consul and others of the field of action itself—men long acquainted with those regions. The language of the consul in the beginning of September on the subject was—"If Omar Pasha be quick in his movements, he may yet be in time, but I am very anxious until I hear of the land an adequate force at Redout Kaleh, as by that event alone might, I hope, be saved."

On the 8th of September, a day the most remarkable in the annals of this war, because of the conquest of Sebastopol, the garrison was encouraged by several circumstances. A messenger brought news, more pleasant than true, that Omar was about to land at Batoum with 40,000 men. Kadri Bey informed the general that a large store of corn had been discovered within the lines, which a notorious speculator, one Selik Agha, had pilfered from time to time from the public stores. This discovery gave every reason to believe that the garrison could hold out until the middle of November.

We have now arrived at that point in the history of the blockade in which the selection for the relief of Kars by the Turkish government and the governments of the allies has been considered, in order to account for the extracts from the foregoing which the editor and the commissioner express, and which have led to so many unfounded rumours floating perpetually into the blockaded lines.

Our next chapter will be devoted to a relation of what was done or purposed for beyond its own confines, up to the period at which we have brought the narrative of events in Armenia.

## CHAPTER XCIX.

## PLANS AND PREPARATIONS FOR THE RELIEF OF KARS.

"There is one preliminary to relieving a besieged town which is indispensable, it is that you must first find your army."—LAWRENCE OLIPHANT, *Transcaucasian Campaign*.

In the last chapter it was shown how the army of Kars hoped against hope, and pressed on, looking evermore towards the sea, the source from whence help only could come. It was related how rumours of a reinforcement under Omar Pasha continually sustained General Williams and his comrades, and sustained their spirit. It is the historian's duty in this chapter to point out in what circumstances these rumours had their birth, and what efforts were put forth for the relief of the beleaguered brave. The endeavours of General Williams, the muschir, and the consul at Erzerum, the awakened Lord Stratford or the Turkish minister at Constantinople to a sense of duty in the war in Asia Minor, were urged; although some effect was certainly produced, and a great appearance of interest in the distant but ill-fated garrison of Kars attended. The allied generals in the Crimea, as immovable as the English ambassador, the French ambassador, and the seraskier at Constantinople. Ostensibly General Williams belonged to the army in the Crimea, and was under the command of Lord Raglan and his successors; but he might have belonged to the army of Scinde, or to the orders, encouragement, or advice from the British government in the Crimea. The French government, apparently, no interest at all in the war in Asia, or as to what happened in Asia. To conquer Sebastopol was the grand object of the emperor, and already it is plain, from the light thrown upon his proceedings by subsequent events, he had determined upon peace at the moment most propitious to the glory of the French arms, although all the objects of the war should not have been achieved. The English government was earnest. Lord Palmerston and his minister were deeply solicitous to save the empire from adopting any measures, even although a considerable risk attended them, which would have raised the blockade of Kars to be raised, and have restored the sultan's Asiatic dominions; but the British government in the Crimea raised obstructions, and the enterprising spirit of the English minister at Constantinople. In June the Porte, and the French ambassador to the Porte, professed to be in a state of great anxiety concerning the fate of the garrison by which Kars was menaced. The British and Austrian ambassadors did not appear to have any interest in the matter, and the

latter was solely occupied, so far as Asia was concerned, in preventing the Porte from confiding a command to the talented and intrepid Guyon, and from employing Hungarian, Polish, and Italian officers in any service there. So cleverly did the Austrian press this, and so well sustained was he by the corrupt pashas, who were jealous of the magnificent talents and chivalrous valour of Guyon, that the sultan and his more sincere advisers were overborne. Williams was not only in want of ammunition, food, fodder, money, and *matériel* of war—he required fivefold the number of good European officers to assist him. It was a great misfortune that a measure contemplated early in the war had not been carried out—that of sending Behram Pasha (Lieutenant-general of Cannon) to the post of second in command in the army of Asia. That officer having gone to the Danube to see the state of affairs there, was so pressed by Omar Pasha to join his army that he accepted the command of the light division, which was the means of relieving Silistria by a feat of strategy and valour not surpassed in the whole war in any field of action. "Behram Pasha," said an experienced Indian officer to the author, "was born a soldier." General Evans had predicted of him, when only a young subaltern, that he would be a distinguished commander—and Sir de Lacy's prophecy was fulfilled. Perhaps, however, had General Cannon been in Asia, he would have been treated as Guyon was, by the villanous brood of pashas that plundered the sultan's provinces, and betrayed his interest and honour in Asia Minor. The Turkish government professed to be desirous to send an army of their best troops, under their ablest general, either to march upon Kars, or to create such a diversion as would certainly draw off the enemy from the blockade; but so beset by personal and national jealousies, private interests, rival claims, incompetency, and intrigue was every scheme projected for either of these objects, that nothing was done until it was too late to do anything efficiently. The Turkish government, the seraskier, the French and English ambassadors to the Porte, the commanders-in-chief in the Crimea, the Turkish general, the French government, all are open to suspicion as to their sincerity in these proceedings. The English cabinet alone appears with unstained honour in this cause. Among the most vile, or else the most ignorant, ebullitions of party spirit in the British senate,

the attack upon the government for its conduct in the affairs of Kars stands very prominently. Perhaps the mere advocate, reckless of the righteousness of his cause, and eager only for a party triumph, was more conspicuous in the speech of Mr. Whiteside, the member for Enniskillen, delivered in the House of Commons, than in any other delivered in that assembly during the course of the war. We shall endeavour to unravel the skein of intrigue which attended the plans and efforts for the relief of Kars, so far as is necessary for the information of our readers.

The favourite idea at Constantinople was the landing of a Turkish army on the east coast of the Black Sea, forcing the Suranim Pass, and threatening Tiflis. It was also believed there that the most suitable general to intrust with this great undertaking was Omar Pasha. He was not only willing to go, but ambitious of the honour; and as soon as he received any intimation of the proposed enterprise, he placed himself in communication with the Turkish government as a candidate for the command. He was dissatisfied with his continued inactivity in the Crimea. From some cause or other, the Turkish troops before Sebastopol were always left to guard the rear; and except on a few occasions of reconnaissance, they were either posted as a rear-guard to the troops before Sebastopol, or to those occupying the Heights of the Tchernaya. Omar felt that he had talent, and chafed at his position. This was one reason why he did so little at Eupatoria, for however deficient his means of transport there may have been, his forces were sufficiently large, and his means available, to have advanced some ten miles, and taken up an intrenched position. By thus acting, he would have intercepted the Russian convoys, and have rendered great services to the siege. But it was observed that after the Austrians were allowed to interfere with his pursuit of the Russians in their retreat from the Danube, he never regained his good humour nor his confidence in the allies, especially the French. Even at the battle of Eupatoria, it was observed by military men that he did not show his accustomed zeal; and although he had resolved, if possible, not to be beaten, he showed no disposition to take any advantage of his success.

It was, as already observed, the middle of June before any signs of interest in the fate of Kars seemed to rouse the authorities, native or foreign, at Constantinople. On the 13th of that month Lord Stratford de Redcliffe delivered certain instructions to M. Pisani, from which persons would suppose that the dearest object of the ambassador's heart was the salvation of that city. It is ludicrous to peruse his lordship's expressions

of vital concern, after what has been shown in former chapters of his ignorance or indifference, or worse:—

"I learn from Brigadier-general Williams that the Russians appeared, when he was meditating an attack on the army at Kars, and I fear we shall have to deplore the want of early or tardy attention paid to my earnest repeated requisitions for supplies and reinforcements. Even now, at the eleventh hour, it is most desirable that all which it is in the power of the government to do in these respects should be done without a moment's delay. According to my last advices from General Williams, money was greatly wanted, and the Porte presses the demand most earnestly upon the British government. See Fuad Pasha and the seraskier with regard to delay, and urge them to send off as large a sum as they can possibly spare, while they are preparing whatever may yet be forwarded for the support of men and supplies. The case really seem to be very urgent.

"I learn from our consul at Trebizond that the Russians had made an attack on Churubuzk, and been repulsed with loss after a sharp engagement. Has the Porte any news of this?"

"Now that Circassia is cleared of the Russians, why should not the old idea of uniting the army at Batoum with that of Kars be acted upon in the present emergency? It suggests this impressively. I am assured that Batoum may be held with a very small force, supposing it to have works sufficient to be relied upon; but of this I am no judge."

The Porte had been in possession of this intelligence before the English ambassador, but either did not take the trouble of communicating it to him, or, desirous to humiliate the infidel pasha, purposely concealed it, and he should remonstrate upon their apathy.

On the 19th of June the seraskier proposed to Lord Redcliffe, that a portion of the British fleet should cruise upon the Caucasian coast, and that 10,000 men should be sent from the garrison of Batoum, which would still, in the seraskier's opinion, have a force of 5000 to defend it. Here, again, either the Turkish official sought to impose upon the English ambassador, or he was most culpably ignorant of the state of the garrison at Batoum, the strength of which was only 3700 men. General Williams himself was actually, at the time, better informed as to the condition of the Turkish troops at Batoum.

The general tone of the official Turkish communications at that juncture with Lord Redcliffe showed their desire to abandon Kars, and fall back upon Erzerum. This was the pretence that it was bad in strategy to defend Kars; but it was well known that the pashas whom Williams had caused to be

for their peculations had intrigued him. These men had been appointed near Pasha's influence, and Omar, notwithstanding the clearest proofs of their guilt, refused any punishment from being inflicted on them. This circumstance not only threw upon the whole of the proceedings of the court, but also upon the subsequent military operations and proceedings of Omar himself. The correspondence of Vassif Pasha, the muschir of Kars, shows that he was of the same opinion. It will appear from the first despatch written by General Williams to the Earl of Clarendon:—

"The day after I addressed your lordship at Dévèboyonou I received from Colonel Lake the confirmation of the intention of the Russians to attack this place in great force; I received a confidential message from the muschir of Kars to abandon Kars and defend Erzerum. I instantly wrote back to Colonel Lake that the muschir to act with the utmost promptitude and pressed on and reached Kars the day before yesterday, where I have used every effort to instil energy into the mind of the muschir, and I likewise abstained from remonstrating with his excellency on his strange determination to abandon a place which we had so much trouble to provision and fortify, although, as I do, that he feels the weight of the step he was about to take, and is anxious to act upon my suggestions.

"With this impression, I have been occupied all day in stationing the troops in the batteries, in arming and supplying the batteries with ammunition, and in addressing to each regiment words of encouragement and hope. The enemy, in force about 10,000 men of all arms, accompanied by a great number of vast supplies necessary for a siege, is now within four hours of us, and will, most probably, attack us to-morrow.

"I have advised the muschir to write to the Pasha, of Batoum, for 5000 men to be sent to Ardahan, and to Veli Pasha, of Kars, to prepare for an instant march. We shall have received orders for it. This is all we can do in our isolated and neglected position, and I am happy to say that our garrison is in good spirits, and promises me to do well."

"A few days after the date of this despatch, General Williams knew that no help could be sent from Batoum by any force at the disposal of the Pasha then there.

"The letter of Vassif of which Williams speaks was no doubt written by the instigation of the officials at Constantinople, or, at least, because Vassif knew that that was their

General Williams believed, and, after the peace argued, that by detaining a Russian army to the end of November within eight miles of their own frontier, he had paralysed their operations in Asia. This was undoubtedly the case. On the other hand, the opponents of this opinion say that the price paid for the detention of the Russians before Kars was the loss of an army, of a vast artillery, and of all the English officers serving in Kars, and nearly all those in Asia Minor. In the spring the Russian general could have operated from Kars as a new base of operations, and with all the advantage desirable, from having "snuffed out" the English influence in Armenia; whereas, if General Williams had allowed the muschir to retire with his troops and his splendid field-artillery in time upon Erzerum, there could be no doubt of the safety of that place, which was rendered desperate by the surrender of Kars; and in the spring, as it was easier to reinforce an army at Erzerum than at Kars, the allies might from that place and from Batoum act against the enemy in the field. Had the war continued, the defence of Kars would have only brought glory to England, but no gain to Turkey. This is the Turkish view of the subject. There is little likelihood, however, that those who urged it in June at Constantinople were actuated by any deep convictions of its soundness; but were rather moved by choler against Williams Pasha, the curber and scourge of corrupt Turkish chiefs. The view taken by General Williams was the correct one, which upon a future and more appropriate page of this History shall be proved.

On the 22nd of June Consul Brant wrote from Erzerum. His despatch, or copies, reached Lord Redcliffe on the 11th of July, Omar Pasha, at Sebastopol, four days later, and Lord Clarendon eight days later. This despatch was the means of suggesting to Omar the desirableness of placing himself at the head of a Turkish army, and hastening to the rescue:—

"It were superfluous (wrote Mr. Brant) to detail events at Kars, as General Williams addressed a despatch to your lordship of as late a date as a short note I received from him. The despatch to your lordship I forwarded yesterday by a special messenger to the Porte, sent off hurriedly by the authorities to solicit immediate reinforcements.

"The army of Kars is in a difficult position within its intrenchments, from which it cannot issue in face of a superior Russian force, including a large body of cavalry, which may be said to be entirely wanting in the Turkish army; for a few regular cavalry badly mounted, armed, and clothed, without any knowledge of drill, or any efficient officers, cannot be taken into account. There is at present at Kars no

deficiency of provisions; but if there be no possibility of introducing supplies, the garrison will ultimately be forced to surrender for want of food, if the Russians maintain their position. It were therefore necessary, in order to save Kars and its army, to send up reinforcements as rapidly as possible, and more particularly to supply the want of cavalry. The civil and military authorities have urged this on the Porte, and have begged me to request his excellency the Viscount Stratford de Redcliffe to impress on the sultan's government the very critical position in which Kars and its army, as well as Erzerum, will be placed by the slightest delay in complying with their demand.

"It was evident that while Riza Pasha occupied the post of seraskier nothing could be expected; his neglect of this army has been so marked that everybody believes that he wished its destruction. Possibly one of the causes of this supposed feeling may have been his desire to save the credit of his *protégé*, Zarif Mustafa Pasha, by showing that he was not so much to blame, since nobody could do better. But the advent to the seraskierat of Mehemet Rushti Pasha leads people to hope that effectual reinforcements will soon be sent; not a moment, however, must be lost, or this ill-used army will either perish of hunger, be vanquished by the discipline, efficiency, and numbers of the enemy, or be forced to capitulate.

"Everything that energy and skill can accomplish may be expected from General Williams; but it may be feared that his health will fail him under the incessant fatigue he undergoes. It is fortunate that the muschir agrees to his suggestions on every point, and that the military council is not now, as formerly, divided by intrigues. It is also fortunate that the general's care of the soldiers, his watchfulness and energy, and his calm and resolute bearing, have won the confidence of the army, and that he is admirably seconded by the few British officers on his staff. Still these advantages, great as they are, cannot counteract the scanty numbers of the force, its want of discipline and efficient officers, and the absence of cavalry; so that the preservation of this small, devoted army, must depend more on its receiving reinforcements than on its own conduct, however brilliant and self-devoted they may be.

"The muschir has this moment informed me that, in consequence of the enemy having intercepted the direct communications with Erzerum, he should send off, in an hour, a courier by an indirect route. I must, therefore, in as few words as possible, detail the events which occurred since I informed your lordship, on the 19th instant, that the Russian army under General Mouravieff had, by a flank march,

established itself opposite our intrenched camp at a distance of three miles.

"The rain has been so heavy and incessant as to prevent the enemy from any attempt to attack our lines, but he has pushed forward large bodies of cavalry, supported by infantry, burnt the surrounding villages, and destroyed one of our small depots of grain at Chipour, eight hours on the Erzerum road, and probably thinking that our intrenchments are too formidable to take by a *coup de main*, he has moved to Gumri for eight heavy guns belonging to that fortress, which are now on their way to his camp.

"The duties of our garrison have been trying, in consequence of the torrents of rain, but the spirit of the troops is good.

"I urgently recommend the immediate sending of troops at Trebizond, and if the sultan will admit of it, strong demonstrations at Redout Kaleh."

On the 26th of June the seraskier intimates to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe his conviction that Kars ought to be abandoned, at the same time suggesting immediate plans for its evacuation. The following despatch of his lordship to Clarendon affects the same zeal upon the subject as his previous despatch:—

"Even at the 11th hour the necessity of listening to my advice, and sending off reinforcements without further delay is recognized. But where are these to be obtained? Turkish ministers, who had talked of sending 10,000 men from Batoum to Erzerum, now, on their embarrassment, incline to another plan. They propose to form an intrenched camp at Redout Kaleh, and to concentrate there the corps of General Vivian completed by the draught of 10,000 men from the Bulgarian army, that of General Beatson, and the detachment from Batoum, reduced to 7000 men. The total of these combined forces would be about 30,000 of all arms. Stationary, they might operate as a diversion in favour of our army at Kars or Erzerum; advancing, they might threaten the Russian positions at Kutais on Georgia, they might either attack the Russians in the rear or force them to retreat.

"The main objections to this plan are the extreme insalubrity of the Circassian coast and valleys from now till October; the incomplete organisation of Beatson's horse and Turkish contingent; the difficulty of procuring supplies or transport; and the danger of posing a mixed Turkish force to collision with a well-appointed and numerous enemy in an open field."

On the 30th of June a conference took place at the grand vizier's house. The English ambassador, the seraskier, and General Mansel took part in the deliberations, which pro-

the despatches of General Williams not been attentively read by any of the concerned. The results of this conference are thus expressed in a despatch of Lord Clifffe to Lord Clarendon :—

It was clear to all present that, whether the Russians besieged or turned Kars, the British army required an effort to be made in relief with all practicable dispatch, and three possible modes of acting for that purpose, the only one likely to prove effective was an expedition by Kutais into Georgia. Additional reinforcements by Trebizond would be a palliative; to establish an entrenched position at Redout Kaleh would, at this unpropitious season, be equivalent to consigning the place to destruction.

The real question was, whether a force would be sufficiently collected in time at Kutais to make an excursion into Georgia and threaten the communications of the Russian army, or whether it indeed between two hostile forces, the Turkish army still be in a condition to meet the field."

On the day after the meeting at the grand council another took place, at which the senior officers, Fuad Effendi, General Vivian, and General Mansfield were present, for the purpose of debating the policy of the proposed expedition, but its military arrangements, and the question of whether General Vivian should retain the command. General Mansfield took the account of the meeting :—

Fuad Pasha at great length went over all the matters which had been brought forward at his excellency Lord Stratford de Redcliffe the day before. He explained the situation of the army of Kars, and that it was proposed to relieve that army by a powerful diversion, and that this diversion could be best made, if only made, from Redout Kaleh, or at least in its vicinity, for the landing of the troops and the establishment of a basis of operations. That troops so landing should be thrown forward as quickly as possible on Kutais, and directed towards Tiflis, where it is considered the real objects of a war against Russia might be best obtained; that in a grand operation the best chance for the recovery of Kars is secured, whereas by any other mode, means would be frittered away, and the result, either immediate or ultimate, would be of the cause; that if the project is abandoned from want of means, they must have recourse to those measures in which they have no confidence. General Vivian replied that he should like to know what means were proposed for so great a plan.

"Fuad Pasha answered that, in the first place—

There was of the contingent now ready actually at Bujukdere .....	10,000
That part of the contingent to be immediately assembled in Bulgaria .....	10,000
To be drawn in addition from the garrisons in Bulgaria, and attached to the British contingent in camp .....	5,000
Beatson's horse .....	3,000
Albanian light troops .....	2,000
Garrison at Batoum and in the neighbourhood .....	12,000
One regiment of Egyptian regular cavalry .....	800
A body of cavalry expected immediately from Tunis .....	600

Total ..... 43,400 "

To these various despatches Lord Clarendon replied, on the 13th of July, as follows :—

"The plan proposed by the Porte for the relief of the Turkish army at Kars, as sketched out in your excellency's despatches of the 30th of June and 1st instant, has been attentively considered by her majesty's government; and I have to state to your excellency that it appears to be objectionable for the following reasons :—

"It would be in the greatest degree imprudent to throw on an unwholesome coast, without means of land transport, without any certainty of provisions, without an assured communication with the rear, without an accurate knowledge of the country to be traversed, or the strength of the enemy to be encountered, and with the probability of a hostile population, 40,000 men, hurriedly collected from various quarters, imperfectly disciplined, doubtfully armed and equipped, and as yet unorganised, and to expose them at once to all the hazards and difficulties of a campaign against a Russian army. They would fall ill between Redout Kaleh and Kutais, and be defeated between Kutais and Tiflis. Moreover, the fragments to be united for the purpose of composing this army are so scattered about, that the crisis, if it is to take place, would be over long before it could reach the scene of action.

"Her majesty's government are of opinion that the wiser course would be to send reinforcements to the rear of the Turkish army, instead of sending an expedition to the rear of the Russian army. The reinforcements might go to Trebizond, and be directed thence upon Erzerum. The distance from Trebizond to Erzerum is less than from Redout Kaleh to Tiflis, and the march is through a friendly, instead of through a hostile country; and at Erzerum the army would meet supporting friends, instead of opposing enemies, and supplies instead of famine.

"If the army at Kars cannot maintain that position against the Russians, it should fall

back upon Erzerum, and the whole Turkish force should be concentrated there. If the Russians are to be defeated, it will be easier to defeat them by the whole force collected than by divided portions of that force; and a defeat would be the more decisive the further it took place within the Turkish frontier.

"Trebizond is a port where supplies of all kinds might be landed, and her majesty's government believe that it is a healthy place, and that Erzerum is so likewise.

"Such an arrangement as that which I have described would give time for collecting and organising the various detached corps of which the proposed army of 40,000 men is to be composed; and her majesty's government entirely concur in Lieutenant-general Vivian's opinion, that an army thrown on a coast without means of transport and supplies is doomed to destruction."

The day after the above despatch of Lord Clarendon was written, Lord Paismore addressed a very peculiar letter to General Vivian, in which he oddly combines expressions of confidence in General Vivian, and a lecture to that officer on his want of caution in offering any seeming acquiescence, however slight, in a scheme so wild as that of the Turkish government. His lordship, by a side wind, defends the policy of attempting a *coup de main* at Sebastopol, while he deprecates the like on the opposite shore of the Black Sea, yet giving very sound reasons for his views in the latter case.

"I entirely concur in all that is said in that despatch as to the objectionable character of the plan proposed by the Porte.

"I place such full reliance on your professional ability, that I feel no anxiety lest you should undertake any expedition of a nature so wild and ill-digested as that contemplated by the Porte."

"While it is your duty to give every aid in your power, not simply as commanding the contingent, but as a British officer enjoying the confidence of her majesty's government, to our allies the Turks, it is at the same time necessary that you should be cautious in not risking the honour of the British name and your own reputation by undertaking military operations for which proper bases have not been laid down, communications opened, supplies arranged, and transport provided.

"A *coup de main* by means of suddenly throwing an army on the coast to threaten, or even to attack an enemy's stronghold, is one thing; but a deliberate expedition to invade an enemy's country, and on his own territory to make war upon him, is quite another. In the first case, something may be hazarded; but, in the other, every preparation must precede action.

"Moreover, from all the information has reached me, I have reason to believe the army of Batoum to be in a deplorable state, I know the contingent to be scarcely organised, of the Bulgarian troops you can have no knowledge, and I presume that Beatson's horse as little reduced to control and discipline as your own troops. In short, I am assured it would be madness to attempt to send Brigadier-general Williams in this way. It is too late to regret the policy which has been followed by that gallant officer and his army exposed to such straits; but it would only be opening the way to fresh failure to follow out such a policy as has been proposed for the purpose of relieving him. You must, as I have no doubt you feel, lose no time in getting your army into order for service, which will be some time to await you somewhere, as soon as you are ready for it; but organisation is as necessary as endurance and valour, and without the former the latter qualities are utterly unavailing."

On the 4th of July General Mansfield drew up a plan of his own, of which his despatch gives the following account:—

"The plan drawn up by me for the consideration of his Excellency Viscount St. Redcliffe, was then read—namely, to send the troops by detachments, to transport, of which there is a deficiency, the first detachment consisting of about 22,000 men. The men in the neighbourhood of Batoum, to the amount of 12,000, to be concentrated at Redout Kaleh.

"On the first detachment being landed, forward movement of 22,000 men to be made immediately on Kutais; engineers being sent at Redout Kaleh to trace and establish a fortified camp, the labourers of the country being called in to assist their work.

"The first detachment being landed, the ships to return and take up the remainder of the force as it could be got ready, and to be sent off by battalions at the camp.

"I explained that the object of this was once to render available for the relief of the army of Kars the resources and troops already now ready, and not to interfere with the more important and larger objects of the expedition. It was the opinion of her majesty's ambassador that the plan was feasible, but that it would be necessary to use the utmost diligence in throwing forward the force and in procuring the supports, transport, and supplies.

"To all this the seraskier agreed most fully. He said it was exactly his own plan, which he had two days before expressed to the council of ministers. It was the only plan for the army of Kars. There was a canal from Poti to Redout Kaleh, the entrance of

en stopped up by the Russians when Kaleh was evacuated by them. Poti, out of range from the fire of shipping, is held by them. He believed there are two guns there now. The concentration of guns at Redout Kaleh would probably cause confusion; at all events, it must be

agreed to this.

The seraskier quite understands that the advance on Kutais, as has been detailed, is a substitute for the larger plan.

There are fifty guns of different calibres in the operations at Batoum of five, seven, and ten oaks respectively, five oaks being the equivalent of twelve pounds.

Twenty heavy guns will be immediately in a state of readiness at the arsenal at the service of a siege.

A number of boats can be procured at Batoum and the river Rhion when Poti has been evacuated. It is only a question of paying the cost; there will be no difficulty in that

when informed his excellency that her ambassador had communicated with the Turkish government on the subject, and that it would be necessary to do the same, in concert, with the allied commanders."

It will be observed that the old delusion as to the force actually at Batoum is among the errors on which the general concludes that his plan is feasible.

On the 12th of July Lord Stratford telegraphed to the Foreign-office as follows:—

"In my despatches of the 30th ult., and 5th inst., are in progress. It is of much valuable time if you would let me at once by telegraph whether the government is prepared to sanction a powerful expedition by Redout Kaleh and Kutais into the Crimea, if local investigation and the engagement of the Turkish and allied authorities in the means of execution should warrant a prospect of success."

This question the telegraph brought back a negative answer, and information that the army at Kars should be moved on Erzerum, and the force there, if it were then joined to the former, retreat to Redout Kaleh until so reinforced that a triumphant advance could be made. I have sketched the proceedings at Constantinople, and the correspondence between the British officials there and the English foreign office. It is necessary to direct attention to this point on at another important focus of discussion.

When General Williams sent his despatch of the 23rd of June to Lord Stratford, he requested a copy to be sent to Lord Raglan (according to his original instructions from the English foreign ministry). The despatch did not arrive in the Crimea until Lord Raglan was no more; it devolved, of course, upon General Simpson to deal with it. He showed it to Omar Pasha, who at once called a council of the generals and admirals. At that council Omar proposed to take with him his forces in the Crimea, and effect a diversion to save Kars. The council took place on the 14th, and on the 15th of July the English commissioner with the Turkish army in the Crimea, Colonel Simmons, sent a despatch to Lord Clarendon, which he received in London on the 30th. At first the allied generals were not disposed to concede a council to Omar on the subject, but he addressed to them the following stern letter, which showed them that he was not to be trifled with, and led them to revoke their previous decision. His letter was addressed to General Pelissier:—

"I have had the honour to receive the letter addressed to me by your excellency and the commander-in-chief of the English army.

"I hasten to inform you that yesterday, after I had addressed to your excellency the note of the 11th of July, I received from my government a despatch, informing me that the whole of Turkey in Asia, up to the gates of Constantinople itself, is undefended, and entreating me, as every hour is of the greatest value, immediately to find the means, and to put into execution the measures, necessary to avert the great danger in which the government of Turkey, and, in consequence, the cause of the allies, are placed.

"Under these circumstances, since I have in the Crimea 60,000 Turks, of whom the greater part are Asiatics, and whose families and property are exposed to the ravages of the enemy, and since I find that that army is inactive in the Crimea, without any prospect of immediate service that I can discover, I consider it my duty to my sovereign and the common cause to renew to you the proposal which I made in my note of the 11th of July.

"As the matter is represented to me by my government as one of the greatest urgency, I propose to proceed to-morrow, at 4 P.M., to the English head-quarters, where I beg you to meet me in conference."

The despatch of Colonel Simmons, above referred to, received by Lord Clarendon on the 30th, was as follows:—

"The generals have signified to Omar Pasha that, in the absence of further information, they considered a conference would be premar-

ture, his highness having in the meantime received despatches from his government, wrote again, pointing out to the generals the urgency of the subject, and called for a conference, which took place yesterday at General Pelissier's head-quarters.

"By Omar Pasha's desire, I was present. The conference was attended by General Pelissier, General Simpson, Omar Pasha, General della Marmora, General Martimprey, Admirals Lyons, Bruat, and Stewart.

"Omar Pasha explained to the conference the information he had received from his government relative to the Russian forces in Asia.

"It appears that their total force of regular troops is 80,000 men, of whom a large portion are cavalry.

"They have advanced from Gumri upon Kars with a force exceeding 48,000 men, of whom 10,000 are cavalry, the remainder having taken the route by Bayazid and Toprak Kaleh, which, leaving Kars on their right, will lead them direct upon Erzerum.

"The Turkish forces to oppose this forward movement of the Russians are posted as follows:—

	Infantry.	Cavalry.	Guns.
In Kars .....	17,000	800	72
Ardahan .....	—	800	—
Toprak Kaleh ....	5,750	—	—
Erzerum .....	1,850	—	24
Total ....	24,600	1,600	96

"The cavalry having been driven in from Ardahan is all united with Kars, and the troops from Toprak Kaleh will probably have fallen back upon Erzerum, bringing up its garrison to 7600, a force totally inadequate for its defence, especially when its position and extent are considered.

"It will be quite competent to the Russians, therefore, to observe Kars, and with their superior cavalry prevent provisions from being taken into it, and, waiting its surrender from want of provisions, to move upon Erzerum.

"Omar Pasha considers this position of affairs of the utmost importance.

"His highness is of opinion that no time is to be lost in preparing a movement which shall check the progress of the Russians in Asia.

"For the reasons assigned in a letter, dated the 12th inst., which, by his desire, I addressed to Sir Edmund Lyons and General Simpson, his highness considers that his army is the only one, and he is the only Turkish general, who can successfully oppose the Russians in Asia. At the same time, as he stated at the conference, if a decisive operation were in contemplation, for the execution of which the presence of his army was necessary, and which would have for its object the capture of

Sebastopol, he should consider himself to remain, as, Sebastopol taken, the aff Asia become of comparatively trifling importance. If, on the contrary, no plan will lead to a decisive result has been decided, and the fate of Sebastopol should not be decided this summer, the position of the Russian Asia becomes of the last importance, and eventually decide the fate of Sebastopol.

"These being the opinions of his highness he impressed upon the conference the necessity of the move he had proposed.

"The generals, however, and admirals having received no information from their respective ambassadors at Constantinople should lead them to believe that the Russian of Asia were in that precarious state, which Omar Pasha, from the information he had received from his government, believed them to be, decided that, in the absence of such information, they could give no opinion upon the subject.

"His highness, under these circumstances, informed the conference that his government having called upon him in such urgent terms to propose and carry, if possible, into effect some project for saving them and the country from the great danger with which it is menaced, he felt it his duty to proceed to Constantinople for a few days to confer with his government upon the subject.

"He accordingly proceeds to-morrow on his majesty's ship *Valorous*, which Sir Edmund Lyons, at his request, kindly placed at his disposal.

"I have to report that it is my intention to accompany him, as my presence may probably be of use in communicating with his majesty's ambassador."

It will appear from the above correspondence that, although the affairs of Kars had been discussed weeks under the most serious discussion at Constantinople, and measures of relief discussed there, and voluminous correspondence passed on between Constantinople and the English cabinet, the commanders in the Crimea knew absolutely nothing about it, General Williams being all the while ostensibly under the direction of the English commander-in-chief. It is probable that the allied generals had enough to do with the defence of Sebastopol, without being engaged for the succour of Kars; but they ought at least to have been informed of what was going on, if only in reference to any emergency arising which such information might require. Nor can it be believed that they knew anything of General Williams' condition as they did not think it politic to assume; for General Simpson was in his possession the despatch of the commissioner of the 23rd of June. In the vessel which was placed at Omar's disposal

ment, a French officer was sent to engage the French ambassador there to thwart his

This French officer was on General Omar's staff, and pretended he was sick, in order to conceal from Omar the real object for which he went. Omar set aside all claims for the command of the expeditionary force and was authorised by his government to undertake the enterprise as soon as the vessel could be found for its organisation. General Simpson sent home a despatch by the vessel which carried Omar to Constantinople, which showed the determined repugnance of the chief officers of the allied armies to the plans of the Turkish generalissimo. The despatch is dated the 16th of July.

I have the honour to lay before your majesty copies of a correspondence that has taken place between Omar Pasha, General Pelissier, and myself, relative to a proposal by the former to withdraw a certain number of his troops from the Crimea, and to transport them into Asia.

A conference which was assembled at the British head-quarters on Saturday, the 14th, at the request of Omar Pasha, and at which were present General Pelissier, General della Marmora, Admiral Sir E. Lyons, Vice-admiral Bruat, Admiral Stewart, and myself were present, and I then set forth his reasons and views on the subject in question; he also produced a very long sheet of paper, which contained, as he affirmed, the instructions of his government; but, when I asked for a translation of which, he said it would take a fortnight to make one. The arguments used by Omar Pasha were set forth in the correspondence, and failed to produce any effect on the minds of the other members of the conference, who all, without exception, entertain the strongest objection to the withdrawal of any troops from the Crimea at the present moment.

As Omar Pasha having failed in leading us to his own views, then announced his intention of proceeding to Constantinople to consult the Turkish government, and he starts this day at the head of her majesty's ship *Valorous*, by which he is accompanied. Lieutenant-colonel Suleau, attached to the French staff, in succession to the late Lieutenant-colonel Vico, proceeds with this letter, and is authorised for the purpose of restoring his views to the Turkish government. General Pelissier has also charged me with a mission to the French minister on the subject.

I earnestly, therefore, beg your excellency to use your powerful influence with the Porte to bring your opinion to prevail over that of his majesty; for great public interests are at stake, and serious consequences might result from a failure.

On the 19th of July Lord Stratford wrote to the Earl of Clarendon, giving a decided opinion against the enterprise of Omar Pasha. It is unnecessary to print the whole despatch, as it is but a recapitulation of the despatch of General Simpson; the following passages, however, throw some light upon the real or supposed motive of the Turkish chief:—

"This impulsive resolution is by no means in keeping with the decided opposition offered by Omar Pasha to the late seraskier's requisition for detaching 5000 of his men from the Crimea. His highness may account for the change of view by referring to the pressure at Kars, and to the suspension of active operations near Sebastopol. But the generals, his colleagues, deprecate the latter ground of justification, and means might apparently be employed for the rescue of Kars without deranging the calculations of the allied armies in the Crimea.

"Omar Pasha also thinks that possessing, as he does, the confidence of the Turks, and being well known in Asia, where he has made several campaigns, he is more likely to gain the sympathies and assistance of the inhabitants in provisioning, in gaining information, &c., than strangers who do not know the language or country."

Lord Stratford assured the English minister that Omar was not likely to receive any support from the Turkish government for his plans. The astute pasha knew the Porte better than the English diplomatist, and swayed it at his pleasure. On the 23rd of July, his lordship informed Lord Clarendon:—

"Omar Pasha is still here. He has been most graciously received, and also most generously rewarded by the sultan, who has conferred a considerable grant of land upon him. I need not add that he is on excellent terms with his majesty's ministers, and particularly with the seraskier pasha. His highness, accompanied by the last-mentioned minister, called upon me yesterday. He is expected to leave, on his return to the Crimea, in four or five days.

"With respect to the dangers which threaten Turkey from the side of Kars, he proposes to add 25,000 men to the 10,000 or 12,000 at Batoum, to place himself at their head, and to make an incursion towards Georgia, starting from Redout Kaleh, and turning Kutais to good account.

"This idea was debated last night in a council at the grand vizier's, and the result of the deliberations, as communicated to the embassy through M. Pisani, was, that the troops to be employed in the above-mentioned

manner under the command of Omar should be taken from Eupatoria to the amount of 20,000, and from Bulgaria to the amount of 5000, and that the contingent, with its numbers completed, should occupy the vacant space at Eupatoria. By way of alternative, it is proposed that if the above-mentioned plan be deemed objectionable, it might be so far modified as to take only 10,000 men from the Crimea, and 15,000 from Bulgaria, including those destined to form part of the contingent."

The last two despatches of Lord Stratford arrived on the same day with General Simpson's, and Lord Clarendon at once communicated with the French government through Lord Cowley, the English ambassador at Paris. The English government entirely coincided with the views of Omar Pasha, much to the chagrin and amazement of the Crimean commanders and Lord Stratford. Lord Clarendon urged upon the French government, through Lord Cowley, the feasibility of the British-Turkish contingent replacing effectively the troops proposed to be withdrawn by Omar from Eupatoria and before Sebastopol. Other suggestions were made by Lord Clarendon, calculated to assure the French government as to the efficient occupation of the rear of the allied armies at Sebastopol. The French emperor, still obviously thinking only of Sebastopol, signified his assent, provided the number of Turkish troops there were not diminished.

Before Lord Stratford received the telegraphic announcement that the Western governments had decided to support the views of Omar Pasha, the ambassador wrote the following important letter, dissuasive of the favourite idea of the English government, of operating by way of Trebizond. This despatch was dated July 30th:—

"The unfavourable judgment passed by her majesty's government upon the plans which have been lately under discussion is not adopted by the Porte, or, indeed, by any official or personal authority here. The seraskier, Omar Pasha, General Guyon, our own officers, as far as I have the means of knowing, agree with the Porte and the French embassy in preferring a diversion on the side of Redout Kaleh, as affording better chances of success, supposing, of course, that the necessary means of transport, supply, and other indispensable wants can be sufficiently provided. France is, at the same time, decidedly adverse to any diminution of force in the Crimea; and Omar Pasha, ready to place himself at the head of the Asiatic expedition, requires for that purpose a part of the troops now there."

This arrived in London on the 8th of August,

and a telegraphic despatch was sent in as follows:—

"General Vivian's contingent to go immediately to Eupatoria.

"The Turkish troops there, 10,000, to go with Omar Pasha to Kaleh.

"The Turkish troops at Balaklava and Kertch not to be diminished in number.

"The Turkish force to go to Redout under Omar Pasha, to be completed to the proper number by troops from Bulgaria or elsewhere, not from the Crimea."

The force proposed in the British despatch, influenced by the French government, and in no degree to diminish the Turkish force before Sebastopol, differed as to its composition from Omar Pasha's army; hence new conditions and new delays. The result was a long-drawn-up plan, in which he set forth his views in such a manner as he thought most likely to gain the assent of all parties. It is a masterpiece of production, and had great weight with the English government, and even with the French ambassador to the Porte.

"All the misfortunes which have befallen the army in Asia are to be attributed to its composition, and to the fact that it was not invested with full powers. An army in a similar condition must necessarily become demoralised. To renew the morale of an army in such a condition, the only remedy to be found in energetic measures under the influence of an adequate force. For this reason Omar Pasha considers it necessary to make the following observations relative to the plan arrived by telegraph from the cabinet of London:—

"1. The troops now at Eupatoria are composed of different materials, Turks and Christians, and are deficient in the means of transport. In case the means of transport should be taken from the Ottoman troops before Sebastopol, these troops will be reduced to a similar condition. It is evident, therefore, that the troops from Eupatoria are not fit for taking the field and of manoeuvring.

"2. The troops at Eupatoria have in that place provisions for four months for men and horses, 60,000 chekis of fire, and a large quantity of reserve ammunition and baggage. The Turkish fleet will not be able for the transport of these stores, and even if allied fleets lend their aid, there will be a great loss of time, as well as of provisions, in bringing them. Moreover, at the camp before Sebastopol, the Turks have no ports or magazines, no storehouses for provisions, or magazines for ammunition; they have no hospitals,

the Egyptians should be taken to the before Sebastopol, in order to allow the being taken thence to Asia, being without, the Egyptians, without being utilised in the war, would, before the spring, perish.

If the Egyptians were to go to Asia, as it is necessary to keep the field during the commencement of the winter, coming, as they are in a hot climate, and being without the means of transport, they could not perform the necessary manœuvres; and the army being composed of different materials, there would be little chance of success in the great and important operation to be undertaken.

By the execution of this project the power of the Ottoman, as well as of the English, will be destroyed; and it is to be feared that much of the energy, if not the assistance, of an army in warfare depends on its unity.

From the above observations it is evident that any general who would undertake the proposed operation under the proposed conditions, would not only lose his reputation, but would place the alliance in great difficulty.

The pasha has the sacred desire of being faithful to the alliance, as also of maintaining military honour, and as, if he accepted the conditions, by temporarily relieving the cabinets of their responsibility and taking on himself, he would bring a greater responsibility upon the same cabinets at a later date and cause them greater embarrassments, it is necessary to make the following proposal, the execution of which will not entangle any operations already undertaken.

It is proposed that the troops at Eupatoria remain where they are, thus avoiding the difficulties above indicated, and that the Ottoman contingent should occupy Balaclava and Kertch.

At both places the troops of the contingent will be within fortified lines, and will be separated from other influences, and being from the same army, they will no doubt render as good service in those positions as the troops now occupy them.

It is proposed that the contingent shall be supplied by the troops now at Kertch, and any deficiency in numbers after these troops have joined them shall be made up from troops now before Sebastopol.

It is proposed that the troops for the expeditionary force for Asia shall be taken from the army and from before Sebastopol.

In these operations all difficulties will be avoided, and the unity of both the British and Ottoman armies will be maintained.

The pasha observes that, as every general is bound to consider beforehand the

most difficult circumstances in which he may be placed by the events of war, and to provide as far as possible against misfortune, he supposes the case that the army of Kars is destroyed before his arrival in Asia, and that the Russians had advanced beyond that place, and states that in such a case, being with an army composed of different materials, in which he could not place entire confidence, he would find himself with his army in similar difficulties to those in which the army of Asia is now placed, and would thus not only cause great danger to the Turks, but also to the whole alliance.

"The pasha further observes, that every general to whom an operation is confided, ought to consent to the operation and its mode of execution, in order that he may be held responsible for its conduct; and adds, that if the conditions he proposes are accepted, and full powers given to him for their execution, then, trusting to the goodness of God, he will take the entire responsibility of the operation upon himself."

When the telegraphic despatch of the British government reached Constantinople, Lord Stratford sent a telegraphic message in return:—

"Fully convinced that any attempt to operate by the way of Trebizond would prove abortive, besides the want of time, and difficulties occasioned by the badness of the road, his highness argues that on no military calculation could he reckon upon being able to meet on equal terms the Russian army now engaged in besieging Kars, and advancing on Erzerum."

An elaborate despatch from the ambassador discussed the various sources from which troops could be drawn, and expressed the sanguine hope of the general that if adequately supplied with means, such as he demanded, he would accomplish the undertaking.

Notwithstanding the opinions entertained in London, Paris, and Constantinople, the commanders-in-chief of the British and French armies before Sebastopol discouraged and opposed the expedition in every possible way. Lord Stratford, as was recorded in our relation of events before Sebastopol, visited the Crimea, and mediated between the adverse views taken of the Asiatic expedition. The near approach of the final bombardment and contemplated assault made the allied chiefs the more earnest in opposing all extraneous efforts until the great coming event should be decided. There existed many grounds for viewing this reluctance to part with troops as reasonable; but when other troops, chiefly officered by British, were ready to take the place of those withdrawn, there appears on the whole to have been a narrow conception of all the demands existing in connection with the gene-

ral struggle. A new correspondence, opened by Lord Stratford from the Crimea, had to be submitted to the French emperor, whose decree was as dubious as the responses of the heathen oracles. Upon the arrival in the Crimea of the decision of the English government and the half permission of the French emperor, General Simpson protested against it, abiding resolutely by his previous judgment.

Thus time was consumed in useless contest, until the season was too far advanced to allow much hope of any useful issue to the enterprise. The views of Omar Pasha, as to this delay, were thus expressed by Colonel Simmons on his behalf:—

“The pasha doubts if the expedition will now be in time to save the garrison of Kars; but if not, it will at any rate prevent the enemy from establishing himself in the government of Erzerum, and there organising measures for a further advance into the interior in the next campaign.

“His reasons for preferring Kutais as a base instead of Trebizond, as recommended by her majesty’s government, are shortly as follows:—

“If he should move from Trebizond upon Erzerum, the movement would be of long duration and difficult, from the distance to be traversed and the mountainous nature of the country, which is only traversed by mule-roads, rendering the passage of artillery a work of great labour and of slow process.

“In this case, if the army of Asia should have been beaten before his arrival, and the garrison of Kars either captured or disbanded, he would find himself inferior in force to the enemy, and therefore unable, his army being fatigued and diminished by a long and difficult march, to reconquer the lost ground; whereas, by moving upon Kutais, the enemy, whose principal force is in the neighbourhood of Kars, would be constrained to retire a large portion of that force, not having other troops available in front of Tiflis, to cover that town and his communication with it.

“If the pasha could, by a rapid movement in sufficient force, gain Kutais, and seize the Souron Pass, which is the key of the Tiflis Road, he considers he would there be in a position, according to circumstances, to act against Tiflis, or unite his force by Ahkiska with the army of Kars, if that place should not in the mean time have fallen.

“These are the pasha’s reasons for preferring a movement from Redout Kaleh instead of from Trebizond. They are based upon the best information in his possession, from which it would appear that the total of the Russian regular forces amounts to 80,000, of which 35,000 men are before Kars, or towards Erze-

rum, the remainder being distributed throughout Georgia and Mingrelia, with but a force of about 15,000 men between Tiflis and Redout Kaleh.

“It is evident, from this distribution of army, that the Russian general has considered that the allies could not have sufficient disposable force to threaten his rear from the direction of Redout Kaleh.”

This was written on the 16th of August, yet at the close of that month the general was still at Constantinople. This was from fault of his, but from the delays and obstacles thrown in his way by the coldness of the French government, and the ambassador at Constantinople, and the vigorous opposition of the commanders of the allied armies in the Crimea. At the close of August, transports were ordered to Varna, to take in troops for the Turkish government; but the obstacles raised at every turn by the Crimean general created delay.

On the 11th of September Consul I. having had an interview with one Saleh I. *meralai* of cavalry, who arrived from Kars by route to Constantinople, wrote to Lord Clarendon, conveying different views from which he had previously urged on the minister, and doubting the possibility of success of Omar’s expedition, on the ground that the route was unhealthy and intricate, intersected by rivers, and intercepted by woods and marshes; and averring that unless help was sent by Trebizond and Erzerum, Kars would be lost. It was noticed by the British ambassador at Constantinople that the proceedings of Omar were slow, which the ambassador attributed to deficiency of transport, *all the vessels of large amount of tonnage in the port lay idle on the waters of Balaklava*. Preparations went on, and were continued through the early part of September up to the time of the storming of Southern Sebastopol, previous to which not a Turkish soldier was permitted to depart from before Sebastopol. Pelissier was omnipotent on this question, and overbore the mind of General Simpson, who was himself, as has been already shown, hostile to the withdrawal of Turkish soldiers from Sebastopol; but after the English general thought the Turkish troops might be withdrawn, Southern Sebastopol having fallen, Pelissier offered an obstinate opposition.

At this point of preparation we must leave Omar Pasha mustering his forces, and gathering his men at Varna, Eupatoria, and Sebastopol. The remaining story of Kars, and the expedition of the Turkish general, must be reserved until other events are related, especially that which left the troops of Omar at liberty to depart—the fall of Sebastopol.

## CHAPTER C.

## FINAL BOMBARDMENT AND STORMING OF SOUTHERN SEBASTOPOL.

"Once more unto the breach, dear friends, once more,  
Or close the walls up with our English dead."—SHAKSPEARE. *Henry V.*

The first days of September were days of anxiety and suspense before Sebastopol. A general uneasiness filled the minds of the commanders of the allied armies; all were impressed with the idea that the great event of the war was about to open upon them, and that the siege must fall or the siege be raised. There was a very general expectation of another attack from the Russian army in the field. The French sap pushed to the Malakoff, and also to several other points of defence, that it was obvious the Russians perceived that an assault was imminent; and therefore supposed that one great and concerted effort would be made to relieve the place by attacking the extreme right of the allies. As was hoped that this would happen; the defeat experienced on the 16th of August, from the French and Sardinians, had not convinced the Muscovites the impossibility of regaining the Bridge of Traktar, or any other point of the lines upon the Tchernaya.

The determination of the allied chiefs to attempt the final bombardment, preliminary to a general assault, was quickened by the fact that the Malakoff the enemy had begun to construct new works. There was a strong inclination to Pelissier to defer the undertaking until the arrival of 200 powerful troops from France, which he expected; but, considering all circumstances, the chiefs of both sides considered that the time had come to try the fortune of another bombardment and attack. The final arrangements for carrying out the objects into execution were made without any prolonged consultations. The bombardment was to open on the 5th of September, and was sustained for three days, when the allies were to storm the Malakoff, the Little Redan, and the Curtain by which these works were connected, and also other works on the right of the French lines; the assault of the Malakoff was to be confined to the Great Redan. The hour proper for the assault required consideration and discussion, after which it was fixed for noon. The reasons for selecting this hour were that it was one less likely to be selected for such a purpose than any other; that, at all events, would be supposed to be the hour of the day when the firing would be slackened, the guards were changed, the defences, and the men coming on duty would be less cognizant of the symptoms of an approaching assault than those whom they regarded; it was supposed from these, and other

circumstances likely to be taken into consideration by an observant general, that the hour would more favour a surprise by the allies than any other.

According to the programme, the French were simultaneously to assault the Little Redan, the Curtain, the Malakoff, and the works on the left attack; but the English were not to attempt the Great Redan until the French flag should be seen floating above the Malakoff. The reason of this was that the Malakoff commanded the great Redan, which could not, therefore, be held so long as the former remained unconquered.

It is not necessary to enter minutely into a description of the position and strength of the respective works, and the general appearance of the place and of the opposing lines on the eve of the bombardment, as the progress of the offensive and defensive operations has been noticed as the narrative of the siege proceeded. The besieged continued to strengthen every point up to the day of the bombardment with the same skill, energy, industry, and courage which they had shown throughout the unparalleled contest. The besiegers continued to press on their attacks until such formidable difficulties were presented to their further progress as to render an assault expedient.

There existed great facilities on the part of the French for pushing up their sap to the Malakoff. Colonel Hamley describes the ground as not rocky, but "cheese-like," yielding to the sappers' tools; and it was so pliable that they were able, with comparatively little trouble, to give it the form requisite. The Baron de Bazancourt, on the contrary, represents it as solid rock of so hard a formation that nothing but the most extraordinary labour, perseverance, skill, and fortitude could have subdued the impediments presented. There was perhaps more difficulty to be overcome by the French sappers than Colonel Hamley would lead his readers to believe; but Bazancourt never loses an opportunity of magnifying his nation—the *suppressio veri* and the *suggestio falsi* are not always avoided by him, nor does he often resist the temptation to be invidious. The ground before the Great Redan was just such as the Baron de Bazancourt describes that to be which the French sapped before the Malakoff: from its stern, rocky character, all attempts on the part of the English to push up the sap were rendered abortive, and they were never able to approach nearer than 150

yards, which was the distance of the most advanced trench, an unfinished one.

The works on the right of the French, upon which they principally delivered the bombardment and assault, may be thus described without encumbering the description with technical terms. Between the ravine of the Karabelnaia and the ravine of Careening Bay the Malakoff was the chief defence. This was sometimes called by the French, and always by the Russians, the *Korniloff Bastion*. This work at the time of the assault was in the form of an irregular redoubt, and was inclosed—a very small opening only existing in the rear. From the right of this bulwark there was a line of work called the *Gervois Battery*, which extended to the Karabelnaia Ravine. On the left of the Great Bastion, and 500 yards from it, nearer to Careening Bay, was an eminence less elevated, upon which was an irregular work, called by the Russians *Bastion No. 2*, but by the allies termed the *Little Redan*. Between these two works ran a line of defence called the *Curtain*. From the lesser eminence, or Little Redan, there ran a rampart to the great harbour; and where the junction of the latter with Careening Bay takes place, there was a work called *Bastion No. 1*. A battery, forming part of the works of this bastion, swept by its fire the approaches to the Little Redan. After the French became masters of the Mamelon, the first parallel which they laid down extended from the ravine of the Karabelnaia to that of Careening Bay. The next parallel was laid 100 yards in advance; this began at the Careening Bay ravine, but did not, like the first made, extend across to the ravine of the Karabelnaia, but terminated, when extended, towards the left, sufficiently far to comprise the Malakoff in its attack. From this point two zigzags were worked—one towards the Malakoff, the other towards the right face of the Little Redan. The first of these reached within fifteen yards of the ditch of the Malakoff; the second reached within twice that distance of the Little Redan. The rocky nature of the ground rendered it very difficult to work nearer in that direction.

Such was the relative position of the attack and defence when it was resolved to recommence the bombardment preliminary to the final assault. Private letters describe the feeling of responsibility and suspense felt by the chiefs of the allied armies, by the officers generally, and even by the soldiery, as overwhelming. It was the general opinion that the raising of the siege in case of failure would have been impossible. It was alleged that the allies could not operate in the interior of the Crimea, with either Balaklava or Eupatoria as their base of operation, and leave an army in their rear occupying a fortress so enormously

strong, and which the army so attempted to operate in vain essayed to conquer. It would have been necessary, in the opinion of those who thus argued, to send a new army of 100,000 men, to be itself reinforced gradually by as many more, if the strong position of the Russians on the Belbek were to be forced. An attempt made to drive the enemy out of Crimea (excepting the garrison of Sebastopol) upon Perekop. To retire by sea was nearly impossible. The British embarkation at Corunna was not nearly so difficult an enterprise as the embarkation of the allies from Sebastopol would have been. It is unknown by experience how far in such operations the power of steam might alter the ordinary calculations of peril, but we are safe in saying that no military operation offering formidable difficulties was ever successfully performed.

Early on the morning of the 5th, the French repulsed a sortie made by a few companies of Russian light infantry, in the hope of effecting a surprise. The British outposts were driven back, fighting, upon the Woronzoff Road, the *chevaux-de-frise* thrown across that communication to some extent; the British supplies were, however, sufficient (as the advanced posts fell back) not only to repel the Russians but to inflict some loss.

The bombardment of the Malakoff and Little Redan recommenced the same morning, under circumstances truly terrible—for so were the batteries, as has been already shown, that a fearful sacrifice of life, by the shattering of works, and violent dispersion of splinters of wood, stone, and guns, ensued. A severe battle at the same time was waged by the Russian ships in Careening Bay, and the batteries erected on the north side for defence, against the new French batteries and enormous guns and mortars erected for the purpose of drawing off the fire of the Russian ships from the front of the Malakoff, while the French storming-parties suffered so severely by the flank fire of these ships on the 18th of June. It was a contest of horrible slaughter, and the grand conflict of the siege. The attention of the allied commanders had been directed to bombard for six days before storming, so that the fire of the Russian artillery might be silenced, as well as that of the ships in Careening Bay, before the troops advanced to the assault; but circumstances determined that the cannonade should be continued only from the 5th to the 8th: perhaps this in some measure arose from the state of the ammunition. Some writers allege that the allies were so short of ammunition as to have made the attack hazardous. In a work entitled *Letters from Head-quarters, by an Officer of the Staff*, the English are represented as having am-

for ten days' quick firing, while the English had only sufficient for five days' slow

number of guns with which the allies commenced the bombardment was 803. On the French attack there were 332 pieces; on the English Inkerman attack, 267 pieces: making a total in the two separate French attacks of 599 pieces of ordnance.

The English had 204 pieces, which were classified:—

MORTARS.	
8 inch.....	34
7 inch.....	27
6 inch.....	10
5 inch.....	20
Total mortars.....	91
GUNS.	
110 pounder.....	2
80 pounders.....	6
68 pounders.....	61
32 inch.....	7
24 inch.....	37
Total guns, as distinguished from mortars.....	113

was arranged that the French on their attack were to fire with the utmost rapidity, the English and French on the Inkerman attack were to fire slowly on the 5th, 6th, and 7th, and to open on the 8th with the whole force and rapidity.

On the morning of the 5th, at dawn, the bombardment began upon the French left under the direction of General Lebœuf. It immediately afterwards the British batteries opened, and then the French right joined in the roar of the cannonade. It was as if the myths of antiquity had become realities, and the gods warred and hurled the lightnings and thunders of heaven as the engines of their vengeance. For almost two hours and a half the French fired at an extraordinarily rapid rate, then paused, to allow the guns to cool. The Russians took advantage of this temporary cessation, and set about repairing the works, while they directed a new and concentrated fire upon the British Naval Battery.

At ten o'clock the French resumed fire, maintained it as before until noon, when there was another pause, and the French fire slackened until five o'clock, when it once more recommenced with terrible fury until night. The French fired with regularity and regular aim all day. The enemy seemed assailed by the dreadful attack directed against him and responded in a manner in no degree proportionate. It was generally supposed that the Russian garrison was adopting the course taken by it in the bombardment preceding the assault of the 16th of June—that of keeping their artillerymen under cover, and reserving fire until the moment of the assault. During the first

day's bombardment the enemy pushed out a considerable force, estimated at 15,000 men, against the right of the lines upon the Tchernaya; they skirmished with the Sardinians above Tchorgoum, and succeeded in driving in their outposts, but made no solid attempt upon their position. The object of this feint was obviously to deter the allies from strengthening the forces intended for the assault by drawing troops from their rear.

About five o'clock a frigate near the second line on the north side was seen to smoke, and as soon as night fell it burst forth into flame. The sight of the burning ship, under such peculiar circumstances, was one of surpassing grandeur; by eight o'clock she was wrapt in flame from stem to stern; her decks fell in at ten, and before the ever-memorable 5th of September had numbered its last minutes, the fine frigate was utterly consumed. The delight of the troops at this catastrophe was expressed with shouts of joy, so great had been the annoyance which the besiegers had experienced from the enemy's ships, and so magnificent was the scene itself. During the conflagration both sides of Sebastopol were visible, every battery and object of interest standing out clearly in the brilliant light cast over the city and harbour. From nightfall of the 5th, until daylight on the 6th, the allies sent showers of shells into every work of the defence, especially into the Great Redan and the Malakoff, so that it was impossible that the enemy could repair the damage inflicted through the day by the heavy cannonade. Thus ended twenty-four hours of the heaviest bombardment ever previously known in the history of sieges.

At half-past five on the morning of the 6th the cannonade opened at once from all the line, with a crash so terrible that it seemed as if the pent-up thunders of ages had been poured down upon that devoted spot. The earth shook beneath the concussion; and those who were within the ill-fated city afterwards represented the roar of this cannonade as perfectly appalling, while the shower of missiles which fell seemed sufficient to overwhelm the whole city.

As on the previous day, there were intervals during which the fire slackened; at these periods the movements within the city could be observed, and distress and alarm seemed to pervade the garrison. The passage of troops during the afternoon over the great bridge, recently thrown across the harbour, was hurried and irregular. Men were engaged in great numbers throwing up works on the north side, and preparing for desperate defence there, as the last resource.

Tartar spies brought intelligence to General Simpson that the enemy meditated a grand attack upon the lines of the Tchernaya as the

only hope of averting an assault. There is reason to believe that this intelligence was correct; but the "infernal fire" (as the Russians called it) of the allies so engaged the garrison, and rendered preparation against an immediate assault so constantly necessary, that no action against the right and rear of the allies could be attempted.

When the sun set, the shells, rockets, and other fiery missives from the besieging lines, sped like flights of meteors over the enemy's works, and searched the recesses of the city. Throughout the night of the 5th a fire of musketry had been directed against the faces of the works to be assailed; but on that of the 6th, this was more sustained and heavy. During the 6th the enemy made a comparatively feeble resistance. On the early morning of the 7th the bombardment gave place to a cannonade, which was as terrible as if opening for the first time. The enemy opened a galling fire from their Inkerman batteries across the harbour upon the French right, sweeping the batteries of the latter, slaying many, and damaging the works. A strong wind blew the smoke from the town, accompanied by clouds of dust, into the faces of the besiegers, impeding their aim, and rendering it difficult for them to observe the effect of their shot.

At half-past three a fine two-decker in the harbour was set on fire, and continued to burn through the remainder of the day and all night, with a flame exceeding in intensity and volume that of the frigate. A fire also broke suddenly forth in the rear of the Great Redan. Late in the evening another broke out in the town over the Woronzoff Road, and another at the head of the Dockyard. The combined effect of all these conflagrations was terrible beyond description, associated as they were with the deafening roar of at least 1000 pieces of cannon, for so many were constantly engaged, notwithstanding that the number of the enemy's guns silenced was very great. When daylight died the cannonade was, as before, succeeded by a bombardment, with all its fierce concomitants. The Russians showed throughout the night a constant apprehension of assault, for they threw showers of vertical grape-shot; and notwithstanding the glare of the flames from the burning ship, and the fires in the city, they lighted up their works with fire-balls and carcasses. They repeatedly threw bouquets into the trenches of the French. Thus, until the morning of the 8th, shells and rockets fell in fiery deluge upon Sebastopol, and the roll of the musketry against the faces of the chief defences never ceased.

On the morning of the 8th the cannonade began with the day, and was delivered more rapidly and fiercely than before. Meanwhile preparations were made for the assault. On

the part of the English, detachments of cavalry were ordered up to prevent idlers from Balaklava, amateurs, officers, and soldiers, not gaged, from crowding up to particular points of observation, which would attract the attention of the enemy, and warn him that assault was at hand. It also prevented the chance of a spy creeping up from Balaklava from whence, by any expedient, intelligence might be communicated to the garrisons. At half-past eleven the Highland Brigade, under Brigadier-general Cameron, was posted as reserve of the English right attack. The Guards, who had served the previous night in the trenches, were ordered out again to act as reserve. The third division was also in reserve upon the left attack. The hazard of the assault was to fall upon the light and second divisions. This was an unskilful arrangement, for these were the divisions which had served most in the trenches, and had been through the hardest fought, consequently their ranks had been thinned of old soldiers, whose places were supplied by raw and undisciplined lads, and yet inured to danger, and who were, for the most part, physically inferior to the average quality of British recruits. Such of the men as were old soldiers had become so accustomed to cover in the trenches, that several English officers remarked upon the probability of the English looking for cover too eagerly, not from want of courage, but from the habit acquired in trench service.

The English, as before related, were to assault the Great Redan, and the storming column was to consist of 1000 men; it was to be preceded by 100 men of the Rifle Brigade, and 100 from the 3rd (Old Buffs), to pick off the gunners of the enemy, and 320 men carrying 40 scaling-ladders, each 24 feet long. The command was given to Lieutenant-general Sir William Codrington, assisted by Lieutenant-general Markham; Lieutenant-generals Lord Rokeby, Sir Colin Campbell, and Sir H. B. Pakenham, and Major-general Sir W. Eyre were with the supports and reserves, ready to act in any circumstances might require. Such was the arrangement for the English assault of the Great Redan, upon the salient angle of which the attack was to be made.

The British awaited the hour of trial with great confidence. The troops were in good health, and full of spirit. The army numbered, on the 1st of September, 48,024 rank and file, and 8986 horses; of this number the artillery comprised 6778 rank and file, including those who were with the fieldpieces as well as those who served in the batteries. The English assault was to be given when the French flag, floating above the Malakoff, should prove that the key of the fortifications was in the hands of our allies.

on after seven o'clock the English soldiers cautiously moved to the advanced trenches of the Redan, every man carrying two days' rations, as it was deemed possible that they might have to retain, under fire of the enemy some time, such positions as they might occupy. At half-past ten General Simpson took the second parallel, a position by no means advantageous for directing the intended operations, in case anything arose to require directions to Lieutenant-general Codrington. Sir Richard Airey accompanied Sir James Buller, and shortly afterwards General Jones, who was exceedingly ill, was borne thither on a stretcher; these three officers remained during the disastrous sequel, unable to prevent or to relieve it, helpless and useless. It was a great loss much to be regretted that General Jones's illness incapacitated him from putting forth his usual vigour; but he persisted in going out to be borne to head-quarters during the battle, notwithstanding his debility and suffering.

The French preparations were more extensive and complicated than those of the English. For the French left attack, where the 1st corps was operated, two points of assault were selected—the Central Bastion and the *Bastion de l'Est*, or Flag-staff Battery; General Levaillant was to attack the former, General d'Aurelle the latter, upon the right flank and rear. Brigadier-general Cialdini, of the Sardinian army, was to hold his brigade of that corps in reserve. The general in charge of the operations upon the whole of the front was De Salles, commander-in-chief of the first corps d'armée. The same signal was to be given for the assaulting columns on the left as for the English columns against the Redan.

For the French right, or Inkerman attack, there were three points of assault selected—the Malakoff, the Little Redan, and what, in military phraseology, is called the *Curtain*, which both those works were connected with. The Malakoff was the left of those objects of assault, and was to be assailed by the division M'Mahon, having in reserve the 2nd division of the guard, and Camou's brigade, which had distinguished itself in the battle of Tchernaya, and was to be brought up from the plateau above the river to the plateau. The Little Redan, of these three objects of assault, the Little Redan was to be assailed by the division supported by the Chasseurs of the Imperial Guard, and a brigade of the division M'Mahon, under the command of the general himself. The Curtain which connected these two works was to be assailed by the division La Motte Rouge. Each of these divisions was to be accompanied by 60 sappers of the *corps du génie*, 300 men with scaling-

ladders, and 50 artillerymen, to spike the guns or work them against the Russians, as the character of the success expected to be achieved might determine. These three columns of assault were to be under the command of General Bosquet, the commander-in-chief of the 2nd corps d'armée. The residue of the Imperial Guard was to be placed behind the Malakoff, to support M'Mahon's division, to which was intrusted the grand operation of the day.

Early in the morning, the gun-boats and mortar-vessels which had been stationed in Streletska Bay, opened fire upon the Quarantine. It appeared afterwards that this operation cost the Russians much loss of life. It had been intended to direct upon the sea-defences a heavy fire from the fleet, in order to effect a diversion, drawing off men from the batteries upon which the assault was made, but the day was so blustrous that the line-of-battle ships could not take up a position. The same cause prevented the captain of the Russian steamer *Vladimir* from attempting an exploit which he meditated—of breaking through the blockading line, and making his way to Odessa.

Before daylight on the day of assault, General Bosquet called his generals of division and brigade around him, made known to them his final orders, and said, "I have known you all for brave soldiers, and I have entire confidence in you. To-morrow the Malakoff and Sebastopol will be ours!"

At eight o'clock in the morning the miners sprung three mines before the Malakoff, charged with 3000 lb. of powder. The object of this was to destroy the subterranean galleries of the Russians. This gave great confidence to the storming column in front of that work, for deserters had reported that the Russians had wrought mines beneath the French approaches. At eight o'clock the imperial troops stood to their arms, and they heard the tidings of the approaching assault by an order of the day issued by General Bosquet. It was well suited to the temperament of French soldiers, and kindled the enthusiasm of those to whom it was directed:—

"Soldiers of the 2nd corps and of the reserve,—On the 7th of June you had the honour to strike the first blows aimed directly at the heart of the Russian army. On the 16th of August you inflicted, on the Tchernaya, the most shameful humiliation upon their relieving troops. To-day it is the final stroke—the mortal blow—that you are about to strike, with that strong hand so well known to the enemy, by robbing him of his line of defence at the Malakoff; while your comrades of the English army and of the 1st corps will

commence an assault upon the Great Redan and the Central Bastion. It is a general assault—army against army. It is an immense and memorable victory with which you are about to crown the young eagles of France. Forward, then, soldiers! The Malakoff and Sebastopol are ours! *Vive l'empereur!*"

At ten o'clock Bosquet repaired to the post which he had chosen from which to watch over the enterprise. This post was one most advantageous for his object, but most perilous for his person, as the fire of the enemy's batteries converged there. General Pelissier selected the Mamelon, Generals Niel, Thiry, and Martimprey, accompanied him. Prince Gortschakoff took post upon the Inkerman heights, and thence watched the movements in the allied intrenchments. He observed that officers and troops were in quiet and constant motion, and sent notice to the commanders of the various batteries; yet he was deceived as to its being the intention of the allies to make the assault that day. This deception was promoted by various circumstances. He knew that a large supply of powerful mortars was expected by Pelissier, and supposed that he would await the arrival of such effective auxiliaries. No reinforcements or supplies ever left France that the Russian agents at Brussels did not learn by their spies, and promptly forward the intelligence to St. Petersburg.

On the evening of the 7th the French broke fresh ground before the different attacks, which led Gortschakoff to suppose that they would not assault until they had pushed their approaches further.

During the whole morning of the 8th the cannonade was so directed as, by its irregularity, to mislead as to the real object of the allies. The hour selected was, of all others, from various causes already stated, the least likely to be selected. From all these reasons the Russian chief believed that the assault was not about to happen then. When the assault was made, the enemy was taken by surprise, especially at the Malakoff, and this was aided by the arrangement that no signals were to be given. The watches of all the generals of division and brigade were timed with that of the commander-in-chief previous to the moment for action, so that the minute-hands of their own watches might be said to give the signal for the three columns of the Inkerman attack; the English and the French left attacks, as explained before, were to be guided by the appearance of the tricolour above the ruined tower of the Malakoff.

As the clock approached twelve the excitement and suspense over all the armed lines of the allies were intense. The generals who commanded the three columns on the French

right, or Inkerman attack, held their watches in their hands, looking for the moment when the minute-hands should touch the hour noon. The officers of the various columns stood with their swords drawn, and the men with their bayonets fixed and pieces lowered ready to burst forth upon the enemy. A light before the moment was touched by the hands of the watches the batteries changed their aim, so as not to strike upon the spots destined for attack, but to smite the places of reserve beyond, and compel the supports to seek cover. The cannonade had smitten the embankments, parapets, batteries, the buildings of the town, and every temporary shelter which the Russians had raised to escape the "hell fire." Twelve o'clock arrived, the generals of the three French columns of the grand attack sprang upon the parapets, waving their plumed hats, shouting, "Soldiers! Forward! *Vive l'empereur!*" In an instant, like the gushing forth of a pent-up torrent, bursting its bounds, the columns rushed forward to the assault. It was an awful moment; not even the dread assaults of Badajos, Ciudad Rodrigo, or St. Sebastian, equalled the sanguinary prospect of that combined movement against the Malakoff, the Lesser Redan, and the Curtain that connected them. High above the clangour of the trumpets, and the sound of the drums beating to the charge, the excited cry of eager enthusiasm arose, and thrilled through the hearts of all.

The first brigade of the M'Mahon division had but twenty-five yards to traverse. Leaving the way, that intrepid and skilful officer threw his force upon the salient of the Malakoff, and upon the left face where it joined the Curtain. The Chasseurs and Zouaves rushed upon the Gervois Battery, and immediately captured it; but they were unable to hold it, as it was swept by the fire of the Great Redan; but small parties of good marksmen found cover, and rendered effectual service. The salient of the Malakoff was stormed instantly; only a few minutes, perhaps seconds elapsed, and the French troops were in the work. The embankments were precipitous, but they had been so ploughed with shot, and rent with shell, that they did not present an obstacle to the assailants. The French engineers were provided with ladders, which they threw across the ditch, and placed planks from one ladder to another, making bridges across the gap, over which the men went with rapidity, and easily clambered up the furrowed embankment on the opposite side. The celerity of the movement was never surpassed by any troops, and was conducted with the boldest temerity. Rushing in, with shout, the tricolour was planted upon the conquered bastion. The Russians were tal-

CAPTURE OF THE MALAKOFF TOWER.





tely by surprise. A large party of were at dinner in a bomb-proof er, who seem either to have been very ably situated for hearing, or to have rangely unmindful of the excited shouts French, for when the Zouaves penetrated the festal chamber, those officers threw hands in unaffected astonishment and despair. The reserves of the garrison assembled in the rear, as was customary daily at that hour. Some of the observing what had happened, sprang, calling on their men to follow; but ere bayoneted or captured by the Chasseurs bravely resisting to the last.

work was a closed one (as has already stated), so that the Russians could not reach it from the rear but in a thin line, against any ingress the French speedily the gorge, piling fascos and gabions, digging a trench across it. In digging the trench they came upon some intended as media to explode certain and, cutting them, intercepted the communication, and rendered an explosion of chambers impossible. The Russians endeavored to storm the gorge; but the Algerians posted there shot them down as they rushed forward in the attempt. Officers and a considerable body of men, however, secured themselves in some roof apartments, and fired through the eaves, bringing down a number of the efforts to force an entrance to the failed, and the thought struck on that he would smoke them out, or, after the manner in which Pelissier had, or caused the murder of the Arabs, who took shelter in certain inaccessible caves. Wood was piled against the and the men from within, perceiving the situation, surrendered. The French found it difficult to extinguish the fire until they dug for that purpose. In doing so, they found some more explosive wires, which they cut, and thus were again providentially from being blown up. The Russians endeavoured to re-capture the Malakoff for seven hours M'Mahon's intellid and valour were severely tested; but the struggle was sanguinary, the success of the captors was sure. M'Mahon was a man well suited to the enterprise, endowed with superior mental capacity, physical energy, and great daring. It was some satisfaction to the British in their misfortunes on that day that the captor of the Malakoff, after all, was not a Frenchman, but a general in the French service. Had it otherwise, no jealousy would have been in the heart of a single soldier in the camp; but, having failed at the Redan

in their own attack, as the French did on all their attacks except the Malakoff, it was some pride to the English that the only victor amidst the series of bloody struggles was an Irish officer in the service of their ally.

The division of La Motte Rouge left the centre of the sixth parallel, and precipitated itself upon the Curtain, between the Malakoff and the Little Redan. The works of the French sap had not been pushed up so close to the Curtain as to the bastion of the Malakoff, and the ground was uneven. The dash of the gallant brigades was similar in spirit and celerity to that of M'Mahon. In an incredibly short time they were in upon a battery of six guns which flanked the Malakoff. The gunners instantly spiked the guns, and the engineers set about securing the position, while the storming-party continued their progress to a line of defence beyond the battery. This line was well defended by cannon, and the assailants received their contents of grape-shot at the very muzzles. Numbers here fell; but company succeeded company until the parapets were scaled, and a terrific hand-to-hand encounter commenced. A large number of the Russian gunners were sabred or bayoneted upon their own guns. The batteries were conquered. As usual, the impetuous valour of the French, so conspicuous in moments of success, carried them away. Instead of resolutely and carefully securing the vanquished defences, and waiting for fresh men and fresh orders, they dashed forward under a fire of musketry, and the 11th light infantry, with a rashness characteristic of the nation, penetrated to the faubourg.

While all was triumph along the centre Curtain and the enemy's right of the Curtain, the division Dulac stormed the Little Redan, led by Brigadiers St. Pol and Besson. They were here met by musketry and grape, but pierced their way through the iron and leaden storm, entered the work, and won it.

There were two objects of attack then presented—"the House of the Cross" and "the point." Victory still resting on their eagles, the fiery little Frenchmen carried all before them. The enemy, however, surprised and confounded, was still strong in numbers, and energetic in wounded pride and in despair. The longer Sebastopol had been held, the more did it become a motto of pride to keep it. "Your children's children," said Prince Gortschakoff to his soldiers after they were beaten, "will be proud of the name of Sebastopol." The officers, frantic at the ignominious manner in which they had suffered their vigilance to relax, and the brief and inadequate combat in which the key of their defences was lost, made prodigious efforts to re-organise the men, who freely rallied on their supports. They accord-

ingly charged forward desperately, with the rage and strength of maniacs. Against the Malakoff, as already shown, they dashed themselves in vain; they fell back, broken and scattered, as the wave which the storm impels, but which the rock receives and disperses. The imprudence of the conquerors along the Curtain and in the Little Redan afforded the chance which was bravely made available of a successful assault from the rear. At one moment a furious cannonade opened from twenty fieldpieces, from the cemetery batteries, the batteries of the north bank, and the steamers. After this fire had scattered the slain all over the works, as the blossoms of the orchard stricken by the hailstorm, the Muscovite reserves, charging from the Ravines of Outchakoff and Oupatanoff, which ended near the military harbour, entered the rear, and swept out the decimated French as with a besom of destruction. Numbers of officers had fallen under the fire, leaving the newly-installed garrison of the works less competent to hold their ground. The French engineers had begun to close the gorge of the Little Redan, and were rapidly intrenching; but had not time to accomplish their plans when the living torrent surged over the work and the workmen, rolling the French before it into the ditches, where some obstinately clung in a vain and unequal struggle, while the rest ran back in the utmost confusion to their parallels. One regiment, the 49th of the line, is represented as having been seized with panic; they turned, and fled, and no efforts of their officers could induce them to renew the attack. The only authority to which we can trace this statement is that of a person who wrote under the name or pseudonyme of "a staff officer," and whose book so abounds in inaccuracy and in unfair and partial statements that little reliance can be placed upon it. It is often very invidious to the French.

The defeat of the French in the Little Redan left the batteries there at liberty to open a flanking fire upon the Curtain conquered by La Motte Rouge, who was in turn obliged to retire with some precipitation.

General Bosquet saw these reverses, and had provided for them. He had made an opening of about fifty yards in all the parapets, so that artillery could be wheeled through, and infantry advanced in formation. These open spaces were "blinded" by gabions, and men were ready to knock them down when the passage of the infantry and artillery was requisite. Through these gaps Bosquet hastened forward two field-batteries, which, galloping up close to the defences, opened with grape upon the enemy's gunners and a large body of infantry. The first salvoes knocked over numbers of the Muscovite gunners, and cut through

their infantry; but the fire to which these batteries were exposed was so heavy, rapid, and well-aimed, that the majority of both men and horses were killed in a very short time. Finally, the French were expelled from the Little Redan and the Curtain with heavy slaughter—4000 men had fallen in the formidable struggle.

While this was going on at the French right other events proceeded elsewhere. General Pelissier, seeing from the Mamelon that the force M'Mahon was safe in the Malakoff, hoisted the signal agreed upon in the redoubt where stood—the flag of France. It was promptly obeyed by the men of the left attack. General Levaillant led his division against the Central Bastion, moving forward at a run. Scarcely had this division left the trenches when a number of large guns poured from their yawning mouths a terrible *mitraille*. Upon this point the enemy expected an assault and was well prepared. The French were sent reeling back, a broken and bleeding remnant. Fresh troops were ordered up as soon as the assaulting division began to give way, but the latter fell back so precipitately, and in such disorder, upon the trenches, where the reserves were waiting to renew the assault that no immediate movement was made. The "staff officer," before referred to, affirms that the trenches became choked with men, many of them wounded, and a state of crowding and disorganisation ensued, so that the men could not be got out in proper formation. However that may be, Generals Rivet and Breton leaped from the parapet, calling upon the brave to follow. They had only time to repeat the heroic invitation, when they were shot down dead some yards in advance of the parapet. The French soldiery lost all their accustomed gallantry, and refused to leave the trenches the example of destruction they had witnessed during the advance of Levaillant's division and the instant death of the brave Generals Breton and Rivet, paralysed them. So many officers had fallen, that orders were not understood, or not obeyed, and, finally, no longer given, and a sort of *suave qui peut* prevailed a short time, until the guns of the attack opened upon those of the defences, asserting superior fire. General de Salles began preparations for a renewed assault, sending off word to the commander-in-chief of the failure already sustained. Pelissier wisely prohibited a fresh attempt, and sent orders also against renewing the assaults upon the Little Redan and the Curtain, alleging that with the possession of the Malakoff he could command the works and compel the enemy to abandon the work by his fire from that bastion.

During the afternoon, and during one of the intervals of the attempts of the Russians to

the Malakoff, a store of powder exploded that work, inflicting some damage upon and spreading alarm not only in its garrison but through the whole of the allied

us closed the various acts of the French its and victory. Never during the siege the French display more skill, but they displayed more valour. They expected three desperate defeats—one of these a one, that on the Central Bastion (left c); and for the first time during the war a French regiment seized with panic, or whole French division, numerous and appointed, refuse to meet the enemy. Victory gained was by a surprise. It was curatively easy to keep that conquest, ng its own guns against the expelled foe; s certainly retained only by skill and ity, but it was an Irishman, not a hman, as already remarked, by whom qualities were so opportunely displayed. ne episodes in the struggle had nearly attended with serious consequences. al Bosquet, who, as has been shown, ed a dangerous position, was surrounded ne Russian officers, prisoners, and some h officers and soldiers, in whose charge vere. While interrogating the prisoners, l burst close by them, killing or wounding o surrounded the general, whose life was saved by being thus encircled. Had fallen at that crisis of the engagement, ht have seriously put the ultimate victory il, as the direction of the right, or Mala- t-attack, depended upon him, as its chief ion depended upon M'Mahon.

er in the action, Bosquet was leaning he parapet, watching the progress of when another shell burst a few feet he parapet; a fragment grazed his face, rried off the shoulder-strap of Command- illaud, his first aide-de-camp; another nt struck the general himself on the side. He fell back, stunned by the y of the blow; he soon recovered con- ess, and, in some degree, power of and commanded silence on those around but, on renewing his surveillance of tle, his strength gave way, he was so y the blow. He had just power to eneral de Cussy to apprise Dulac that and of the second *corps d'armée* de- upon him, and to inform the comman- chief, when he sunk back, fainting, in s of his aides-de-camp, and was placed litter, and borne from the field. The soldiers were filled with grief, suppos- a mortally wounded, and every soldier ed his head while the litter was borne Fortunately, the strife was decided be- gallant general was borne away from

the post he had so bravely taken and so skillfully occupied.

While the French were forcing their fiery way against the assailed batteries, the English were as desperately and far more unequally engaged at the Great Redan.

When the French standard danced in joy to the breeze which blew so roughly around the Malakoff, Pelissier hoisted the flag over the Mamelon, not only as a signal to his own left attack for the storming of the Central Bastion, but as the signal agreed upon between himself and Sir James Simpson for the storming of the Great Redan. This was a work far more formidable than any other in the lines of the Russian defence. The Malakoff was more important to the defence, and its capture more important to the assailants; but the difficulty of storming it under the circumstances in which the French attack stood in relation to it was far less than that of carrying the Redan under the conditions of the English attack to the latter. Admiral Sir Houston Stewart, in a letter to Lady Houston Stewart, put the comparison in this form after the defeat of our assault:—"Those who have seen the Malakoff and the Redan know well that no comparison as to the difficulty of assault exists between them. In the one case deep trenches were cut in yielding soil to within twenty-five paces of the ditch, having the Mamelon in the rear, keeping up an incessant hail of shot and shells up to the very instant appointed for the assault, and capable of containing any amount of troops in reserve, as well as a capacious *place d'armes* at the termination of the sap; in the other case, that of the Redan, was a hard rocky soil, impossible to penetrate much beyond three feet in depth, and the termination of the trench at a distance of 280 paces from the parapet. No possibility of forming any *place d'armes*, and the whole advance open to a murderous fire from batteries on both flanks of the Redan. The Redan itself, too, was perfectly open to its own rear, where 1000 men could march abreast to its defence; whereas the Malakoff, being closely fortified to its rear, was peculiarly capable of being held when once entered. And it was nobly entered, and nobly held, by our French allies, who, confident in themselves, resolutely declined to allow any portion of the British or Sardinian troops to join in its attack, although it was repeatedly urged upon them, knowing, as every one did, that the Malakoff was the key of Sebastopol, and that, if the attack on it failed, the remaining points of attack, even if successful, could not be held for one hour. Oh! let us not blame our soldiers for not holding the Redan; they gave 'material guarantees' at Alma, at Inkerman, and at Balaklava that no troops in the world can surpass them in courage and conduct, and in that brave and truly

British quality which our friends call '*solidité*,' and we know by the homely name of 'pluck.'"

When Sir James Simpson saw the signal of M<sup>r</sup> Mahon and Pelissier, he ordered four rockets to be thrown up from Chapman's Battery, one after another, and the assault commenced. The Rifles advanced under Captain Hammond, who soon met a soldier's death; the Buffs, under Captain John Lewis, who proved himself as gallant, and found himself more fortunate. The scaling-ladder party, of 320 men, were selected half from the Buffs, under the gallant Captain Maude, and half from the 97th, under Major Welsford, who bravely did his duty, and fell in its performance. These men were collected, early in the morning of the 8th, in the most advanced trench, the whole under the command of Major Welsford. The engineer officer was Lieutenant Ranks, to whom General Jones gave such directions as he deemed necessary, leaving the rest to the gallant lieutenant's discretion. That officer requested Major Welsford to tell off eight men to each ladder, and to cause every man to stand or sit beside his ladder until he advanced to the assault. Lieutenant Ranks was ordered to conduct the party to the best point for placing the ladders, and a small force of twenty sappers was placed under his command for the removal of such obstructions as might be presented, and armed with crowbars and axes to break through the abattis, and with picks and shovels to form what is technically called a *ramp* into the ditch. It is surprising to think of only one lieutenant of engineers, and twenty sappers, assigned to the stormers, the object being to assault one of the most powerful works of defence ever assailed! When the signal was given, the Rifles and Buffs rushed forward and endeavoured to pick off the gunners, a work in which they had little success, being themselves victims to the flanking fire which swept over the long space which they had to traverse before reaching the work. The ladder-party ran forward as fast as they could; when they reached the advanced trench several of these were left behind, the party attached to them having been in such cases nearly swept away in the progress thither. Mr. Russell affirms that the ladders were too short; but this was not the case, for each ladder was twenty-four feet long, while the depth of the ditch at the salient was only between twelve and fifteen feet deep. Mr. Russell also says that very few of the ladders were placed against the salient; but that statement is an inadvertency, for all the ladders brought up were placed there, and very few were left behind. The flanking fire of the enemy could not touch the men who placed the ladders, so that they were able to lay them against the salient. The orders of General Jones to Lieutenant Ranks were to make the descent into the ditch and the

escarp practicable. This was effected in a few moments, a "ramp" was formed, and many the men ran up, requiring no ladders. There was not a man delayed from want of means mounting the escarp, and no part of the disaster which ensued is justly attributable to such a cause. Brigadier-general Shirley was ill on board ship at Balaklava, but, emulating the chivalry of Sir de Lacy Evans at Inkermann, he hurried up to the lines when he heard of the assault. Colonel Unett was the senior officer of the light division, in the absence of the brigadier, and he tossed with Colonel Windham for the choice of position; Unett won, and chose "the lead," exclaiming that he would "be the first man in the Redan." He was wounded, before reaching the abattis. Brigadier Shirley was temporarily blinded by the dust, which blew about in dense clouds, and which a shot drove up into his face; he was consequently unable to proceed. The command of the detachments of the light division devolved upon Lieutenant-colonel Bunbury of the Royal Welsh Fusiliers. Brigadier von Straubenzee received a contusion on the face and was compelled to return before reaching the abattis. Colonel Handcock was shot by a musket-ball through the head, and fell down before reaching the work; Captain Hammond met a similar fate; Major Welsford entered the work through an embrasure, at the head of the ladder-party, and was immediately killed; Captain Grove was at the same instant severely wounded. Of all the officers commanding detachments, only Colonel Windham, Captain Fyers, Captain Lewes, and Captain Maude, entered the Redan unhurt. The distance over which the men had to pass under galling fire, which cannonaded every inch of the space, was one of the great fatalities of the enterprise. Our soldiers, bravely led by their officers, entered the salient under a more severe than the French encountered in any of their attacks. Nothing ever achieved by British soldiers surpassed the heroism with which they entered that grim bulwark. The Russians gave way instantly, but did not retreat from the work; placing themselves behind the traverses they took deliberate aim. The British, accustomed to the cover of the trenches, began to seek cover in the Redan, or to skirmish as men do who fire under shelter, instead of acting as stormers, charging with the bayonet. It is the general impression that had they done so, the Redan would have been captured. It is strange to see such an opinion could ever be entertained; doubtless the Russians would have been driven out momentarily, but the open space of the interior of the work was cannonaded both from guns of position and by fieldpieces from the rear, and the force of the enemy was suc-





MAJOR GENL GEORGE A. WINDHAM, C.B.

*From a Photograph, taken for Her Majesty by Mayall.*

number of men sent against the work could have resisted, unless powerful reinforcements had been speedily sent. The men would not have charged, had they confidence in their officers or their commanders. Such were the arrangements of General Codrington, that no reinforcements were sent, and a more protracted defence would have probably only issued in a greater loss of life. At all events, the detachments of the light division which first reached the salient would not charge, although the exertions of the officers to induce them to do so were almost superhuman.

When the parties of the second division, under General Windham, arrived through the storm of fire under which they had to pass, Windham penetrated upon the right of the parties of the light division, already filing and skirmishing from the angle of the salient, and being swept down by the cannon and the fire of the Russians from the rear of the fieldpieces were pushed forward through the breastwork at the rear, and discharged a shower of horse-nails and grape upon the open ranks of the 90th and 97th regiments behaved with gallantry, several of the men rushing into "the open" after their officers, ready to charge with the bayonet; but their courage was seconded, and only increased the number of the victims. Entering upon the right of the light division, on the left face of the salient, General Windham led his detachments of the second division in by the embrasures, from which they were repulsed by flames which burst from them. There was a fearless general scramble to get in, Windham being first, or among the first; immediately behind him Daniel Mahoney, a grenadier of the 1st regiment, two other soldiers of the 1st regiment, Killeany and Cornellis, entered with them. Mahoney leaped into the salient shouting, "Come on boys!" and fell dead by the bullet of a Russian rifle; his comrades, Killeany and Cornellis, at the same time were wounded. Cornellis claimed to be the first man of the division who entered the Redan. The same scenes occurred in the second division as in those of the light; the men would not charge; there was a general feeling that the place was mined, and a want of confidence in the plans of the superior officers, and by the calamitous mismanagement of the attack, but still more especially of Pelissier on the 18th of June. The men felt also that it was mockery to send so small a force to storm a place so vast, defended by such numbers. In the Redan the British officers behaved with courage far superior to the men, and never anywhere did English gentlemen show more intrepidity. Neither the officers nor men of the enemy displayed their usual courage. They had an awe of the English in the use of

the bayonet, or they would have swept the Redan of the handful of men opposed to them. As the Russians arrived in great numbers, they still kept at a distance, offering a severe but continuous fusillade. Windham sent three officers to Sir E. Codrington for assistance; none returned; they all fell in the effort to discharge this duty. Sir Edward, without receiving any message, might have had sense enough to send reinforcements, and still be a very foolish man. Colonel Windham, perceiving the hopelessness of doing anything with the forces he held, and fearing the loss of the Redan, resolved to go himself and obtain aid from General Codrington. Turning to a superior officer, he remarked—"If I fall, you know why I have left," and then made his way in safety to Sir Edward. Sir Edward informed him that if the reinforcements he could spare him were of any use he might have them, and told him to take with him a battalion of the 1st Royals. The brigadier replied that if the battalion preserved its formation, the Redan would be captured—a remark which he would not have made had he known the progress of affairs after he left, for as he turned towards the work, the British were leaping from the salient, pursued by the bayonets and fire of the Russians. Immediately upon Windham leaving for the trenches, the enemy, reinforced, pressed onward with the bayonet; the few British left, although unwilling to advance, were unwilling to retreat, and maintained an obstinate resistance; a fearfully bloody struggle ensued. The ammunition of the English was exhausted, but they pelted the Russians with stones, who returned this mode of warfare by hand-grape, a more formidable missile. The English officers fought and fell heroically, leaving abundant proof in death of how they had grappled with the foe. Under cover of the artillery and rifles, some of the men got away. The contest lasted an hour and three-quarters, and the British lost more men and officers than at the battle of Inkerman, when they endured the charges of superior numbers for seven hours.

One of the immediate consequences of the failure at the Redan was, that the Russians, set free there, reinforced their comrades at the Little Redan, which the French would in all probability have retained, had it not been for the loss by the English of the Greater Redan.

One of the most heroic episodes of the conflict in the Redan was connected with the conduct of a youth named Massy, a lieutenant of the 19th regiment, but who acted as captain during the assault. This young officer stood out in the open, in the hope of inducing the soldiers to follow; and there, amidst the most terrible fire, he bravely stood with a courage and dignity which excited the astonishment

and admiration of friends and enemies. Sir de Lacy Evans has been called "a living target," and this brave young officer may also claim the appellation. He has been ever since known by the honourable title (for such we may call it) of "Redan Massy." He was terribly wounded, and bore his sufferings with a fortitude worthy of his active courage. After serving his country so nobly, he returned to his native city, Dublin, and resumed his studies in the University, the fellows and students of which presented him with a magnificent sword. He is as modest and amiable as intelligent and brave. He remains, however, as every reader of this History would expect, still a subaltern.

When Pelissier perceived the failure at the Redan, he sent to Sir James Simpson to inquire whether he intended to renew the assault. The reply was, that Sir James was not in a condition again to attack that day, but that he would do so the next morning; in pursuance of this determination, the Highland division, under Sir Colin Campbell, was ordered to hold itself in readiness to perform this perilous service. Sir Colin and his brave Highlanders were proud of the honour conferred upon them, and, undismayed by the failure which had already filled the English army with chagrin and sorrow, they looked forward with pride and confidence to the morrow. Meanwhile, General Simpson directed the whole force of his artillery against the Redan; the English gunners seemed to work with vindictive fury, so fast did they pour their terrible cannonade upon the batteries, which broke and splintered beneath the ponderous shot; the guns of the enemy were effectually silenced, and the work itself, notwithstanding its magnitude and armament, suffered much.

Thus ended a day of mingled grief and triumph—the English army bewailing their gallant dead, and mortified with a sense of defeat, which officers and men universally attributed to the incompetence of those high in command.

When daylight died away, flames were observed to break forth in several directions of the city, and loud explosions succeeded one another with rapidity, sending their reverberations through the ravines, and booming far over the plateau to the sea. The curiosity of the allies was much excited by these incidents. A British engineer officer performed a feat similar to that which was achieved by Major Snodgrass in one of the sieges of the peninsular war, who crept up the breach and observed the enemy. This engineer officer ascended the face of the salient of the Redan, and perceiving that the work was entirely abandoned, reported the fact to Sir James Simpson. He did not immediately order it to be occupied, probably from the well-founded belief that it

was mined. Sir Colin Campbell, however, caused parties of his Highlanders to go in and remove the wounded. All had not been tried away before new and terrible explosions were heard in the immediate vicinity of the Redan, and at four o'clock in the morning the magazine of the Redan was exploded. The whole of the allied camps were startled, sleepers leapt from their couches, and rushed wildly to the front, for the ground beneath them heaved as in an earthquake. In a few three-quarters of an hour afterwards, the *Bastion du Mât* (Flag-staff Battery) was broken to atoms. Soon after, the roar of explosion again rushed along the plateau, and the Redan Batteries were broken, and hurled into the air. The Russians, when they resolved to abandon the south side, stored up combustibles in the houses, and set fire to them, and then went up systematically nearly the whole of the magazines, scattering in heaps of dust and rubbish the batteries behind which they had so long and so well fought. Glowing descriptions have been given of the magnificent scene, as the burning city fell in ruins amidst the ascending flames; but, in truth, it was not so picturesque or terrible to the eye as to the ear and to the imagination. So gusty was the night that clouds of smoke occasioned by the explosions blew against the allied lines, rendering it difficult for any one to look long or attentively upon the conflict; moreover, the smoke was so dense, ascending in huge, deep columns, that even the flames were partly hidden from sight. On the morning of the 9th, by dawn, the scene was striking—the grey light covered the smouldering ruins, and every well-defined object stood out darkly and grimly above the burning piles. The Russians had evacuated the city, and the last of them were seen passing the bridge across the harbour. No attempt was made to molest them, and as the last company passed, the bridge was broken down. Smolensk was left in smouldering ruins to the conquerors.

The Russians acted in a very masterly manner in this retreat; every action was timed so nicely, that the last of the retreating forces passed the bridges when the day was sufficiently clear for an enemy to take advantage of the light. There had been no confusion, nor any apparent hurry. Until nearly morning, the troops kept up a steady musketry fire against the Malakoff, as though it was their intention to make a grand effort to recover it. Night did day open—not even upon the desolate ruins of Moscow—upon a scene which would more the elements of the appalling and picturesque. Our troops gazed upon it with wonder and horror.

On looking towards the harbour, the fleet

; even the gallant *Vladimir* was not to be—the ships were committed to the deep—the city was given to the flames. Thus ended the last of that magnificent sea armada, the terror of Turkey, and to destroy which was one of the leading objects of the war. On after daylight, and while the allied forces crowded the heights to witness the scene view before them, proof was given that the whole work of destruction did not terminate with the hours of darkness. Fort the handsomest fort in Sebastopol, situated on the harbour, was blown up; a slow match had been ignited, along which the fire moved with steady progress, while the retreating army passed the bridge; the moment, related to a nicety by the Russian miners, arrived, and Fort Paul was hurled from its foundations with a report loud as the peal of a thousand thunders. The earth far around quaked to the shock, and whatever in magnificence of sound can awe and fill the imagination was there.

The curiosity of the soldiery and of amateurs to see into Sebastopol" was very great; but the military authorities, wisely anticipating the result, placed a cordon of sentries round the city, which this kept most out, but not all that wished to go in at any risk; and not a few, before, were killed and wounded by explosions during the day. The smaller mines and magazines blew up from hour to hour, making the ruins still more ruinous; imperishable ignited aggregations of combustibles were made bare, by these explosions, to the sky, which drifted sparks upon them, and kindled them again in a blaze. It was, from these causes, exceedingly dangerous to visit the city; and the whole of the 9th became constantly a day of excitement, and of that excitement which arises from suppressed curiosity, and an imperfect scope for inquiry, and, nevertheless, great interests are kindled, and high and legitimate feelings impelled. Throughout the day many of the soldiers, at risks, were engaged in plunder—if it could be called so—and loaded themselves with a species of property, often incongruous and useless. "What do you want with these things, my men?" said an officer to a group of soldiers. "Sure, an your honour, don't let me come to let furnished lodgings!" was the answer.

The Irish and the Zouaves exposed themselves to danger in a most reprehensible manner, scaling burning buildings, descending stifling cellars, and, in fact, wandering through all imaginable places with the most recklessness of consequences. The Zouaves declared that the Hibernians were models of discipline, and the Irish seemed to the Zouaves as persons beyond emulation. "Sure, your honour, where there is

room for a rat there is room for one of them little Zouaves," said a stalwart Irish Grenadier to a rebuking superior; "and how could we stave anything when they are after emptying a place clean out?" "Troth, if the devil was asleep, a Zouave would stave one of his horns to keep his coffee in!" was the logical support rendered to his comrade by another Grenadier, anxious to devolve the entire culpability upon the ubiquitous Zouaves.

During the night of the 9th there were less dust and smoke, and as new stores of combustibles ignited, the grandeur of the scene became indeed striking; pile after pile of flame ascending to the heavens; the whole north shore illuminated; the harbour livid with the reflection of so many fires, as if itself a river of flame tossed by a storm; the Star Fort and all the bulwarks of the northern fortifications red and clear in the flash of fiery light which covered them.

On the 10th the fires all smouldered out, and Sebastopol, cleaved and broken, lay at the feet of her conquerors. One large building only remained intact—a large barrack near the Dockyard Creek. The Russians spared it, the spreading flames forsook its vicinity; and when at last the allies, entering the city, penetrated this building, they were amazed to discover that it was the hospital, and that there lay 2000 dead and dying men. The scene was such as might test the nervous power of the soldier most inured to bloodshed. There lay men in every conceivable attitude, cold in death, the maimed and bruised with the seemingly uninjured, only that life had fled. The stench struck back those who had essayed to enter first. The wounded were numerous, and writhed and groaned in their agony, as they rolled amongst the dead, or lay helpless and motionless near some mass of putrefaction. British soldiers were there, and among them the gallant and unfortunate Captain Vaughan. Oh, war, how dark thy deeds! what horror and wreck appear wherever thy bloody touch is traced!

A steamer crossed from the northern side, under a flag of truce, with an officer, who begged, in the name of Prince Gortschakoff, for permission to remove the wounded, a request at once granted: 500 Russian soldiers were handed over to those appointed to receive them. These poor fellows had remained forty-eight hours without any care, and, such as were conscious, under the horrible suspense of the fate that might possibly await them if the barracks ignited or blew up. In addition to these objects of horrible interest there were 700 bodies, most of them undergoing decomposition, found in a vast underground cellar. It was here poor Captain Vaughan of the 90th was discovered, and several English

and French soldiers, yet alive. In another part of this barrack 200 coffined corpses were seen, arranged in order preparatory to burial; these were the remains of officers who had fallen during the bombardment and assault.

By degrees the dead were buried and the wounded removed on all points of the conflict, and the allies commenced the demolition of the Docks and of any buildings which remained. A description of the occurrences connected with the work of destruction continued by the allies must be reserved for a future chapter. A review of the destruction of men sustained by the belligerents is still necessary to complete the narrative. In the *Invalide Russe* the losses of the czar's army on the 8th of September were stated as follows:—

OFFICERS.	
Killed .....	59
Wounded .....	279
Missing .....	24
Total .....	362
RANK AND FILE.	
Killed .....	2625
Wounded .....	6964
Missing .....	1739
Total .....	11,328

There is every reason to believe that this statement is far beneath the fact. This, however, was but a portion of their acknowledged loss connected with the final operations of the allies to reduce the place. The fifth bombardment, and the sixth, or final bombardment, followed close upon one another, the former beginning on the 17th of August, the latter on the 5th of September. From the former date the sufferings and losses of the Russians were terrible, beyond expression; and these, taken in connection with the slaughter they experienced on the 16th of August upon the Tchernaya, constitute such as, in the same space of time, few armies have ever endured. The *Invalide Russe* reported the killed and wounded, during the bombardment of the 17th of August, as 1500 men. From that date to the 21st, 1000 men daily; from the 21st, the number of killed and wounded was reduced to between five and six hundred men daily until the opening of the final bombardment. During the three days of the last bombardment their acknowledged loss was 4000 men. From the 17th of August to the close of the assault, the Russian official organ admitted that about 18,000 men had been put *hors de combat*. The real amount was probably about 30,000.

The French losses from the 5th to the 9th September were thus reported by the *Moniteur*:—

OFFICERS.	
Killed .....	145
Wounded .....	254
Missing .....	19
Total .....	418

## RANK AND FILE.

Killed .....	1489
Wounded .....	4259
Missing .....	1400
Total .....	7148

This was very far below the truth. It was always the practice of the French, as was of the Russian, army to hide their real losses in official returns. The French army certainly sustained a reduction of 10,000 men and officers from the 5th to the 9th of September. The calamities of the English could not be concealed; the reporters for the press would soon find out any tricks of concealment, and exposure and obloquy would be the result. "No man," said a noble lord, a general very high in rank, to the author of this History, "can afford to offend the *Times*." This salutary apprehension prevents all falsification of reports of this kind, and we may therefore rely upon the reports in the *Gazette*. They were as follows:—

OFFICERS.	
Killed .....	29
Wounded .....	129
Missing .....	1
Total .....	159
RANK AND FILE.	
Killed .....	361
Wounded .....	1914
Missing .....	176
Total .....	2451

In proportion to the numbers engaged, the losses were heavy casualties.

The quantity of ordnance used in this siege was enormous. From the returns we deduce this statement:—

	Tons.
Weight of shot and shell .....	9053
Powder .....	1240

The number of guns and mortars in use during the siege were:—

Lancasters .....	7
32-pounders .....	140
24-pounders .....	57
8-inch guns .....	76
10-inch guns .....	7
68-pounders* .....	35
13-inch mortars .....	35
10-inch mortars .....	11
8-inch mortars .....	20
5½-inch mortars .....	395
Total .....	

A quarter of a million of rounds were fired.

The orders of the day, despatches, and letters from the camps of the conquerors, occupy the next chapter. Their earlier publication would have interrupted the current of the narrative.

\* 68-pounders weigh 95 cwt. each; their bore is 10 inches, the same as the "8-inch guns," but the shells are described by their calibre, because chiefly used for shell, their weight being too light for solid shot.

## CHAPTER CL.

## ORDERS OF THE DAY AND DESPATCHES IN CONNECTION WITH THE BOMBARDMENT AND CAPTURE OF SOUTHERN SEBASTOPOL.

“Now the allied banners float  
 Above each dreaded moat,  
 And victory's trumpet-note  
 Rings past the Mamelon.  
 Four nations' flags now sweep  
 The Malakoff's high steep,  
 And mirrored in the deep,  
 Beneath which lie his ships,  
 Buried in deep eclipse,  
 With all his glory gone !”

THE orders and despatches connected with the grand event of the war have an interest attaching to them altogether peculiar, and no doubt be perused with eager interest by every reader of the tragic history of the eastern struggle.

The first of these to which attention is directed is a very brief and rather curt despatch from General Simpson to Lord Panmure, dated the 8th of September, before Sebastopol, and intended to convey an account of the bombardment up to that morning :—

At daylight on the 5th inst. the batteries of the allied armies opened a steady and continuous fire against the enemy's works. During the night one of the vessels, supposed to be a frigate, stationed on the north side of the harbour, was set on fire by, it is believed, a shell from a French battery in their right flank. The firing during the 6th, 7th, and 8th of September, to the present moment, has continued uninterrupted, but feebly responded to by the Russians. Another frigate was discovered yesterday afternoon to be on fire, and has been nearly destroyed. From the length of time it has continued burning, it is supposed to have consumed stores. About eleven o'clock last night a heavy explosion took place, but I have as yet been able to ascertain in which part of the enemy's works. I beg to inclose the list of casualties.”

Immediately after the abandonment of the eastern side by the Russians had been ascertained, the generals-in-chief addressed to their respective orders of the day. The following was that of General Pelissier's, which was the more triumphant, as it was dated from “head-quarters, Malakoff Redoubt :”—

Soldiers! Sebastopol has fallen. The capture of the Malakoff has decided its downfall. By his own hands the enemy has blown up his formidable defences, has burnt his city, his magazines, and his military establishments, and has abandoned the rest of his ships in the harbour. The bulwark of the Russian power in the Black Sea no longer exists. These results are due not merely to your ardent courage, but

still more to your indomitable energy and perseverance throughout a protracted siege of eleven months. Never did land and sea artillery, never did engineers, never did infantry, have to overcome equal obstacles; never have three armies displayed more courage, more science, more resolution. The taking of Sebastopol will be to your eternal honour. This immense success improves and redeems your position in the Crimea. It will allow the return to their homes and their families of those who, being entitled to their discharge, have remained in our ranks. I thank them, in the name of the emperor, for the devotedness of which they have given constant proof; and I will so arrange that their return to our native land can be speedily effected. Soldiers! the 8th of September, the day on which the flags of the English, Piedmontese, and French armies have floated together, will remain a day for ever memorable. On that day you gained for your eagles new and imperishable glory. Soldiers! you have deserved well of France and of the emperor.”

General Simpson's order came forth in the name of the chief of his staff, Lieutenant-general Barnard :—

“The commander of the forces congratulates the army on the result of the attack of yesterday. The brilliant assault and occupation of the Malakoff by our gallant allies obliged the enemy to abandon the works they have so long held with such bravery and determination. The commander of the forces returns his thanks to the general officers and officers and men of the second and light divisions, who advanced and attacked with such gallantry the works of the Redan. He regrets, from the formidable nature of the flanking defences, that their devotion did not meet with that immediate success which it so well merited. He condoles and deeply sympathises with the many brave officers, non-commissioned officers, and men, who are now suffering from the wounds they received in the course of their noble exertions of yesterday. He deeply deplores the death of the many gallant officers and men who have fallen in the final struggle

of this long and memorable siege. Their loss will be severely felt, and their names long remembered in this army and by the British nation.

"General Simpson avails himself of this opportunity to congratulate and convey his warmest thanks to the general officers, officers, and soldiers of the several divisions, to the royal engineers and artillery, for their cheerful endurance of almost unparalleled hardships and sufferings, and for the unflinching courage and determination which, on so many trying occasions, they have evinced. It is with equal satisfaction that the commander of the forces thanks the officers and men of the Naval Brigade for the long and uniform course of valuable service rendered by them from the commencement of the siege."

The following despatches of General Pelissier, addressed to the French minister of war, are written in a generous spirit to his English allies. This spirit was general, but not universal, in the French army. Several of the soldiers of the latter, while plundering the ruins of the city, called out to the English soldiers, "Redan, no! Malakoff, yes! *Ingleese no bono.*" The soldiers of the Connaught Rangers actually seized upon some of the offenders, and inflicted a personal chastisement upon their satirists more ludicrous than becoming. These expressions of unpleasant feeling occurred only when the French soldiery were intoxicated, and Pelissier's despatches tended to prevent their recurrence. The first of these documents was dated the 11th, the other the 14th:—

"I shall have the honour to send you by the next courier a detailed report on the attack which has placed Sebastopol in our power. To-day I can only give you a rapid sketch of the principal achievement of this great event of the war.

"Since the 16th of August, the day of the battle of the Tchernaya, and notwithstanding repeated warnings of a new and more formidable attack by the enemy against the positions which we occupy on this river, every preparation was made to deliver a decisive assault against Sebastopol itself. The artillery of the right attack commenced on the 17th of August a well-sustained fire against the Malakoff, the Little Redan, the neighbouring defences, and the roads, in order to permit our engineers to establish defences close to the place, from which the troops might be able instantly to throw themselves upon the *enceinte*. Our engineers, besides, prepared materials for escalate; and on the 5th of September all our batteries of the left opened a very violent fire against the town. The English, on their side, kept up a hot cannonade against the Great

Redan and its redoubt, which they were attacking.

"All being ready, I resolved, in concert with General Simpson, to give the assault on the 8th of September, at the hour of noon.

"General M'Mahon's division was to carry the works of the Malakoff; General Dulac's division was to attack the Little Redan; and in the centre the division of General la Motte Rouge was to march against the curtain connecting these two extreme points. Besides these troops, I had given to General Bosquet General Mellinet's division of the Guards to support the first three divisions. Thus far I had the right.

"In the centre, the English were to attack the Great Redan, escalading its salient.

"On the left, the first corps, to which General della Marmora had wished to join, a Sardinian brigade, having at its head General Levaillant's division, was to penetrate into the interior of the town by the Central Battery, and afterwards turn the Flagstaff Battery, in order to establish a lodgment there likewise.

"General de Salles had instructions not to pursue his attack further than circumstances might render it advisable.

"Further, the fleets of Admiral Lyons and Bruat were to operate a powerful diversion by firing against the Quarantine, the roadstead, and the sea front of the fortress; but the state of the sea, agitated by a violent north-west wind, was such that neither the line-of-battle ships, nor the frigates were able to quit the anchorage. The English and French mortar boats, however, were able to go into action. Their fire was of remarkable excellence; and they rendered us great assistance.

"At noon exactly the divisions of General M'Mahon, La Motte Rouge, and Dulac, electrified by their chiefs, sprang to the Malakoff, the Curtain, and the Little Redan of the Careenage. After unexampled difficulties, and a most exciting foot-to-foot combat, General M'Mahon's division succeeded in effecting a lodgment in the anterior part of the Malakoff. The enemy showered down a storm of projectiles of all kinds upon our brave troops. The Redan and the Careenage, especially battered by the *maison en croix* and the steamers, it was necessary to evacuate, after its occupation; but the division of General la Motte Rouge made its ground good on one part of the Curtain, and that of General M'Mahon gained ground in the Malakoff, where General Bosquet sent continually the reserves which I sent forward to him. The other attacks were subordinated to that of the Malakoff, that being the capital point of the defences of the whole place.

"Standing in the Brancion Redoubt (on the

on), I considered that the Malakoff was in our power, and I gave the signal had been agreed upon with General

The English immediately advanced bravely the salient of the Great Redan. They were able to effect a lodgment in it, and spent a considerable time to maintain their position; but, crushed by the Russian reserves, they advanced incessantly, and by a violent storm of artillery, they were forced to return into parallel.

At the same moment General de Salles effected an attack against the Central Bastion. The Levaillant division had begun to distinguish itself in it, as well as in the right flank, where a tremendous fire of grape was succeeded by the arrival of Russian reinforcements, considerable in number, that our troops, decimated by the fire of the enemy, whose chiefs had been disabled, were compelled to fall back on the place whence they had

been convinced that the taking of the Malakoff would be decisive of success, I prevented the execution of any attacks on other points, which, by compelling the hostile army to remain on the Malakoff, had already attained their main object. I then directed my sole attention to the gaining possession of the Malakoff, which General M'Mahon had been previously enabled to obtain. Besides, a great and important moment was impending.

General Bosquet had just been struck by the bursting of a shell, and his command I gave to General Dulac. A powder-magazine at the Malakoff exploded at this moment, which contingency I anticipated the most disastrous results.

The Russians, hoping to profit by this accident, immediately advanced in dense masses, disposed in three columns, simultaneously attacking the centre, the left, and the right of the Malakoff. But measures of defence had already been taken in the interior of the fort, for which purpose General M'Mahon ordered the enemy bodies of undaunted troops, which could intimidate, and, after the desperate efforts, the Russians were compelled to make a precipitate retreat. From the moment the discomfited enemy appears to have renounced all idea of further attack. The day was ours, and no effort of the enemy could dislodge it from us. It was half-past four

Measures were immediately taken for enabling the army to repulse the enemy, in case he should attempt against us a nocturnal attack. The troops were soon released from our uncertainty. As soon as it became night, fires were kindled on every side, mines exploded, and a quantity of gunpowder blew up in the air.

The sight of Sebastopol in flames, which the whole army contemplated, was one of the most awe-inspiring and sinister pictures that the history of wars can have presented. The enemy was making a complete evacuation; it was effected during the night by means of a bridge constructed between the two shores of the roadstead, and under cover of the successive explosions, that prevented me from approaching and harassing him. On the morning of the 9th the whole southern side of the town was freed, and in our power.

"I have no need of enhancing in the eyes of your excellency the importance of so great a success; neither will it be necessary for me to speak of this brave army, whose warlike virtues and devotion are so thoroughly appreciated by our emperor; and I shall have, great as the number is, to name to you those who have distinguished themselves among so many valiant soldiers. I cannot yet do so, but I shall fulfil this duty in one of my next despatches."

The despatch of the 14th was more full, and produced a great sensation in France. It was as follows:—

"I have the honour of addressing your excellency, as I had announced by my despatch of the 11th, my report of the capture of Sebastopol by assault. The moment for that assault appeared to have arrived. On the left our works had approached to within thirty and forty metres of the Bastion du Mât (No. 4 of the Russians), and of the Central Bastion (No. 5 of the Russians). On the right our approaches, pushed actively forward under the cover of the sustained fire of our artillery, opened since the 17th, were at no more than twenty-five metres from the salient of the Malakoff and the Little Redan of Careening Bay. The artillery had completed in all nearly 100 batteries, in perfect order and fully supplied, presenting together 350 cannon, toward the left attack, and 250 on the right attack. On their side the English, although much impeded by the difficulties of the ground, had got within 200 metres of the Great Redan (No. 3 of the Russians), on which they directed their fire, and where they had about 200 pieces of cannon in position. The Russians, making the best use of their time, had raised by the Malakoff a second line of defence, which it was important we should not allow them to complete. Finally, the 'army of relief,' having been so signally defeated on the 16th ult. on the Tchernaya, had there experienced such serious losses, that it was not probable that it would renew the attack for the purpose of relieving the place, and throw itself upon positions which we had so much strengthened, and where we were in a condition to repulse all efforts of the enemy. It was accordingly agreed

between General Simpson and myself, that we should now make the decisive assault. The generals commanding the artillery and engineers of the two armies coincided unanimously with this opinion. The 8th of September, then, was fixed for this attack.

"As I have already had the honour to communicate to your excellency, the enemy was to be assaulted on the principal points of his extensive *enceinte*, in order to prevent him from directing the whole of his reserves against either point of attack, and also to alarm him for the safety of that part of the city on which the bridge, by which alone he could make his retreat, touched the shore.

"General de Salles, with the first corps, reinforced by a Sardinian brigade, whose assistance General della Marmora had offered me, were to attack the city; in the centre the English were to possess themselves of the Great Redan; finally, on our right, General Bosquet was to assault the Malakoff itself, and the Little Redan of Careening Harbour (Bastion No. 2 of the Russians), the salient point of the *enceinte* of Karabelnaia.

"The following dispositions had been made on each of these attacks:—On the left, the division Levallant:—2nd of the first corps, the brigade Couston—the 9th battalion of foot Chasseurs, Commandant Rogié; the 21st of the line, Lieutenant-colonel Villaret; the 42nd of the line, Lieutenant-colonel de Mallet: brigade Trochu—46th of the line, Lieutenant-colonel le Banneur; 80th of the line, Colonel Laterrade. These were charged with the assault of the Central Bastion and its lunettes, and were placed in the most advanced parallels. To the right of this was the division d'Autemarre:—the brigade Niel—the 5th battalion of foot Chasseurs, Commandant Garnier; the 19th of the line, Colonel Guignard; the 26th of the line, Colonel de Sorbiers: the brigade Breton—the 39th of the line, Colonel Comignan; the 74th of the line, Colonel Guyot de Lespart. These were to penetrate, following the steps of the division Levallant, and to possess themselves of the gorge of the Bastion du Mât, and of the batteries there erected. The Sardinian brigade of General Cialdini, side by side with the division d'Autemarre, was to attack the right flank of the same bastion. Lastly, the division Bouat, composed of the 4th of the first corps, General Lefevre—the 10th foot Chasseurs, Commandant Guimard; the 18th of the line, Colonel Dantin; the 79th of the line, Colonel Grenier: the second brigade, General de la Roquette—the 14th of the line, Colonel de Négrier; the 43rd of the line, Colonel Broutta. The division Paté:—the 3rd of the 1st corps, the brigade Beuret—the 6th battalion of foot Chasseurs, Commandant Fermier de la Prévotais; the 28th of the line,

Colonel Lartigues; the 98th, Colonel Dumont the brigade Bazaine—the 1st regiment Foreign Legion, Colonel Martenot de Courville the 2nd regiment of the Foreign Legion, Colonel de Chabrières. These served as reserve to the division Levallant. Besides this, and to be prepared for any contingency which might arise on this side, I had brought General Kamiesch and placed under the orders of General de Salles, the 30th and 35th regiments of the line, who had been posted at the extreme left, and strongly supported on this side the holding of our own lines.

"In front of Karabelnaia, as I have already written you, our attack was arranged in three directions. To the left on the Malakoff, its re-entering angle; to the right by the Redan of Careening Harbour; and in the centre by the curtain which connects these two points. The system of works at the Malakoff was evidently the most important point of the *enceinte*; its capture must necessarily lead to the ruin of all the defences of the place, and I added to the troops of which General Bosquet had at his disposal, all the infantry of the Imperial Guard.

"The left attack on the Malakoff was entrusted to General M'Mahon (first division of the second corps):—the first brigade, Colonel Decaen; the 1st Zouaves, Colonel Decaen; the 2nd brigade, General Vinoy—the 1st battalion of foot Chasseurs, Commandant Gambier; the 2nd of the line, Colonel Orianne; 27th of the line, Colonel Adam, who had in reserve the battalion Wimpffen (consisting of the 3rd Zouaves, Colonel Polhès; the 50th of the line, Lieutenant-colonel Nicolas; and the Algerian Tirailleur Colonel Rose), detached from Camou's division and two battalions of Zouaves of the 1st division, Colonel Jannin.

"The right attack on the little Redan was confided to General Dulac (the brigade St. Pierre): the 17th foot Chasseurs, Commandant de la Roche; the 57th of the line, Colonel Dupuis; the 2nd brigade, Colonel Javel: second brigade, General Bissollet—the 10th of the line, Commandant Lacontrie; the 1st of the line, Colonel de Taxis, having in reserve the brigade Marolles (consisting of—the 1st of the line, Colonel Guérin; the 96th of the line, Colonel Malherbe), of the division Marolles; and the battalion of foot Chasseurs of the Guard, Commandant Cornulier d'Almeida. Lastly, and under General de Salles, the brigade of General Bourbaki—the 4th foot Chasseurs, Commandant Clinchamps—the 86th of the line, Colonel de Berthier; the 2nd of the line, Colonel Mathieu: second brigade, Colonel Picard—the 91st of the line, Colonel Picard; the 49th of the line, Colonel Kery, who commanded the second attack of the division on the face of the Curtain, having

the Voltigeurs (Colonels Montera and ), and the Grenadiers of the Guard (Colonels Blanchard and Dalton), under the orders of the general of division of the Guard, Mellinet, having under him Brigadier-Generals Pontèves and De Failly.

For the due placing of our troops, we divided our trenches into three lodgments, each of which was capable of containing in its most extended portion almost the whole of the attacking division, and the reserves found room in the old trenches, which were well calculated to sustain them, as were also the ravines of the Carabelnaia and the Careenage. It was calculated, the more completely to deceive the enemy, that the assembling of all these troops should be effected without being discovered; accordingly, all the lines of communication to our advanced positions had been followed out with extreme care, and everywhere our men might be exposed to view, the high crestwork had been sufficiently raised to give the men sufficient depth to defile un-

der the left attack, as well as on those of the right. The detachments of engineers and artillery, armed with trenching tools, were told off, and placed at the head of each column of attack. The sappers of the engineer corps were provided with the aid of the advanced guard of the attack, to throw bridges, of which they had exercised in the management, and the lines of which were arranged in advance of the foremost line. The artillerymen were provided with every necessary—hammers, quick-match, &c., to be ready to spike the enemy's cannon, as might be needful, and to attack the enemy, if practicable, the positions which we might have captured. For the first battalions of each attack, a number of men were provided with axes and implements, with very short hammers, which they would be able to carry in their trouche-belts, to widen passages, break up the enemy's reverse parapets—in a word, to do, with the least delay, the most urgent and important works. Besides these preparations, the field-batteries were in readiness, in the left attack, to take part with rapidity in the battle. In the left attacks, a field-battery was placed in a quarry near to the enemy, with its horses in readiness, and its men provided with breast-collars, to be ready to debouch at the moment required. The other batteries (of the first division) held their positions in readiness at the Bell Tower; and the fourth was in position at the extreme of the Lazaretto.

In the right attacks, a reserve of twenty-four pieces of field artillery was stationed, twelve guns of the former Lancaster pattern and twelve guns from the Victoria Re-

doubt. Workmen were placed at given points to be ready at the opportune moment to make roads for the passage of the artillery. To be prepared for every casualty, the first brigade of the division d'Aurelle was posted in a position to drive back, with the aid of the batteries and the redoubts existing in this direction, any attempt of the enemy against the works opposite to Inkerman. On the side of our lines General Herbillon had orders to occupy the positions on the Tchernaya, keeping his infantry under arms, mounting his cavalry, and harnessing his artillery, at the hour fixed for the assault. I had also sent to him the brigade of cuirassiers of General de Forton. General della Marmora was made fully aware of these dispositions. With regard to General Allonville, he, during the night of the 7th and 8th, withdrew his forces from the Valley of Baidar, in order to take up, near the bridge of Kreutzen, a position of highly advantageous concentration, in case the army of relief should menace us on the outward lines.

"By mutual agreement, General Simpson and I fixed upon the hour of noon for the assault. The hour chosen offered several advantages; it gave us favourable chances for suddenly surprising the enemy, and in case the Russian army of relief should have resolved to make a desperate attempt at relieving the place, it would have been impossible to complete, during daylight, any vigorous movement against our lines; besides, whatever might be the result of our attack, we should have till the following morning to consider our arrangements.

"On the morning of the 8th, the artillery of our left attack, which since daybreak on the 5th had kept up a violent cannonade, continued to crush the enemy with its projectiles: on the right attack our batteries also kept up a lively fire, but carefully maintaining the advances they had made good some days previous, and observing every movement in front. About eight o'clock the engineers exploded, on the Central Bastion, two mines, each charged with 100 kilogrammes of powder, and at the same hour they exploded, in advance of our sap, in face of the Malakoff, three *fourneaux* together, containing 1500 kilogrammes of powder, in order to break down the lower galleries of the Russian miners.

"The possession of the chain of works of which the Malakoff is the key decided the fate of the day, the other attacks were subordinate to it, and it was understood with General Simpson that the English should not throw themselves on the Great Redan until I should make the signal that we were masters of the Malakoff. At the same time General de Salles was not to advance his troops until the moment which I should indicate to him by another

signal. A little before mid-day, all the troops were perfectly in order on the chosen points, and the other dispositions had been punctually carried out. General de Salles was in readiness; General Bosquet was at the post of battle, which he had chosen on the sixth parallel; and I, with General Thiry, of the artillery, Niel, of the engineers, and De Martimprey, my chief of the staff, had arrived myself at the Brancion Redoubt, which I had chosen as my head-quarters.

"The watches had been regulated. At twelve o'clock precisely all our batteries ceased their thunder, in order to resume a more raking fire upon the enemy's reserves. The divisions of M'Mahon, Dulac, and Motte Rouge, followed their generals out of the trenches. The drums and clarions beat and sounded the charge, and to the cry of '*Vive l'empereur!*' a thousand times repeated down the line, our intrepid soldiers precipitated themselves upon the enemy's defences. It was a solemn moment.

"The first brigade of the M'Mahon division, the 1st regiment of the Zouaves leading, followed by the seventh division of the line, having to their left the 4th Chasseurs-à-pied, threw themselves upon the left face and the salient of the Malakoff. The breadth and depth of the ditch, and the height and steepness of the slope, rendered the ascent extremely difficult to our men; but they at length arrived on the parapet, covered with the Russians, who suffered themselves to be slain on the spot, and who, for want of a gun, converted pickaxes, stones, drag-nets, or anything they could lay their hands on into weapons. There a hand-to-hand struggle took place—one of those desperate conflicts in which the intrepidity of our soldiers and their chiefs alone sufficed to give them the mastery. They immediately jumped into the work, drove back the Russians who still resisted, and in a few moments afterwards the flag of France was planted on the Malakoff, never more to be wrested from it.

"On the right, and in the centre, with the same degree of energy which had hitherto surmounted every obstacle and driven back the enemy, the divisions Dulac and Motte Rouge, led onwards by their chiefs, had taken possession of the Little Redan of the Careenage and the Curtain, advancing even as far as the second line, as yet unfinished. We were now everywhere in possession of the works which had been attacked. But this first splendid success had like to have cost us dear. Being hit by a splinter of a shell on the right side, General Bosquet had been compelled to quit the field of battle. I was now obliged to give the command to General Dulac, who was ably seconded by General Liniers, staff-officer of the second corps.

"The engineers, who had marched the columns of assault, were already at work, engaged in filling up ditches, or passages, and constructing bridges; a second brigade of General de M'Mahon rapidly advancing to reinforce them at Malakoff. I now made the signal, agreed with General Simpson, for the attack on Great Redan, and a little later, for the attack on the city.

The English had to march forward 200 metres,\* under a terrible fire of grape. This space was soon heaped with dead bodies; nevertheless, this loss did not arrest the progress of the column of attack, which advanced to the head of the work. It descended into the ditch, which has a depth of nearly five metres, and, in spite of all the efforts of the Russians, it escalated the escarpment, and carried the salient angle of the Redan. There, after a skirmish which cost the Russians dear, English soldiers found before them nothing but a vast open space, riddled by the balls of the enemy, who stood sheltered behind the ditch traverses. Those who now arrived succeeded in filling the places of those who had fallen, either killed or wounded. It was not till they had supported this unequal combat for nearly two hours that the English could be persuaded to evacuate the Redan. They did so with so firm a countenance, that the enemy dared not advance against them.

"However, on the left, upon the command given by signal, the columns of Levaillant's division, commanded by Generals Coustou and Trochu, dashed, in a stooping attitude, upon the flank of the Central Bastion, and the Little Redan. In spite of a hail of balls and projectiles, and after an extremely sharp conflict, the onset and vigour of these brave troops triumphed at once over the enemy's resistance, and, notwithstanding the obstacles accumulated before them, they penetrated into the works. But the enemy, driven behind successive traverses, held firm everywhere. A tremendous fire was poured down from all the batteries, unmasked at the very moment, and a number of field-guns, which had been brought to several points, vomited grape which decimated our men. Generals Coustou and Trochu, who had just been wounded, had been obliged to resign their command. Generals Rivet and Breton were killed. Several regiments, gades which the enemy employed produced a moment's hesitation; but at length a rush to the charge, made by numerous Russian columns, obliged our troops to abandon the works which they had carried, and to retreat into our advanced *places d'armes*.

\* This is nearly one-third over the actual distance. The general no doubt generously put it at the least amount, to do justice to the difficulty under which the English laboured.

ar batteries in this part of the attack, directed by General Lebœuf, to whom Admiral Rigault de Genouilly gave, as his devoted and judicious co-operation, and the direction of their fire, and obliged the enemy to shelter themselves behind their forts. General de Salles, causing the division Autemarre to advance, prepared in this a second and formidable attack, but we assured of the possession of the Malakoff, sent word to him not to carry it into The possession of this work was, nevertheless, energetically disputed.

means of the Maison en Croix batteries, artillery of his steamers, of field-guns at favourable points, and of the batteries on the north of the roads, the enemy ted us with grape and projectiles of ds, and dealt havoc among our ranks. Powder-magazine of the Russian postern had just exploded, increasing our losses, revealing for a moment the eagle of the A great number of the superior officers hers were either killed or wounded. ls St. Pol and de Marolles had died sly, and Generals Mellinet, de Pontèves, urbaki had been wounded at the head r troops. Three times the Dulac and Motte Rouge divisions carried the Redan e Curtain, and three times they were to retire before a frightful artillery d before the solid masses to whom they posed. Nevertheless, the two reserve er field-batteries came down at a trot, the trenches, and daringly establishing ves within half-range, succeeded in off the enemy's columns and their vessels. A portion of these two divisions sustained in this heroic struggle by the of the Guard, who have covered themselves with glory on this great day, established ves in possession of the whole of the e Curtain, whence the enemy was ble to dislodge them.

ring these combats, renewed from the nd from the centre, the Russians re- their efforts to reconquer the Mala- This work, which is a kind of citadel of 50 metres long and 150 wide, armed pieces of cannon of different calibre, a *manelon* which commands the whole interior of the Karabelnaia suburb, and reverse the Redan which was attacked English. It is but 1200 metres from sthern port, which not only threatens anchorage which is now left for the but also the route by which the Russians could effect their retreat—the bridge they have thrown across the roadstead. Russians also, during the first hours struggle of the two armies, constantly their efforts. But General de M'Ma-

hon, in order to be enabled to resist these continual attacks, had received the assistance of the brigade Vinoy, the Zouaves of the Guard, the reserve of General de Wimpffen, and a part of the Voltigeurs of the Guard. He everywhere made head against the enemy, who were, in every instance, repulsed. The Russians now, however, made a last and desperate effort: formed in deep columns, they three times assailed the gorge of the work, and three times they were compelled to retire, with enormous loss before the iron energy of our troops. After this last struggle, which did not terminate till about five o'clock in the afternoon, the enemy evinced some symptoms of giving way, and their batteries alone continued, till nightfall, to hurl projectiles against us, which, however, no longer inflicted any injury upon us.

"The detachments of engineers and artillery, which during the action had been bravely and actively employed in their special mission, immediately proceeded, under the direction of their officers, to execute the urgent labours required in the interior of the work.

"In compliance with my orders, Generals Thiry and Niel caused to be adopted by Generals Beuret and Frossard, commanding the artillery and the 2nd corps of engineers, every measure calculated to enable us to consolidate ourselves in the Malakoff, and on that part of the Curtain which was in our power, so as to be enabled to resist, in case of need, any night attack of the enemy, and to be in a position to compel him to evacuate, on the following day, the Little Redan of the Careenage, the Cross-house, and all that portion of its defences.

"Those measures now became useless; for the enemy, despairing to be able to recapture the Malakoff, resolved to take an important step—he evacuated the city.

"About the close of day I had a presentiment of what was about to take place. I perceived long files of troops and baggage defiling over the bridge, and proceeding towards the north coast; incendiaries now showing themselves in every direction, removed every lingering doubt of what was going on, if any remained. I should now have attempted to advance, gain the bridge, and cut off the enemy's retreat, but the besieged were every moment blowing up their defences, powder-magazines, houses, and public buildings. These explosions would have destroyed us in detail, and on that account the design could not be put in execution. We therefore remained in position till the day dawned upon this scene of desolation.

"The rising sun now cast his golden rays upon this work of destruction, which was still greater than we could have previously conceived; the last Russian ships, which had laid at anchor in the roadstead on the previous evening, were now

sunk to the bottom; the bridge was destroyed. The enemy had only preserved his steam-ships, which were conveying away the remaining fugitives, and some infatuated Russians who sought to extend the fire through the unhappy city. But soon these men, as well as the steamers, were obliged to depart, and seek refuge in the creeks with which the northern shore of the roadstead abounds. Sebastopol was ours!

"Thus this memorable siege has terminated, during which the army which reinforced the town was twice vanquished in the open field—an army whose means of defence and attack had attained to such colossal proportions.

"The besieging army had in battery, in the various attacks, about 800 cannon, which have fired above 1,600,000 shots; and our approaches, excavated during 336 days, in a rocky soil, and presenting a development of more than 80 kilometres (20 leagues), had been effected under a constant fire from the place, and during incessant battles both by day and night.

"On the day of the 8th of September, which has shed such a lustre on the allied armies, we were opposed by an army almost equal in number, intrenched behind formidable defences, provided with above 1100 pieces of cannon of heavy calibre, protected also by the cannon of the fleet and batteries of the north side and of the roadstead, and having still immense resources at their disposal. This event will, therefore, remain as an example of what may be achieved by the efforts of a brave, disciplined, and warlike army.

"Our losses on that day (the 8th of September) consisted of 5 generals killed, 4 wounded, and 6 who had received contusions; 24 superior officers killed, 20 wounded, and 2 missing; 116 subaltern officers killed, 224 wounded, 8 missing; and 1489 non-commissioned officers and soldiers killed, 4259 wounded, and 1400 missing: total, 7551. As you may perceive, M. le Maréchal, our losses are very considerable; many of them are much to be regretted, but they are far from being so great as I had anticipated.

"Every man, M. le Maréchal, from the general to the soldier, has done his duty gloriously; and the army, of which the emperor may be proud, has deserved well of the country. I shall have guerdons to demand—many names to make known to your excellency; but this will be the object of a labour which cannot find a place here at present.

"The fleets of Admirals Lyons and Bruat were to join before the entrance into the Sebastopol roadstead, in order to effect a powerful diversion; but a violent wind blew from the north-east, which, being already very troublesome and boisterous on land, rendered the sea so stormy, that it was useless to think of the ships

quitting their anchorage. The English French mortar-boats, however, appeared with great success upon the harbour, the and the different maritime forts. The men who had been landed and the marine art men were, as indeed they always have, the worthy rivals of the artillerymen in the field, and were remarkable for the steadiness and precision of their fire.

"The English army has conducted with its usual intrepidity. It was prepared for a second attack, which would doubtless have triumphed over the unexpected obstacle countered by the first; but the possession of the Malakoff, which was assured, rendered a second attack unnecessary.

"The Sardinian brigade of General F. F. F. dini, that General della Marmora had been enough to place at my disposal to reinforce the 1st corps, supported the terrible cross which assailed us in our trenches with a stoical indifference of old troops. The Montenapoleons also burned with ardour to combat blows with the enemy; but the attack on the Flagstaff Bastion not having taken place, it was not possible to satisfy the ardour of these brave troops.

"As at all times, M. le Maréchal, wounded, and even those of the enemy, have been tended with the greatest care and attention, and we are indebted to the admirable organization of our medical staff, and to the devotion and fidelity of those who perform its duties, for the preservation of a great number of our unfortunate fellows.

"I will not finish this report without expressing my admiration for the manner in which you have distinguished your excellency how much you are due, in this circumstance, as in every other, to the Major-general Hugh Rose, and Lieutenant-colonel George Foley, the commissioners of her Britannic majesty to the command of the French army, for the numerous communications I have had to maintain during the action with General Simpson."

If it were possible to omit the despatch of the English general without defacing the order, and so far the completeness of the narrative, no loss would occur to the reader; it is a bald, meagre, and utterly inadequate report of such great transactions. Its poverty of language and idea, compared with the magnitude of the occasion, excited at the time the indignation of the English public, who looked for an account ample in its contents and dignified in its language. It was dated the 9th:—

"I had the honour to apprise your lordship in my despatch of the 4th instant, that the engineer and artillery officers of the English armies had laid before General Pelissier a report recommending that the a

be given on the 8th instant, after a fire had been kept up for three days. Arrangement I agreed to, and I have to calculate your lordship on the glorious of the attack of yesterday, which has in the possession of the town, dockyards, public buildings, and destruction of the ships of the Russian fleet in the Black Sea. Three steamers alone remain, and the sinking of these must speedily follow. It was arranged that at twelve o'clock on the day the French columns of assault were to take their trenches, and take possession of the Malakoff and adjacent works. After their having been assured, and they were fairly dislodged, the Redan was to be assaulted by the English; the Bastion, Central, and Quarantines, on the left, were simultaneously to be attacked by the French. At the hour appointed our allies quitted their trenches, and carried the apparently impregnable works of the Malakoff with that impetuous which characterises the French attack; having once obtained possession, they were never dislodged.

The tricolour planted on the parapet was a signal for our troops to advance. The arrangements for the attack I intrusted to Lieutenant-general Sir William Codrington, who carried out the details in concert with Lieutenant-general Markham. I determined that a second and light divisions should have taken part in the assault, from the circumstance of their having defended the batteries and approaches against the Redan for so many days, and from the intimate knowledge they had of the ground. The fire of our artillery having made as much of a breach as was in the salient of the Redan, I decided that the columns of the assault should be directed against that part, as being less exposed to the heavy flanking fire by which this position was protected.

It was arranged between Sir William Codrington and Lieutenant-general Markham that an assaulting column of 1000 men should be formed by equal numbers of these two divisions, the column of the light division to follow the first, and the column of the second to follow. They left their positions at the preconceived signal, and crossed the ground, preceded by a covering party of 200 men, and a ladder-party of 100 men. On arriving at the crest of the ditch, the ladders placed, the men immediately ascended the parapet of the Redan, and penetrated into the salient angle. A most determined and bloody contest was here maintained for nearly an hour, and, although supported by the British, and the greatest bravery displayed, it was impossible to maintain the position. Your lordship will perceive, by the long list of casualties, with what gallantry

and self-devotion the officers so nobly placed themselves at the head of their men during this sanguinary conflict. I feel myself unable to express, in adequate terms, the sense I entertain of the conduct and gallantry exhibited by the troops, though their devotion was not rewarded by the success which they so well merited; but to no one are my thanks more justly due than to Colonel Windham, who gallantly headed his column of attack, and was fortunate in entering and remaining with the troops during the contest. The trenches were, subsequently to this attack, so crowded with troops that I was unable to organise a second assault, which I intended to make with the Highlanders, under Lieutenant-general Sir Colin Campbell, who had hitherto formed the reserve, to be supported by the third division, under Major-general Sir William Eyre. I therefore sent for these officers, and arranged with them to renew the attack the following morning. The Highland Brigade occupied the advanced trenches during the night. About eleven o'clock the enemy commenced exploding their magazines, and Sir Colin Campbell, having ordered a small party to advance cautiously to examine the Redan, found the work abandoned; he did not, however, deem it necessary to occupy it until daylight. The evacuation of the town by the enemy was made manifest during the night. Great fires appeared in every part, accompanied by large explosions, under the cover of which the enemy succeeded in withdrawing their troops to the north side by means of the raft-bridge recently constructed, and which they afterwards disconnected and conveyed to the other side. Their men-of-war were all sunk during the night.

"The boisterous weather rendered it altogether impossible for the admirals to fulfil their intention of bringing the broadsides of the allied fleets to bear upon the Quarantine Batteries; but an excellent effect was produced by the animated and well-directed fire of their mortar-vessels, those of her majesty being under the direction of Captain Wilcox, of the *Odin*, and Captain Digby, of the royal marine artillery.

"It now becomes my pleasing duty, my lord, to place on record the high sense I entertain of the conduct of this army since I have had the honour to command it. The hardships and privations endured by many of the regiments, during a long winter campaign, are too well known for me to comment upon. They were borne, both by officers and men, with a patience and uncomplaining endurance worthy of the highest praise, and which gained them the deserved applause and sympathy of their country. The Naval Brigade, under the command of Captain the Hon. Henry Keppel,

aided by Captain Moorsom and many gallant officers and seamen who have served the guns from the commencement of the siege, merit my warmest thanks.

"The prompt, hearty, and efficacious co-operation of her majesty's navy, commanded by Rear-admiral Sir Edmund Lyons, and ably seconded by Sir Houston Stewart, has contributed most materially to the success of our undertaking; and here, perhaps, I may be permitted to say that, if it had pleased God that the successful result of this memorable siege should have been reported by my ever-to-be-lamented predecessor in this command, I am sure that it would have been one of his most pleasing duties to express the deep sense which I know he entertained of the invaluable assistance and counsel he received on all occasions from Sir Edmund Lyons. When, at times, affairs looked gloomy and success doubtful, he was at hand to cheer and encourage; and every assistance that could tend to advance the operations was given with the hearty good-will which characterises the British sailor. Nothing has contributed more to the present undertaking than the cordial co-operation which has so happily existed from the first between the two services.

"I cannot sufficiently express my approbation of the conduct of the Royal Engineers, under Lieutenant-general Sir Harry Jones, who has conducted the siege operations from the beginning of this year. For some time past he has been suffering on a bed of sickness, but the eventful hour of the assault would not permit him to remain absent; he was conveyed on a litter into the trenches to witness the completion of his arduous undertakings. My warmest thanks are due to the officers and soldiers of the Royal Artillery, under the command of Major-general Sir R. Daeres, who, during the arduous operations of this protracted siege, have so mainly contributed to its ultimate success. I must beg further to record my thanks for the cordial co-operation and assistance I have received in carrying out the details of the service from the chief of the staff, the adjutant, and quartermaster-generals, and general staff, as well as generals commanding divisions and brigades of this army. I must reserve to myself, for the subject of a future despatch, the bringing before your lordship the particular mention of officers of the various branches of this army, whom I shall beg to recommend to your favourable notice. I intrust this despatch to the care of Brevet-major the Hon. Leicester Curzon, who has been assistant military secretary to my noble predecessor and myself since the commencement of this war, and who will be able to give your lordship more minute details than the limits of a despatch will allow."

The Baron de Bazancourt, exceedingly full of the French engineering, which through the siege was inferior to that of the English, directed attention to the report of the chief of the French engineer staff (General Niel) as a masterpiece of military reporting giving the most comprehensive views of the work so triumphantly brought to a conclusion. The report was directed to Major-General Vaillant, and was as follows:—

"The fortifications of Sebastopol were stormed on the 8th of September. That assault rendered us masters of the Malakoff, the occupation of which renders the defence of the suburb almost impossible, and enables us to cut off the communications of the town from the north part of the roadstead. After making several times, and resuming the offer with a courage to which we are bound to do homage, seeing that his uttermost efforts remained fruitless, he began in the evening to evacuate the town; during the night he was on fire, and he employed his powder in destroying with his own hands the defence works and the great establishments which Russia had been accumulating for so many years in this fortress. He has sunk all ships, frigates, and other sailing-vessels, leaving only the steamers; lastly, he broke and pulled after him the bridge of boats, which he communicated with the forts of the north side, abandoning to us in this way the town, suburb, and everything else on the south side of the roadstead."

"The defence was energetic: on several points our attacks were repulsed; but the chief attack, that which insured our success was not doubtful for an instant. The division of the first corps, commanded and sent by General M'Mahon, carried at the onset the Malakoff work, and there maintained itself heroically, understanding that it held its hands the keys of the place.

"I am going to give you an account of the dispositions that had been taken for diminishing as much as possible the numerous difficulties attending this terrible assault, made on a place invested, on a limited garrison, on a vast fortress, defended by an equally numerous, perhaps, as that which attacked it.

"In the attacks directed against the fort, our approaches had been carried to within forty metres of the Central Bastion, and the metres of the Flagstaff Bastion. At the attacks of the Karabelnaia suburb, the English, impeded by the difficulties of the ground and by the fire of the enemy's artillery, only been able to advance their approaches about 200 metres from the salient of the Central Bastion (Redan).

Before the front of the Malakoff we had  
 ed to within twenty-five metres of the  
 te which surrounds the tower, and had  
 ed our approaches to the same distance of  
 little Redan of the Careenage. This im-  
 nt result was due to the incontestable  
 iority of our artillery over that of the  
 y.  
 The generals-in-chief of the allied armies  
 made the following arrangements:—  
 The general attack of the place was fixed  
 he 8th of September at noon. On the  
 ing of the 5th the artillery of the attacks  
 st the town and that of the English  
 rs, who until then had husbanded their  
 vere to resume it with great energy.  
 uch a cannonade was never heard. We  
 ounted in our two attacks more than 500  
 ns. The English had about 200, and the  
 ans more than we. The fire of the enemy  
 zed our trenches, but did us little harm.  
 notwithstanding the great extent of the  
 converged on it, and must have caused  
 use loss to the Russian army. During  
 st days which preceded the assault our  
 ry fatigue-parties were principally em-  
 l in enlarging the most advanced *place*  
*es* and the defiles, and in carrying to the  
 he means of crossing the ditches.  
 he aim of all our efforts was the capture  
 work constructed behind the Malakoff  
 . This work (called the Korniloff Re-  
 by the Russians), which is an immense  
 ot, a kind of citadel of earth, occupies a  
 lon which commands all the interior of  
 arabelnaia suburb, takes the Redan at-  
 by the English *de revers*, and is only  
 metres from the south port, on which  
 ssians had constructed a bridge of rafts,  
 heir only communication between the  
 and the town. The Malakoff Fort is  
 metres by 150 metres in dimensions.  
 apets were more than six metres above  
 oil, and in front of them is a ditch,  
 before our attacks, was six metres in  
 and seven in width. It was armed  
 sixty-two guns of various calibres. In  
 nt part, inclosed by the parapet, is the  
 off Tower, of which the Russians have  
 preserved the ground floor, which is  
 ted. In the interior of the work the  
 ns had raised a vast number of traverses,  
 which were excellent blindages, where  
 rison found shelter, and beds arranged  
 e side in two rows, one above the other.  
 sian officer of engineers, who was made  
 r, states that the garrison of this part of  
 Malakoff, which I have just described in  
 hat you may judge of the difficulties  
 our soldiers had to surmount, consisted  
 ess than 2500 men.  
 e Malakoff front, which is 1000 metres

in length, is bounded on our left by Fort Mala-  
 koff, and on our right by the Little Redan.  
 This last work, which, at the commencement  
 of the siege, was only a simple redan, was  
 transformed little by little into a redoubt, closed  
 at the gorge, and heavily armed. The exterior  
 fronts of the two redoubts of Malakoff and the  
 Careenage were connected by a curtain armed  
 with sixteen cannons; and behind the *enceinte*  
 the Russians had raised a second, which con-  
 nected the fronts of the gorges of the two  
 redoubts. This second *enceinte*, armed in part,  
 had not, however, a ditch, presenting a serious  
 obstacle.

“The rocky nature of the soil had hindered  
 the enemy from excavating everywhere equally  
 the ditch of the first curtain and of the Little  
 Redan, and on several points the troops were  
 able to pass it without very much difficulty.  
 For passing the ditches, which had a consider-  
 able depth, we had contrived a system of  
 bridges which could be thrown across in less  
 than a minute by an ingenious manœuvre, to  
 which our sappers and soldiers *d’élite* have  
 been trained.

“The French artillery was so superior to  
 that of the Russians, that it had extinguished  
 the fire of nearly all the guns pointed directly  
 at our attacks. The filled up embrasures re-  
 lieved us from the fear that our columns  
 might be assailed by grape as they issued from  
 the trenches. The parapets were destroyed,  
 and a part of the earth had rolled into the  
 ditch. Finally, the Malakoff Fort had been  
 assailed by so large a number of shells, thrown  
 from our batteries and those of the English,  
 that the guns which did not bear directly upon  
 our attacks had their embrasures also filled up,  
 and everywhere the earthworks had lost their  
 original form; but, behind the defences situ-  
 ated in the first line, the Russians had pre-  
 served a large number of pieces, which we  
 could not *contre-battre* completely, and the  
 columns which proceeded to attack the Malakoff  
 were exposed to the fire of numerous batteries  
 which the Russians had raised to the north of  
 the roadstead, and which, though fired from a  
 great distance, were, nevertheless, dangerous.

“You are aware that ever since my arrival  
 before Sebastopol I was decidedly of opinion  
 that the true point of attack was the tower or  
 mamelon of Malakoff, and that this opinion  
 having been adopted by General Canrobert,  
 those attacks of the right were undertaken,  
 which were executed by the second corps.  
 From the side of the town we had been con-  
 tent to extend towards the left the approaches  
 executed by the first corps. Taking things at  
 the point where they stood when the assault  
 was resolved on, there was no doubt that the  
 possession of the Malakoff Fort would lead to a  
 decisive result; and, on the other hand, it was

to be presumed that if a failure took place on this point, success obtained elsewhere could not lead to great results. However, it was not proper to attack a place so extended upon one single point. It was necessary to obtain that division of the enemy's forces which resulted from the great development of the *enceinte* that he had to defend, and especially to make him uneasy about the town, to which the bridge led wherby he might make his retreat.

It was to satisfy these various considerations, it was to insure success, while economising as much as possible the blood of our soldiers in the terrible struggle then preparing, that the general-in-chief decided that the assault should first be made on the front of the Malakoff; that if this attack, which would be made under his personal inspection, should succeed, then, at his signal, the English should attack the Redan and the first portion of the town, so as to prevent the enemy's concentrating all his efforts against the troops that should have already taken possession of the Malakoff Fort.

The front of the Malakoff was to be attacked by three columns; the one on the left, commanded by General de M'Mahon, moving in a straight line on the Malakoff Fort by the front that faced us, and in turning it slightly on the right hand, had for its task the taking and keeping of it, cost what it might; the right column, Dulac's division, was to march against the Redan of the Careening Bay, to occupy it, and detach a brigade on its left, in order to turn the second inclosure; lastly, the central column, being the division of La Motte Rouge, issuing from the sixth parallel, having a longer extent of ground to pass over, and arriving a little later, was to carry the Curtain, to proceed then against the second inclosure, and send one of its brigades to the assistance of the first column, if this latter should have not yet gained possession of the Malakoff Fort.

"Such was the importance of these positions that we could not doubt that the enemy, if he lost them, would make great efforts to retake them. In consequence, the troops of the Imperial Guard were given as a reserve to the second corps.

"Chef de bataillon Ragon, having under his orders several brigades of sappers, marching with the first column, had to throw bridges across the ditches, see after the mines, open everywhere a passage to the columns, and, as soon as these should be masters of the fort, to close it at the gorge; and in order to oppose any rallying attack in return, to open in the rear large passages for the arrival of the troops and the artillery. Chef de bataillon Renoux, attached to the right column, and Captain Schonnel, attached to the central column, having also brigades of sappers under

their orders, had to fulfil an analogous mission.

"All the arrangements concerning the of the engineers in the attacks to be made the Malakoff had been made by the General brigade Frossard, commanding the engineers the second corps.

"In attacking the town, in order to a the obstacles accumulated by the enemy at salient of the Flagstaff Bastion, it had decided that the principal assault should given at the Central Bastion, between salient and the *lunette* on the left; that the assaulting column, as soon as it should be blished within the Central Bastion, should tach a part of its forces towards the gorge the Flagstaff Battery, whose right face sh then be assailed by a Sardinian brigade, w had come to take part in the operations of first corps.

"General Dalesme, commanding the engineers of the first corps, had made arrangements for attacking the town similar to those which have just explained with reference to the attacks of the Karabelnaia faubourg.

"On the 8th of September, at eight o'clock in the morning, we threw on the Central Bastion two mines of projection, each charged with 100 kilogrammes of powder. The explosion took place near the middle of the bastion and appeared to cause great disorder. At the same hour we exploded, in front of our approaches to the Malakoff Fort, three mine chambers, charged in all with 1500 kilogrammes of powder, in order to destroy the lower galleries of the Russian miners, and give security to our soldiers, who had to descend within the trenches, under which deserters had nounced the soil was mined.

"At noon precisely our soldiers rushed to the advanced *place d'armes* in front of the Malakoff. They crossed the ditches with surprising agility, and, jumping on the parapets, attacked the enemy to the cry of "*Vive l'empereur*." At the Malakoff Fort, the interior slope had a great height, those who arrived first had an instant to form. Then they mounted the parapet and jumped into the work.

"The combat, which had commenced with discharges of fire-arms, was carried on with the bayonet, with stones, and with the ends of muskets. The rammers became weapons in the hands of the Russian gunners, everywhere the Russians were killed, taken prisoners, or made to fly; and, in less than a quarter of an hour after the attack had taken place, the French flag waved on the conqueror's redoubt.

"The Careenage Redan had also been captured after a very hot struggle. The centre column had advanced as far as the second inclosure. Everywhere we had taken possession of the

s attacked. The general-in-chief gave concerted signal for the attack of the Great n, and soon after for the attack of the . The English had 200 metres of ground over under a terrible fire of grape. This was presently covered with dead, but losses could not stop the march of the king column, which advanced to the capital e work. It descended into the ditch, a was about five metres in depth, and, thstanding all the efforts of the Russians, aladed the scarp, and took from them the t of the Redan; but after the first struggle, a cost the Russians dear, the English sol-found before them a vast open space, d in all directions by the balls of the z, who themselves were sheltered behind t traverses. Those who came up were ly sufficient to replace those who were hors de combat. It was not until they ustained, during nearly two hours, this al combat, that the English resolved to ate the Redan.

the attack upon the Central Bastion pre-the same result. In front of the Mala-ne Russians made great efforts to recon-he works; repeated attacks were made, t vain. The dead bodies of the enemy piled up in front of the gorge; ne first division remained unmovable, the evening we were masters of the without which the Russians could not e their defence for more than a few

us terminated this memorable siege, in the means of defence and of attack d colossal dimensions. The Russians 0 cannon in battery, the besieging army 00.

finishing this report, I ought to tell onseigneur le Maréchal, that the greatest ty has never ceased to prevail between illery and the engineers. Whenever e these two services could come to the ce of the other, he did it with eager- d this community of views and action en us the means of overcoming many ties.

ave also had to congratulate myself in stance on my relations with General nes, commanding the engineers of the army. Our object was the same, and e never differed in opinion on the means employed for attaining it. Already, at e of Bomarsund, I had the opportunity ciating the loyalty and the noble cha- of this general officer. I have been y finding myself again in relations with the siege of Sebastopol."

following order of the day was ad- e by Prince Gortschakoff to his army,

dated 30th of August, old style, corresponding with our 12th of September:—

"Valiant Comrades,—On the 12th of Sep-tember last year a strong enemy's army appeared before the walls of Sebastopol. Despite its numerical superiority, despite the absence of obstacles which military science might have opposed to it in the town, that army did not dare attack it with an open force, but under-took a regular siege. Since then, despite the formidable means at the disposal of our ene-mies, who, by their numerous ships, constantly received reinforcements, artillery, and ammu-nition for eleven months and a-half, all their efforts failed before your bravery and firmness. It is a fact unexampled in military annals that a town hastily fortified, in presence of the enemy, should have been able to hold out so long against a force, the means of attack of which have exceeded everything that hitherto could have been foreseen in calculations of this nature. And with means so enormous, and of such a description, after the ruinous effects of an artillery of colossal dimensions, continued for nine months, the enemy having frequently had recourse to prolonged bombardments of the town, firing on each occasion many hun-dred thousand rounds, they became convinced of the inadequacy of their efforts, and resolved to take Sebastopol by a combat.

"On the 6th (18th) of June they made the assault on different sides, entering courageously into the town; but you received them with intrepidity, and they were driven back on all points in the most brilliant manner. This check forced them to return to a continuation of their first plan of siege, multiplying their batteries, and increasing the activity of their trench works and mining operations. Since the memorable day upon which you repulsed the assault two months and a-half have elapsed, during which, animated by sentiments of duty and of love to the throne and to your country, you have heroically disputed each inch of ground, forcing the assailants to advance only foot by foot, and paying with torrents of blood and an incredible loss of ammunition for each yard of ground they gained. In this obstinate defence your courage did not flag; on the contrary, it rose to the highest degree of self-denial. But if your intrepidity and your patience were without bounds, there are such in the nature of the possibility of defence. As the approaches of the enemy gradually advanced, their batteries were erected nearer the walls. The circle of fire which sur-rounded Sebastopol grew daily narrower, and sent death and destruction upon the courageous defenders still further into the town.

"Taking advantage of the superiority of their fire at short range, the enemy, after the

concentrated action of their artillery for thirty days (which cost our garrison from 100 to 1000 men per day), commenced that infernal bombardment from their innumerable engines of war, and of a calibre hitherto unknown, which destroyed our defences, which had been repaired at night with great labour and at great loss, under the incessant fire of the enemy—the principal work, the Korniloff Redoubt, on the Malakoff Hill (the key of Sebastopol, as a point dominating the whole town), having experienced considerable and irreparable damage. To continue, under these circumstances, the defence of the south side, would have been to expose our troops daily to a useless butchery, and their preservation is to-day, more than ever, necessary to the Emperor of Russia. For these reasons, with sorrow in my heart, but with a full conviction, I resolved to evacuate Sebastopol, and take over the troops to the north side by the bridge, constructed beforehand over the bay, and by boats.

“Meantime the enemy, beholding, on the 27th of August (8th of September), at half-past ten, the half-ruined works before them, and the Korniloff Redoubt, with its ditches filled up, resolved upon a desperate assault, first on bastions No. 2 (Korniloff) and No. 3 (Redan), and after about three hours upon bastion No. 5, and the Belkin and Schwartz Redoubts. Of these six attacks, five were gloriously repulsed. Some of the points of attack, like that on bastion No. 2, on which the enemy had succeeded in bringing guns by flying bridges, having at various times been taken and retaken, remained finally ours. But the Korniloff Redoubt, more damaged than the others by the bombardment, was taken by the French, who brought more than 30,000 men against it, and could not be retaken, after the great losses we had suffered at the commencement of this combat; for it would have been necessary to ascend in the midst of the ruins a very steep incline, and then cross a narrow ridge above a deep ditch on the rear face occupied by the French. Such an undertaking might have prevented us achieving the proposed object, and would have cost us, without the slightest doubt, incalculable losses. The attempt was the more needless, as, for reasons already mentioned, I had resolved to evacuate the place. Therefore, as the success of the enemy was confined to the sole capture of the Korniloff Redoubt, I ordered that no attack should be made on that redoubt, and to remain in front of it, to oppose any continuation of the enemy's attack on the town itself—an order which was executed despite all the efforts of the French to get beyond the gorge of the redoubt.

“At dusk the troops were ordered to retire,

according to the arrangements previously made. The examples of bravery you gave during that day, valiant comrades, arouse such a feeling of respect in the enemy, that despite the knowledge they must have had of our retreat by the explosion of our mine, which our troops exploded one after the other as they gradually retreated, they not only did not pursue us in columns, but even ceased firing with their artillery, which they might have continued with impunity.

“Valiant comrades, it is painful, it is hard to leave Sebastopol in the enemy's hands. But remember the sacrifice we made upon the altar of our country in 1812. Moscow is surely as valuable as Sebastopol—we abandoned it after the immortal battle of Borodino. The defence of Sebastopol during 349 days was superior to Borodino; and when the enemy entered Moscow in that great year of 1812, they only found heaps of stones and ashes. Likewise it is not Sebastopol which we have left them, but the burning ruins of the town, which we ourselves set fire to, having maintained the honour of the defence in such a manner that our great-grandchildren may recall the remembrance thereof with pride to all posterity. Sebastopol kept us chained to its walls, with its fall we acquire freedom of movement, and a new war commences—in the open field, that most congenial to the Russian soldier. Let us prove to the emperor that we are still imbued with the spirit which animated our ancestors in our memorable and patriotic struggles. Wherever the enemy may show himself, we will present our breasts to him, and defend our native land as we defended it in 1812. Valiant warriors of the land and sea forces, in the name of the emperor I thank you for your unexampled courage, firmness, and constancy you have displayed during the siege of Sebastopol.

“In thus expressing the gratitude of the worthy commanders are entitled to who are still living, let us also honour, comrades, those who have fallen honourably for our faith and for our country on the ramparts of Sebastopol. Let us remember the immortal names of Nekouzoff, Korniloff, and Istomine, and let us address prayers to the Most High that He will grant them peace, and eternalise their memory as an example to the future generations of Russians.”

The emperor also addressed an “order of the day” to the defenders of Sebastopol, in which he expressed the same assumption of being on the side of God and the only true religion, which had much disgraced the state papers of Nicholas I. This document proved to Europe that the emperor Alexander would not, or dare not, make

th, his people were still for war; they believed in their destiny as one of universal empire, as a means of establishing their Church in universal ascendancy.

the defence of Sebastopol, which has so long, which is, perhaps, unexampled in military annals, has drawn upon it the lion not only of Russia, but of all Europe. Its very commencement it placed its deeds in the same rank as the most illustrious of our country. In the course of eleven months the garrison of Sebastopol has disputed a powerful enemy every inch of ground in a country which surrounds the town, and of its enterprises has been distinguished by the most brilliant bravery. The obstinate resistance, four times renewed, and the fire which has been justly styled 'infernal,' the walls of our fortifications, but could not make or diminish the zeal and perseverance of their defenders. They beat the enemy, with indomitable courage, with a self-worthiness of the soldiers of Christ, without thought of surrendering. Regretting my heart the loss of so many generous men, who offered their lives as a sacrifice for their country, and submitting with resignation to the will of the Most High, whom it pleased to crown their acts with success, I feel it a sacred duty, on this day, to express in my name, as well as in the name of all Russia, to the brave garrison of Sebastopol the warmest gratitude for its indefatigable labours, for the blood it has shed in defence, for nearly a year, of those fortifications which it erected in a few days.

At times there are impossibilities even for the bravest. On the 8th of this month, after six desperate assaults, which were repulsed, the Russians succeeded in getting possession of the Malakoff Bastion (Malakoff), and the commander-in-chief of the army in the Crimea, desirous of sparing the precious blood of his brave companions, who, under the circumstances, would only have shed it uselessly, ordered them to pass over to the north side of the Malakoff, leaving only blood-stained ruins to the besieging enemy.

These tried heroes, the object of the warmest esteem of their comrades, will, doubtless, in re-entering actually into the ranks of the army, new proofs of their warlike

With them, and like them, all my countrymen are animated with the same unbounded confidence in Providence, with the same ardent love for me and my country, will always and bravely fight the enemies that attempt to violate our sacred ark—the honour and the territorial integrity of our country; and the name of Sebastopol, which has acquired immortal fame, so much suffering, and the names of

its defenders, will live eternally in the hearts of all the Russians, with the names of the heroes who immortalised themselves on the fields of battle at Pultawa and Borodino."

Her Britannic majesty anticipated the emperor, her enemy, and the emperor, her ally, in congratulatory reference to the events at Sebastopol. She caused her minister of war to address to the commander-in-chief of the British army, in her name, the following order:—

"The queen has received with deep emotion the welcome intelligence of the fall of Sebastopol.

"Penetrated with profound gratitude to the Almighty, who has vouchsafed this triumph to the allied army, her majesty has commanded me to express to yourself, and, through you, to the army, the pride with which she regards this fresh instance of their heroism.

"The queen congratulates her troops on the triumphant issue of this protracted siege, and thanks them for the cheerfulness and fortitude with which they have encountered its toils, and the valour which has led to its termination.

"The queen deeply laments that this success is not without its alloy in the heavy losses which have been sustained; and while she rejoices in the victory, her majesty deeply sympathises with the noble sufferers in their country's cause.

"You will be pleased to congratulate General Pelissier, in her majesty's name, upon the brilliant result of the assault on the Malakoff, which proves the irresistible force, as well as the indomitable courage of our brave allies."

The public congratulations of the French emperor were sent to Pelissier by telegraph, and were brief and ardent:—

"Honour to you! Honour to our brave army! My sincere congratulations to all."

"The emperor requests you to congratulate, in his name, the English army for the constant bravery and the moral strength of which it has given proof during this long and trying campaign."

The sultan sent his minister of war to bear the following letter to General Pelissier, who was made a marshal of France by the decree of the emperor, September 12th:—

"The arms of the alliance have just obtained a brilliant victory, the fruit of so much bravery. In my name and in the name of my people I congratulate you—you and the brave army which the emperor, my august and close ally, has placed under your command, as I have congratulated our brave allies, the English and the Sardinians.

"Turkey, like France, is grateful to you;

and it shares the general admiration of the whole world.

"The brave children of these countries, which a close alliance binds for ever the one to the other, have, without doubt, been greatly tried; but the capture of a place, the siege of which will be one of the most splendid pages of military history, is a most glorious reward. Their country blesses their names as the Almighty has blessed their arms. I pray you, marshal, to be my interpreter to your brave army, to express to it these sentiments.

"The president of the general council of war, the general of division, Rifaat Pasha, who will deliver to you the present letter, will communicate to you verbally my most sincere congratulations to you and to your brave companions in arms.

"Whereupon, I pray God to have you ever in his high and holy keeping."

The naval despatches were as follows. Sir Edmund Lyons wrote on the 10th from on board the *Royal Albert*, off Sebastopol:—

"Of the operations on shore, which have produced the successful result of the singular and memorable siege of Sebastopol, her majesty's government will be informed by General Simpson; but it is my duty to report to the lords commissioners of the Admiralty what has taken place afloat, and on the seaboard, under my own observation.

"It had been arranged by Generals Simpson and Pelissier, Admiral Bruat and myself, that precisely at noon on the 8th instant, the allied fleets should open fire upon the Quarantine Batteries that enfiladed the approach of the assaulting columns; but, unfortunately, the weather, which had been fine for some days, changed on the morning of the attack, and a north-west gale and a heavy sea rendered it impossible for any vessels to act upon batteries situated on the lee-shore of this exposed roadstead. It will, however, appear, by the inclosed reports from Captain Willcox, of the *Odin*, and Captain Digby, of the Royal Marine Artillery (whom, as well as the junior officers mentioned by them, I beg leave particularly to recommend to the favourable consideration of their lordships), that the mortar-vessels attached to the fleets kept up a very effective fire from their position in the Bay of Strelitzka.

"As the day closed, things in the harbour seemed to be in the same state as they were in the morning; but during the night several heavy explosions were heard, and at dawn we observed that the fortifications on the south side were in flames, and that the six remaining ships of the line had been sunk at their moorings, leaving afloat no more of the late Russian Black Sea fleet than two dismantled corvettes

and nine steamers, most of which are small.

"Soon afterwards the enemy were seen treating across the newly-constructed bridge until the south side of the harbour, on which the naval and military arsenals, the public buildings, and the town of Sebastopol are situated, appeared to be completely evacuated; then the southern portion of the bridge was hauled over to the north shore.

"It is now my pleasing duty to render tribute to the admirable conduct of all who have had the honour and happiness to command during the last nine months of this arduous struggle, and whose duties I shared before; for although, with the exception of the Naval Brigade in the camp, whose gallantry bearing from the beginning, under the command of Sir Stephen Lushington, has been beyond all praise, and never more so than during the last two bombardments under the command of the Hon. Captain Keppel, it has not fallen to the lot of the navy, on this occasion, to perform distinguished deeds of arms such as those of their gallant brethren in the army; whilst straining every nerve, night and day, under very trying circumstances, to supply means for carrying on the siege, in the gloom of which they could not share, the generous offers of encouragement, unalloyed by envy, have always been heartily given in the day of triumph; nor have sympathy and assistance ever been wanting in the hour of distress and suffering; the same sentiments have pervaded all ranks—captains, officers, seamen, marines, all agreeing with each other in the following, as I believe I have said once before, the excellent example set them by my second in command and coadjutor, Rear-admiral Houston Stewart.

"Perhaps, in closing this letter, I may be permitted to indulge in the expression of gratification I feel in reflecting that, under the circumstances to which it relates, my illustrious colleague Vice-admiral Bruat and I have gone heart and hand together, and that the most perfect understanding and hearty co-operation in the great cause of humanity, which we are all engaged, have invariably prevailed throughout both fleets.

The report of Captain Digby was dated the day of the assault from Strelitzka Bay:—

"I have the honour to report that, in pursuance of the orders which I received from the command, I opened fire from the mortar vessels at 8.30 A.M. upon the Quarantine Battery, and a general and more rapid fire, from noon until 7 P.M., upon the Quarantine Battery and Fort Alexander. The two outer vessels were much exposed to the swell of the sea, and were set into the bay, rendering a large object

and I therefore directed their fire on Artillery Bay and the Bastion, de Quae, where I had been informed that our reserves were placed.

The force of the wind and heavy swell prevailed were singularly unfavourable accuracy, and the general satisfactory nature of the firing was due to the ability exercised by the officers of the Royal Marine Artillery who conducted it; and I beg to submit for notice the names of First-lieutenant First-lieutenant Hewett, First-lieutenant Brookes, First-lieutenant Festing, and First-lieutenant Pitman, the officers employed. The non-commissioned officers and gunners also performed their duties in a most satisfactory manner; and I may especially mention the services of Colour-sergeant Horatio, in the absence of an officer, under the firing of the *Firm*, mortar-vessel.

owing to the state of the weather, and the want of the means at their disposal, the officers in command had to overcome great difficulties in maintaining the position of their batteries; and I beg to be allowed to express my opinion of the services of Messrs. Leet, H. and Pearson, Brent, Hart, and Vaughan, who so ably performed these duties, and greatly contributed to the success of the

Captain Willcox wrote, on the same day, on board the *Odin*:—

I have the honour to acquaint you that, in pursuance of your directions, and in action with Captain Bachm, commanding French mortar-boats, I opened fire from our mortar-vessels you did me the honour of placing under my command at 8.30 A.M. till 1.30, against the Quarantine Fort and outworks, as well as upon Fort Alexander and the Bastions (where, near to the latter place, the number of the enemy's reserve were large), keeping their fire so completely under only a few shot and shell were returned, but few fired into the French battery and our works before us. A small number of our men were also thrown into the town and the Bastion, which produced a conflagration of great extent.

Captain Digby, Royal Marine Artillery, being the artillery officer in each vessel, I attribute the successful practice; and I add of the opportunity of bringing to your notice the indefatigable and zealous conduct of J. K. Leet, mate, in charge of the *Firm*, from being the senior officer of the mortar-vessels, has always ably carried out my instructions and I am happy to bear testimony to the praiseworthy conduct of Messrs. J. B. Pearson, T. L. Pearson, H. W. Brent, A. F. Hart,

and Henry Vaughan, mates, in charge of the other mortar-vessels.

"I have also great pleasure in stating that no casualty occurred, and that neither the mortars or vessels were at all damaged by the heavy firing."

Captain Keppel, commanding the Naval Brigade, made the following report to the admiral the day after the assault:—

"I have the honour to inform you that, in pursuance of instructions, a vigorous fire was opened from the batteries at six o'clock on the morning of the 7th, and was maintained throughout the day. The fire was recommenced yesterday morning with increased vigour, preparatory to an assault to be made by our allies on the Malakoff, and subsequently by ourselves on the Redan.

"At noon the French were observed to start *en masse* from their trenches, and possess themselves in gallant style of the Malakoff Battery, on which the tricolour flag was hoisted, and the imperial eagles planted within ten minutes of their quitting their trenches.

"The French flag was no sooner displayed on the Malakoff, than our storming-party issued from their trenches, and assailed the salient angle of the Redan; but the enemy were by that time prepared to meet them, and, as the supporting-party advanced, a heavy fire of grape and canister was opened on them, in spite of a brisk fire kept up from our batteries on all parts of the Redan not assailed, as well as on the flanking batteries. After maintaining the footing they had gained for some time, our troops were obliged to retire, the killed and wounded left on the ground sufficiently testifying how gallantly they had fought.

"The fire from our batteries was kept up until dark, and at about eleven o'clock the enemy evacuated the Redan, after having fired a train that exploded the magazines.

"This morning's light showed how successful and complete had been the victory gained by the allied forces. The enemy had evacuated all their positions on the south side of the harbour; the town, Fort Nicolai, Fort Paul, and Dockyard, were in flames, and their line-of-battle ships had been sunk in the positions they were last seen in when at anchor.

"The conduct of the officers and men of the brigade under my command has been such as to continue to merit the high opinion you have been pleased to express of them.

"I have the honour to inclose a list of casualties for the 7th and 8th."

On the 15th Admiral Lyons addressed a letter to the Admiralty, giving further information.

## CHAPTER CII.

LETTERS FROM THE CAMP RELATING TO THE BOMBARDMENT AND CAPTURE OF SOUTHERN SEBASTOPOL.—INCIDENTS DURING AND AFTER THE STORMING, ILLUSTRATING THE CHARACTERISTICS OF VICTORS AND VANQUISHED.

"Low down the billows under,  
Lies now his vaunted thunder,  
Every plank is split asunder—  
Honour our heroes brave!  
No more his cannons frown  
Above his boasted town;  
Bastion and fort are down,  
And his proud array of ships,  
And his guns with fiery lips,  
Lie cooling 'neath the wave."—*War Song.*

NEVER in the history of war have letters from the actors in its terrible exploits been read with so much interest as during the progress of the Crimean expedition. Whether on the part of the officer or the humble soldier, the views and feelings of those who participated in the strife were regarded with deep sympathy by their countrymen at home. This sympathy, which became intense after the battle of the Alma, continued all through the war; but immediately after the storming of Sebastopol there sprung up an increased and irrepressible eagerness to peruse the correspondence of the men who survived to witness the issue of the sanguinary but glorious struggle. The reader will find in the following pages letters from men of very varied position, and all expressive of the characteristics of the conflict, and of the troops who so long maintained it. Perhaps the letters of the medical men have been read with less curiosity by the public than any other; this probably arose from their being considered as non-combatants, whereas often their position was most perilous, and their conduct heroic. The following is from one of these gallant men whose name has before occurred on the pages of this History—Dr. Fair. Perhaps no medical officer had been more, if so much, in the trenches as he had been. On one occasion, while conversing with his colonel (Cuddy), a ball struck the latter, carrying off part of his coat and waistcoat, and leaving himself unhurt; and almost immediately after, the same thing happened to the other side of his coat. The gallant colonel was the first to see the signal to advance, and the first to fall on the dreadful and final day at the Redan.

"September 7th.—On coming home from a stroll to the Limekilns, whither I had gone to have another look at the often-looked-at city, I found that a clear out had been made at the hospital; the sick had been sent to Balaklava, and an order had come that officers and men were to prepare two days' rations, to breakfast at six, and parade at eight. So I made ready my

haversack by replenishing it with lint, bandages, &c.; had some beef boiled, procured bread, got my flasks filled, and turned out for the Bombardment, confined chiefly to the last day going on all day.

"September 8th.—C—awoke me about daylight; tremendously cold morning; had a cup of tea; went round hospital, and then marched off with regiment to parade-ground where we waited a long time, having started too soon. At parade General Codrington gave a short address, informing us that we were to act as supports to the storming-party—an important duty, which he doubted not would be well performed; that we were to occupy the fourth parallel, moving gradually into the fifth, then to enter the Redan, and insure the possession of it to the stormers. So off we marched down the middle ravine. My staff consisted of Carmodie and two bandsmen, as ordered, carrying my haversack, rum-barrel, &c. I marched beside Burke, our adjutant, at the head of the Grenadier company. As we went along, I gathered that the French were to attack the Malakoff at twelve o'clock, and that their standard planted on the tower, and the English flag on the Mamelon, was to be the signal of attack upon the Redan. On we went through the ravine to the oft-trod trenches, keeping up a brisk fire, to which the Russian replied but seldom. On the left the bombardment was kept up heavily. We jogged along till we got to the fourth parallel, then gradually moved down the approach to the fifth, now sitting on the breastwork, speaking over the coming event of the day, then moving on a little. Being with the Grenadier or flank company, I was next to the light company of the 30th, and went along, talking with its officers among others, Colonel Patallo, who not long after was brought to me mortally wounded, and Saunders, who was also severely wounded. Gradually we reached the end of the approach where it joins the fifth parallel, and at the corner most of us of the 55th and 30th were talking together with General Warren, keeping a sharp look out at the Malakoff, as

ple, amid the rifle-bullets which were poured from the Redan. We were now in the midst of expectation, for our guns had never fired such a fire as I had never before seen. Volleys of eight and ten at a time, being fired from behind, passed by above our heads, tearing up the earth in front of the Redan in grand style. The French too, opened a tremendous fire from the Redan. At twelve o'clock exactly, 'There the French!' was heard, and in a moment we were all up on the breastwork, thinking of the round-shot and grape that came whizzing about us, throwing up stones, smashing gabions, and knocking down men. It was a splendid sight to see the French rushing up the steep side of the Redan. We saw it but for a few minutes, as soon as it was obscured in smoke; but high enough to distinguish the French standing over the Malakoff tower; and it was a pleasant sight to see the Russians rushing helter-skelter from the works down to the sea. It was sharp work, for at twenty past twelve our signal was up—a flag on the Mamelon. Colonel Cuddy started, and rushed off at the head of his company. We all shook hands and moved down as fast as we could, for our attacking column had passed out of the sap, and we saw the French rushing on the Redan. Many a fine man was cut short in his career across the face of the grape-shot, which came in fearful numbers. I kept up with my regiment as well as I could, for the wounded falling around me. I bound them up, and then went on after the regiment, till arrested by the French and thus on till I got to the end of the trench which led to the open. To go farther was there being already such a crowd of men around; so I took up my position in an unenviable one, for grape and shot came among us, wounding those beside me. Men fell dead almost on the top of me. I went on to do, and time passed without knowing how it flew, I was so busy. My major, who was one of the first officers to come to me, a grape-shot having broken his leg. Then Richards, one of our captains, was hit in the ankle by grape. He wanted to go on, but I would not let him, nor could he go, for he fainted when I had him laid down on the breastwork. Officers and men came on, mowed down by the grape from the French, firing which rushed over and among us, with dust and stones, which dealt terrible raps. I was struck twice, once in the back by, I think, a grape-shot—but I went on to look—and once on the foot, by a shell, both 'smarteries,' but that was all. I was too busy to observe anything going on, and at the first rush, I saw nothing I may

say of the attack. While I was thus hard at work among the wounded, the soldiers around me cried out, 'Doctor, you must get out of the way; they are retreating!' So I looked up, and saw our men rushing helter-skelter into and over the open, to the trenches to the rear of us. I did not exactly know what to do, so I drew my sword (which, by the way, got very bloody that day, but not with Russian blood), and went on with my dressing till I had finished all about me, and then thought of moving off. I could not leave poor Richards, as we all expected the Russians to be in among us every minute; so there was nothing for it but to put him on my back and carry him, which I did till I got a stretcher, by some means or other, and raised some men of the reserve to carry him home. Then I went down to the trenches again, dressing any wounded I found on the way. While doing so, Saunders called out to me from the trenches into which he had staggered, with the knee-joint of one leg smashed, and a bullet through the other. He bore it all splendidly. I dressed his wounds, got a scaling-ladder, and sent him 'home' too. The Russians did not come out, and when I left, the city began to blaze.

"September 9th.—Up at daylight, and down with the regiment. I went out with the adjutant to look for Colonel Cuddy's body, which was found with the arm upraised, as if waving his sword, to go into the Redan; had a look round, then stationed in 21-gun battery all day.

"September 10th.—Set to work in hospital at eight o'clock; got done about five; had dinner; went round and saw a few officers I knew, and back to hospital again. My back, by this time, pretty sore with stooping. I have just been warned to go with the regiment on a bathing and washing expedition to the Tchernaya, for fear of accident; start at 7 o'clock."

The above was, of course, never intended for publication; the off-hand style, therefore, in which it is written, gives it the more interest.

The following was written by Mr. Lane from the commissariat head-quarters, Balaklava, on the morning of the 8th, a few hours before the assault, and will show what the feelings and hopes of those there stationed were while the cannon of the bombardment were uttering their fierce challenges on the plateau:—"You ask, 'Why don't we take Sebastopol?' It is not so easily done; however, we have made another attempt, and may it be successful. On the night of the 4th the French fired and destroyed one of the frigates in the harbour; and on the 5th, about 5 p.m., the whole line of batteries, French and British, opened a fire unparalleled in the world's history. If you have ever heard a line of infantry fire on a

review day, you may form some idea of the incessant war of artillery from the batteries when we opened. Balaklava and the camp was alive. You may guess what excitement prevailed, this being the last and long-looked-for opening prior to the grand assault. I, like many others, rode to the front; and at dark no pen can describe the grandeur of the scene—the flashes of the guns along the whole line, the bursting of the shells, and the rockets flying through the air, made it a sight indescribable. The attack upon the Malakoff is looked for every moment: the greatest confidence in the result prevails. I am writing this in a miserable hut, which is neither wind-tight nor water-tight, and am not, therefore, in a condition to write you a long letter."

It will be remembered that when the allies entered the hospital to hand over the wounded Russians to a steamer which had crossed the harbour with a flag of truce to receive them, Captain Vaughan, of the 90th, was found among the dead and wounded. The following letter gives the particulars of the manner in which this gallant man was recovered:—"He was found at 8 A.M., on the 10th of September, sitting on the lower step of a staircase that led to the upper floor of the building. His leg was badly broken; he had nothing on him but a flannel shirt and a pair of socks, and when first spoken to he was delirious; he appeared to be very cold, as he was shivering. I procured him water, and it was distressing to see the avidity with which he swallowed it. I procured a stretcher, and placed a feather-bed on it, and I never left him till I deposited him safely in the lines of the 90th, under the care of Dr. Anderson, the excellent surgeon of that regiment. The first stretcher did not do, and I had it changed at the Redan. His mind wandered frequently, and he then almost always spoke in French; but by speaking gently to him, and holding his hand, I was generally enabled to make him understand what he was talking about, and then he gave me a clear account of what had occurred to him. He was wounded very soon after entering the Redan. After our attack was repulsed, the Russian officers gave orders that he should be taken carefully to the rear; and while in their presence he was well treated, but, I fear, he was treated with much brutality as he was being conveyed to the rear. He complained that the men who were taking him dragged him along roughly, and that his broken limb frequently came in contact with gabions, stones, &c., giving him great pain. Upon arriving at the building where I found him, which was full of dead and dying, he appears to have been unkindly treated. His wound had not been dressed. He repeatedly supplicated for water, but no one gave him a drop. Thank

God, they were not Englishmen. It is possible to conceal that the gallant gentleman's sufferings must have been intense, but he had a gallant heart to meet his fate, and end the pain that God thought fit to inflict him."

The following letter was written by an officer to his family soon after the assault:—"The 97th led the way, and placed the ladder against the parapet of the Redan, after which Malakoff was taken by the French. The part of our regiment consisted of 160 men under Major Welsford, with the ladders. The major was the first to mount one, and then about to get in at an embrasure, when a shot inside was fired, and the shot took off his head. Our poor colonel, the Hon. Henry Handley, led the assaulting-party of the 97th, which consisted of 200 men. Our present sergeant-major was with him all the time, and he has since told me that before he got into the Redan he got a blow of a stone on the chest, which he did not mind. The ladder was then placed against the parapet, which he did not get inside the Redan, followed closely by the sergeant-major. He was only there a short time, when he was struck by a bullet on the left side of the head. At the time he was raising his sword, and calling to his men to follow him. Feeling himself wounded, he said, 'I am hit, but never mind; follow me, sergeant!' He only advanced a few steps when he fell, unconscious, from which state he never recovered. He died fifteen hours after the assault. All speak in the highest manner of the bravery he showed, and all regret his loss very much. I cannot tell you how miserable I feel—about the companions either killed or wounded. Of the 360 men sent into action 198 are killed, wounded, or missing. Thirteen officers were sent into action, two only returned untouched—two were killed, and the rest wounded. Captain Hutton was only found this morning in the town, where he had been carried by the Russians in a dying state. Poor young Mr. Gordon, our adjutant, was killed inside the Redan."

Mr. M'Gregor, the officer referred to in the last sentence of this letter was an officer of great promise, and a most amiable and gentleman. Mr. R. C. M'Cormick, an American gentleman, who visited the allied camps at Sebastopol, frequently mentions him in terms of respect and interest, and thus refers to his death:—"Those who have perused the details of this narrative will be prepared to sympathize with the deep regret we feel in announcing the death of Lieutenant D. A. M'Gregor, whose name appeared in the list of officers killed on the 8th of September during the final and successful attack on Sebastopol. The kindness of Lieutenant M'Gregor to the author while in the camp, and the cheerful and playful

er which he displayed while performing  
of a host amid the roughnesses and  
tions of camp-life, make one feel as  
a friend, and not a stranger, had de-  
Alas! thousands who played their  
the scenes recorded in these pages are  
sitting, not for a call to the battle-field,  
that morning when 'the trumpet shall  
and the dead shall be raised.'"

n officers of high rank fall in the service  
r country, their names appear in the  
ies in the leading magazines and jour-  
ut seldom is any notice taken of a poor  
rn, however heroic his conduct or his

On that occasion instances are related  
the heroism of such men. Lieutenant  
Donovan, of the 33rd, or Duke of Wel-  
s Own, was one of the gallant subal-  
ho fell at the Redan. He belonged to  
y of that name living at Ballymore,  
a, county of Wexford, and was brother  
r Donovan of the same regiment. At  
mmencement of the war he was travel-  
the East as a civilian, when, hearing  
is brother's regiment had arrived at  
he started thither, accompanied it to  
a, and afterwards on to the Crimea.  
ained the colonel's permission to land  
s a volunteer, and served at the battles  
a and Inkerman. For his distinguished  
t at the Alma a commission was given  
wards the end of September, 1854. He  
ded throughout the arduous campaign of  
sharing its toils and dangers, until the  
September, when he perished in the  
on Sebastopol. A naval officer, writing  
few days after his death, said, speaking  
attack:—"While in the ravine between  
at and left attack, a soldier, one of the  
called out to me, 'Captain, have you  
r. Donovan? he has just been carried  
ally wounded.' I immediately galloped  
his quarters, where I met the doctor,  
d, 'It is all over with poor Donovan;'  
my requesting to see him, he complied;  
re, in a tent, on a stretcher, lay the  
fellow, looking a brave man even in

On my remarking to the surgeon that  
a good soldier, his reply was, 'Not a  
n the regiment. I expected,' he added,  
something would happen, as he was  
the first in everything.' When I was last  
in he asked me to come to a burial-  
to look at the grave of an officer who  
n a friend of his. It was the morning  
e French magazine blew up, and they  
gging graves for some who had been  
when he made the remark, 'It is not  
asant marching down here, and seeing  
ave, perhaps, digging for one.' That  
y he read the service over one of his  
t who had been killed the preceding

night; little did I then expect that some one  
would have to perform the same melancholy  
duty over him so shortly afterwards."

Sir Edward Colebrook, Bart., in his journal,  
printed for private circulation, gives a vivid  
sketch of what he saw:—"The fire was now  
hot along the whole front, as the French attack  
on the left had commenced. I could see a  
little flag flying on the top of the Malakoff, and  
men passing in and out of the works, which  
assured us that our allies had secured their  
hold; but about two o'clock, when the fire  
slackened in our front, and the Russian works,  
which I had hitherto seen in dim outline,  
appeared in view, it became plain that our  
troops were again in the trenches, and the  
Russians in occupation of the Redan, and so  
ended my view of this great struggle. I lin-  
gered about the spot, and again on Cathcart's  
Hill, where I heard the confirmation of what  
my telescope had told me. We hoped for some  
return of success, for a renewal of the assault  
was expected; and one could not but feel  
anxious for the French, for the battle raged  
furiously about the Malakoff and beyond it,  
showing that this important position was far  
from won; an explosion in that direction  
added to the anxiety of the watchers of the  
scene; till wearied with anxiety and the vain  
attempts to penetrate the smoke, I turned back  
to the camp to see Major Chapman,\* whose  
wound I had heard of. He was not on duty,  
but his eagerness would not allow him to  
remain a distant spectator, and he had been hit  
by a grape-shot in the leg in one of the ad-  
vanced batteries. The evening was a very  
melancholy one; I slept in my wounded friend's  
tent, as he was moved to a hut. Dined with  
Colonel Chapman, who did not return from  
the first parallel, where he had been with  
General Simpson throughout the day, until  
eight o'clock. Engineer officers dropped in  
during the evening. Of course all conversation  
turned on our national humiliation. 'The  
French have carried the Malakoff, and we have  
failed at the Redan.' Chapman's opinion very  
decided as to the cause of our reverse—the not  
pushing on the assaulting columns with suffi-  
cient vigour. General Simpson's message to  
Pelissier regarding our failure is very charac-  
teristic:—"Tell him" (addressing General  
Rose) 'that we have been stopped by some  
d—d devilry in the Redan.' I think no one  
anticipated the events of the night. That the  
Russians would attempt to recover the Mala-  
koff, or direct a vigorous sortie against our  
trenches, seemed next to certain. We, on the  
other hand, should certainly renew our attack  
on the Redan in the night or morning. Roused

\* "Of the 20th regiment, doing duty with the En-  
gineers. His wound mortified, and he died in the  
following week."

in the night by the explosion of the Russian works, I considered them as part of the renewed struggle, till Chapman called me up with the news of the evacuation. The sight of the burning town was one I shall never forget. 'No more trench work, sir,' were the first words that greeted me as I advanced to the front of the third division. These words from a group of soldiers expressed the universal opinion of the army, officers and men. As the morning dawned I joined Ranken,\* of the Engineers, and two other officers, to take a nearer view of the now empty fortress. Dark clouds hung over the sea; the French guns kept up a dropping fire on the left, and reverberating like distant thunder, added to the solemnity of the scene, on which large masses of the Russian troops were gazing from the opposite height, while now and then the burst of an enormous cloud of smoke and dust from the town told the destruction of a fort or magazine. We rode to the Redan, but as we approached the trenches Ranken was very much affected by the line of wounded that were coming up in great numbers, and after exhausting the bottle of brandy-and-water he had with him, he proposed to me to return to camp for a large supply, in which I readily joined him, and we filled his saddle-bags with wine and brandy, the principal part of which was supplied by my friend, and some stolen by me from my friends. Ranken took his servant, and we started anew. I turned aside on my way to look at the arrangements at a spot half way down the ravine, where the wounded were transferred from the stretchers to the ambulances, and was glad to find them well supplied with tea and brandy-and-water, which an assistant was administering to the poor fellows who had been lying out all night. We passed on and met the line of mutilated objects, some with their faces frightfully disfigured, and to whom Ranken eagerly administered refreshments, for which they appeared most grateful. As we came to the advanced trenches we parted company; we were repeatedly warned of the difficulties of getting on, and my plain dress was an evident encumbrance to my friend. I therefore thought it better to remain behind, but I was rejoiced to hear afterwards that his provident care had relieved many a wounded man at the verge of the ditch. It would be unfair to judge severely the medical arrangements for such an occasion. The very nature of the conflict prevented the immediate removal of all the wounded, but there should have been an order for the immediate dispatch of refreshments to the field. I met mules on my return bringing food and water to the troops, and as

much might and ought to have been done to the wounded on the field, and not merely at ambulance tent, a mile off, to which they could be very slowly removed. It gives an additional grace to this trait of feeling on the part of Ranken that he had led the ladder-party the day before. The Russian bridge was rapidly breaking up, and a steamer and some boats were rapidly passing to and fro to take off the remnant of the force."

The following letter from an English subaltern is very graphic in its description:—

"I have escaped five bombardments, have been in the trenches during the first and during the last, besides three intermediate ones. The last one it is wholly out of my power to describe to you. Captain M—— and I were together in the fifth parallel during the night with seventy men. I volunteered to go, a subaltern had to be there, and he (Captain M——) was there as being the junior of the two, and I was senior of the subalterns, others being mere boys. We were close to the Redan, and were exposed to a continued fire of musketry from the Russians for about three hours, and our fourth parallel opened a fire from behind us; thus, being in the dark, the fire was all chance and hap-hazard, and, consequently, we were as much in danger from our own men as the enemy. The fifth parallel was too close for the Redan to play upon us, they fired grape and bouquets from other batteries. We withdrew to the fourth at daylight. I judged from the appearance and air of things that we were in for it—that the following day would become memorable. I judged aright. At 6 o'clock a terrific volley or salvoes of grape opened on the left by the French. Imagine you can, 200 guns and mortars of the largest calibre firing as one gun; the English in the centre did the same; the French again, on the right, the same. This frightful affair lasted three hours. The Russians applied all their resources, and they also fired fearfully. Farther I say, if you can, having a fire over the Redan. The men were cleared from all the parallels except the fourth, which was to resist the attack that might be made—an unwilling sacrifice of a few, as was thought by all, for the good of the whole. The guns having ceased firing, a rocket from the French, at 12 o'clock, gave the signal for a recommencement, and the entire number of guns, French and English, gave a volley enough to shake the Crimea in its centre. This lasted about two hours and a-half. At 5 o'clock it commenced again, and lasted till 7. Night closed in before the wind which was blowing cleared the earth and heavens for miles around from dust and smoke. We miraculously escaped with only about 100 casualties, and got out of the trenches at 10 o'clock. At 10 the following morning, ev-

\* "It is with deep regret I have heard, since these pages were in print, of the death of this young officer by an accidental explosion."

of the army was under arms, and the bombardment once more began and continued without the entire day, excepting intervals of an hour or two, for the guns to cool, as on previous days. The 3rd division was formed in a curve, in front of the 28th camp. There were the 1st Royals, 4th, 14th, 18th, 38th, 44th, 50th, and 89th, and were under arms till 9 o'clock. The French had taken the Malakoff by this, while the French garrison had been driven twice each respectively from the Redan and Flagstaff Batteries. At 10 o'clock flames appeared in the town at several points; by 3 A.M. it was all over in a great blaze—a sure sign that the Russians had evacuated the town and gone to the north. Shall I forget the sight that was presented at daybreak. The men, guessing that the town was taken, and knowing the plunders and propensities of our friends the French on such occasions, sallied forth and brought whatever they could lay hands upon. The Russians had removed everything of value, and what they could not remove had been destroyed; therefore what was captured was only lumber. Cavalry pickets, French and English, soon formed a barrier to prevent anything being brought away. The two chairs I sent you were taken from some one by the cavalry; and I happening to be at the spot where they were, just as they were being carried at night, I had them brought away before daylight. I first visited the town. A sight! Every step you took the mind was overwhelmed at what you saw, until the ideas were staggered. Here you saw what had been a street of gorgeous palaces; you saw a mighty but solemn temple; a ponderous line of classic buildings of various races—all in a pile of blackened, smouldering ruins. Some houses that I entered presented an appearance which would almost induce one to look at, for pity's sake, from their irreparable ruin and desolation. The dwellings of the upper classes appear to have been well fitted up to the utmost degree of comfort, convenience, and chasteness. But the rooms in which everything was found I cannot describe. In what had been a drawing-room would lie the broken shaft of a column of polished marble, the Corinthian capital of which shone with burnished gold, while the rest of the part of its fellow still adhered to the wall, which it was intended to support, and the light of which now brought the ceiling down to the flooring. Close beside was a large block of stone that had crushed under a piano of extraordinary beauty and finish, a shot or shell having shattered the wall of masonry. Fragments of chimneypieces, gilded picture-frames, and pieces of polished mahogany of elegant

forms, belonging to tables, sideboards, sofas, &c., were everywhere strewn about. The beautiful places of worship were all ruinous empty shells, riddled, like all the houses and buildings, with shot and shell. One thing, however, went to show that the inhabitants had long left their dwellings, probably as long ago as the first bombardment, for every house appeared to have been in the occupation of the military, from the *débris* of clothing and appointments everywhere seen. Those inhabitants, it is probable, too, who had left with the forlorn hope of ever returning, doubtless, with a true Russian spirit and feeling, spread about them what ruin and damage they could before leaving; and what they failed to do the soldiers did for them before they left.

"But, without this, our projectiles would have destroyed nearly every stone and stick. Those noble buildings which are seen from our heights, with smooth, white exterior walls and green roofs, which smile and look pleasant as a sun-bank in the distance, on approaching them are found to be cold, forbidding ruins—pierced from top to bottom in every direction. The effect of our 13-inch shell can everywhere be seen, weighing as they do 200lb., and falling from an altitude of a mile and a-half, or about 3000 yards, their concussion is equal to seventy tons. Large gaps or empty spaces, in rows or clusters of buildings, tell that a shell has penetrated the roof or wall, and descended to a depth below the foundations, and in an instant not a vestige remained—nearly every atom scattered to the winds in all directions. The mind cannot picture anything equal in point of beauty to what this city has been. It seems to me to have been a place where one would wish to live and die. The hills behind, stretching radius-like for miles, must have been a beautiful landscape before we spread desolation; while in front the sun, setting in a yellow mellowness on the watery horizon, makes it appear to be a sea of liquid gold, and the soft richness of the shining waters, reflected on a western sky, makes it illusory, and such as one reads of or fancies only in fairy scenes. But Sebastopol has been known and feared more as an arsenal; and an arsenal we found it. No one is prepared to hear of the extent of warlike resources, naval and military. As you leave the camp, and thread your way down the ravines—the ravines and valleys of death—you enter a *faubourg*, or suburban village, most beautifully situated on the slopes of the opposite hills of the Great Redan and Flagstaff Bastions; but now scarcely one stone remains on another. Leaving this, you wind at once upon the creek adjoining the great harbour; here frowns a formidable battery of ships' guns. The left of this creek is the main city, sloping up to a height of about

500 feet above the level of the sea. This is called the 'French side,' as it was commanded by the Flagstaff Battery, which the French captured. The Redan, the most formidable of all, covered the public works and the barracks—immense buildings, plain, but beautiful structures of hewn stone of marble whiteness. The immense store buildings, of the same appearance, form a grand quay, not equalled anywhere. The quay is terminated by Fort Paul, now destroyed, having been blown up by the Russians on the night of the 8th, before leaving.

"The stupendous docks I cannot describe. I never saw anything, the work of men's hands, that can bear the slightest comparison. There are six capable of receiving the largest of the colossal ships that float, and they are as neat as they are large and mighty. The man who planned these was an Englishman—a Mr. Upton, a road-surveyor. The emperor rewarded him with the rank of lieutenant-colonel; and I was told by a Russ—an English prisoner at the Monastery of St. George—that the emperor always shook him by the hand warmly whenever he visited Sebastopol. These works and buildings are held by the English, and we have shafts sunk all round the docks to blow them to destruction whenever instructions arrive to that effect from home. The guns and ammunition that have fallen into English hands are almost incalculable. Around the docks there are not less than 2000 guns, a vast number of which are of the largest calibre; and of shot there are piles of tens of thousands. The masts of the shipping, slanting upwards above the waters in all directions, suggest a train of strangely speculative ideas. The two imperial forts (Nicholas and Constantine), now enemies, frown antagonistically at each other, and the cross-fire from these over the harbour causes a reverberation that strikes with a mournful cadence upon the ear. Let this pass, that I may say a word or two upon the defences of the town. The scientific principles displayed in them surpass all that ever has been done before at sieges, and totally eclipse our best engineering tactics. I hesitate not to say—and I mean it with no malice or disparagement—but were the Russian engineer officers to see our works, they would laugh at them. The Russian works were, apparently, formed to meet any and every conceivable exigency. Their batteries were their trenches and parallels, and these parallels and trenches were their one line of batteries, forming mountain ranges which had mountains for their base. These were not altogether natural advantages, but they applied such principles of art as were best suited to whatever advantage nature offered. Our principles differed *in toto*. Could our trenches be faced about, we should

then be something near the principles under which the Russian works are constructed. A person walking from the front can walk nearly into our works, by reason of the earth being thrown to the front, making it a simple incline or small counterscarp. The Russians knew better; they made the perpendicular to the enemy, revetting it with gabions in front to do it effectually. Behind they had all kinds of shelter for the men and gunners, quite independent of, but contiguous to, the batteries, round, square, and triangular—some open, most of them bombproof. Behind also a large tract of ground, worked up to be a general auxiliary to their operations. Tunnel-for-pits to receive our shells were numerous. In square pits were sunk immediately behind the batteries and in unlooked-for places, to receive our men in hundreds as they scaled the ramparts; here a hill, there a hole; a ladder placed here, steps for men there. Sharp-pointed uprights of gabions and broken bayonets stuck up in the face as you looked down these pits and hollows. Disabled guns were not assigned to their graves, as ours were, but the breech of them lowered in a hole behind the batteries, with the fore part resting on wheels thus giving them an elevation of about forty-five degrees. These they fired with an enormous charge by a train, and these, we now discovered, sent those numerous messengers to the distance of the camps. But in front of the batteries which I am writing they had another, a line lower down the hill; and to make this of immense strength, the earth was raised for a barrier between the two lines of batteries, both independent of each other, but of mutual assistance if required—a broad, deep ditch, of two feet wide, in some places fifty, and as many feet deep, from the crest of the second parallel. All these were covered with an abattis of the branches of trees, with tops upwards, and *chevaux-de-frise*. You may now fancy the difference of difficulty in the attack on their lines and ours. The difference in other things is in the same ratio. Our men lay in the trenches when they were half filled with snow and snow, with scarcely anything to cover them—nothing but the ragged remnants of a spongy old greatcoat, not fit at best for hot weather. The Russians had huts—no, not huts, but positively barracks—all along the line of batteries and under them, and, therefore, bombproof. Here they appear to have been very snug and comfortable. Implements of tailoring, shoe-lasts, and other etceteras, that each handicraftsman worked at his leisure hours, although in the trenches, were plentiful. Brandy-bottles there were plenty, and, from the label on several bottles it showed that they had an affection for the English 'Old Tom.' To stand on the summit

ingstaff Bastion, you see a sight worth ng. The whole of the works of the and French left attack are seen at one besides the whole of the Southern . But a visit to the Russian lines is e to one's feelings and humanity; you place your foot upon any loose soil but ay be standing upon the half-buried a dead comrade or Russian, and the odour that rises everywhere makes one shudder."

ng presented the accounts given by hose position and education qualified e give a comprehensive relation of the tions in which they were engaged, it is e to afford a specimen of how the dier thought and felt during the con- and after the victory. The following from a private of the 90th (light in- to a member of his family in England, immediately after the assault:—

ere this reaches you, you will have e account of the storming and capture stopol. I had the honour of being in at company of the storming-party, and the hottest of the fight, and still the ty has mercifully preserved me. On at of the 7th instant 300 of our regi- were told off for a storming-party following morning; the point of as the Redan Battery. We paraded at k, A.M., on the 8th instant, and by k, after a short address by General Cod- we marched down (in the highest to our most advanced trenches (which formerly taken from the Russians), we remained under cover till the signal en us to advance. The plan of the attack the French to attack the tower of the ff, and, if they succeeded, we were to t of our works upon the Redan Battery. endous fire was kept up from our and ch batteries upon both of the Russian s till about half-past eleven, when we e French advance from under cover, dily gain ground upon the Malakoff. than a quarter of an hour they had olours hoisted upon the furthest ex- of the battery, and the Russians run- thousands out of it, and towards the

We waited for no more, but with one ous British cheer and a bound over the e we rushed towards the Redan. It en that the fearful slaughter com- the Redan Battery, which we thought ost silenced, belched forth its murder- upon our devoted regiment. I had nced 100 yards when our poor fellows e fall around me like hail; still on we I feared no danger, and I felt as cool ected as I am at this moment. It till a late hour at night that we suc-

ceeded in thoroughly beating the enemy, and they fairly ran out of the town, crossed the bridge to the north side of the harbour, and left us completely masters of the town. Such a glorious day's work has not been done for many years; but, alas! our victory was dearly purchased. Out of the 300 men of our regiment told off for the storming-party upwards of 200 were killed and wounded; between forty and fifty are missing, though we know that the most of those perished in the ditch in scaling the parapet of the Redan. Our victory has exceeded our most sanguine hopes; we only expected to take the Malakoff and the Redan, but we have now possession of the whole of the town. Some few Russians are left in it, hidden in holes and corners, whom we continue to make prisoners."

In the despatches of General Pelissier and General Niel to the French minister of war, mention was made of the gallant conduct of Commandant Ragon, of the engineers, in the assault. The following letter from that officer to one of his friends is characteristic and striking. He addressed it from the Malakoff Redoubt, on the 11th of September:—"I cheerfully pay the tax you have imposed on me of a short letter to set your minds at rest. It was I, Louis Dominique Auguste Ragon, one of your oldest and best friends, who had the honour of commanding the engineers of the column of assault on the formidable work of Malakoff. I entered it at the head of the sappers, conjointly with the regiment of Zouaves of the first division of the second *corps d'armée*. We climbed the ditch like cats, dislodged the enemy, forced the lines, and carried the redoubt with an enthusiasm and rapidity perfectly French. Our standards planted on the parapet were assailed and vigorously defended for more than six hours. After this heroic struggle, our column had alone the honour of remaining masters of its conquests; the four others, two on our right and two on our left, were compelled to give way, leaving the ground covered with their killed and wounded. But our triumph sufficed to deprive the Russians of the power of holding their ground. At midnight, from the top of our conquered work, and mounted on heaps of dead Russians, we were witnesses of one of the grandest spectacles that can possibly be conceived; the town, in flames, lighted up all the roadstead, where the Russian vessels were disappearing, one after the other, beneath the waves, lurid by the glare of the fire on shore. To this terrible picture was added the successive explosions of forts, batteries, and powder-magazines, which the enemy blew up in their retreat. At daybreak we had nothing around us but ruins, with the dead and dying beneath our feet, a routed army before us on the north shore of the roadstead,

and our triumphant soldiers regarding with a gratified eye the magnificent result of their courageous efforts. The first of these explosions, to which I found myself rather too close, caused me some little injury; the whole of my epaulette was carried away, my sword was bent at the hilt, and my left arm and hip bruised, and I received a scratch on the head just sufficient to give me a right to say that I had shed blood for the honour of France in this day of triumph. I seal my letter with the seal of a Russian officer, which I obtained in the Malakoff tower, and it is a valuable spoil. I must request you to communicate this letter to my mother and to M. T——; they will be pleased at my thinking of them, and I have not now time to write to them, the courier by whom I send this being about to start immediately."

Another letter, written by a French non-commissioned officer, has the following striking remarks:—"We may thank God for having allowed us to fail in our attempt against the Centre Bastion. Had we taken it, 20,000 men would have established themselves there, pending the capitulation of the town or the retreat of the Russians. Well, according to every probability, not one of them would have escaped, and to the inevitable loss suffered in the battle would have been added the still far greater grief of beholding our heroic soldiers buried in the craters of innumerable mines. . . . The Russians were taken by surprise by our attack. Some of the officers have told us that they no longer expected us on that day; they thought the assault would be given early in the morning. The enemy's troops had just dined when ours assailed them. A sad dessert! I saw on the morrow, in the Malakoff, bowls, wooden spoons, and pieces of bread strewn by the side of these unfortunates, who had not even finished their last meal; each loaf was cut into little square pieces the size of dice; I send you one as a specimen."

The following is from the correspondent of the *Moniteur de la Flotte*, and shows what the prevailing French opinion was, at the time, of the conduct of the English:—"I have told you nothing about the English. They covered themselves with glory at the attack of the Redan. When they charged the Russians with the bayonet, there was a recoil among the Muscovites similar to that of a double-shotted gun. Then masses of fresh troops unceasingly supervened, and attacked our heroic allies. One of the officers of the brigade which attacked the Redan made an observation with reference to the subject which might explain the heavy losses of our allies in this last affair. He remarked that hardly had our soldiers arrived in the Malakoff, than our engineers and artillery, duly provided beforehand for such an

emergency, immediately commenced turning guns of the work against the Russians, clearing up the breeches, placing earth-bags—in a word, appropriating for their defence the work they occupied. This was done with all the characteristics of the French, and was the result of saving many lives. The Russians saw they never could retake the Malakoff for at each attack they were crushed beneath our fire, and they found our position stronger each time they renewed the onslaught. It would appear, according to the officers, that this was not the case at the Redan, and this compelled them to evacuate it; but I promise you that the movement which they operated at that moment was that of a troop of lions, and that the Russians took care not to follow them."

The correspondent of the *Constitutionnel* (a French officer in the French army), accounted for the English failure at the Redan in a manner once correct in itself, just to the English showing the generous tone of mind on the part of the officers of the French army immediately after the assault. This letter was written on the evening of the day when the events which it describes transpired. He referred to the surprise at the Malakoff and observes:—"Soon afterwards the English attacked the Great Redan; in vain the enemy, superior in numbers, offer a terrible resistance; our gallant allies triumph everywhere, and annihilate themselves in the work. The Little Redan is then attacked by our (French) troops, but the enemy, seeing the Malakoff and the Great Redan in the occupation of ourselves, our allies, throw themselves against this position of their defences. I have yet before my eyes the enormous masses of the Russians surging like the sea up the incline of the Little Redan. In vain our soldiers display prodigies of valour. They have not space enough to form and retain their positions. They retire, however; the fire of our batteries plunging into the compact mass of the Russians, each charge opens lanes in it, which are filled up by the advance of fresh masses. The Russian commander was, I believe, General Chroustov. Finally, we are compelled to evacuate a portion of their defences, but without, however, abandoning the game, and continuing the fight. The Russians then threw themselves against the Malakoff, but their formidable attack is repelled by General M'Mahon, so established in the redoubt. The whole then rushes to reinforce the column, which is all the while fighting against the English established in the Redan. Exposed to the fire of the Barrack Batteries, of the vessels, and the forts on the northern side, pressed by enormous and ever-increasing masses of the enemy, in a work open at the gorge, the

ter the most heroic resistance of about  
r, find themselves outflanked. The  
-in-chief orders a column to be sent  
alakov against the flank of the assailants  
English; this column, headed by the  
General de Marolles, throws itself for-  
-when behind the Malakoff a formidable  
on arrests its progress, annihilating the  
the column, together with its gallant  
By this time the English, unsup-  
can no longer hold their ground, and,  
aving spiked the guns and expended all  
tridges, abandon the Redan."

following letter, from a superior Rus-  
-ficer to one of the czar's organs, the  
*bee*, will show in an interesting man-  
-er point of view in which the Russian  
s, aristocracy, and government, wished  
-ture of Southern Sebastopol to be re-  
-in Europe. The letter was not written  
-e Crimea, but from St. Petersburg,  
-e return thither of the writer:—  
-stadt has been demonstrated to be im-  
-ple. Sweaborg withstood successfully  
-nd severe bombardment, and Sebastopol  
-t a whole year. Neither of the two  
-s can say—"I have conquered Russia,  
-ken her fortress," for with their united  
-mbined they were but just able to take  
-sides, the enemy had many advan-  
-a their side; for whilst Russia was at-  
-t her most distant frontier, and every  
-of bread, every bullet, each piece of  
-nd drop of brandy had to be sent by  
-undreds, and in many instances, thou-  
-f miles, through uninhabited steppes,  
-cult mountain gorges, the enemy were  
-to land any given quantity of stores on  
-ticular point by means of their nume-  
-ets. In the enemy's camp the intel-  
-of all Europe was concentrated, whilst  
-sia it has existed scarcely fifty years.  
-standing all these disadvantages, Rus-  
-ely withstood the attack, and her heroes  
-vered themselves with glory. We have  
-ed only a heap of ruins, for Sebastopol  
-er exists. The whole affair is reduced  
-that the enemy have gained possession  
-fifty square wersts of land, where some  
-tablishments and part of our fleet were  
-d. But with the south side of Sebas-  
-e enemy have not conquered Russia.  
-ntry has withstood more severe shocks,  
-more dangerous times. We have seen  
-verrun by French, Mongolians, Swedes,  
-des of other nationalities, and yet we  
-ceeded in repelling every invader.  
-of Sebastopol is certainly a national  
-; but it is sent by God as a judgment,  
-sh us for forgetting the Divine pre-  
-our endeavours to attempt the intro-  
-of what the enemy call civilisation."

I.

Incidents of the conflict, full of interest,  
occurred on every point where the battle, or  
rather series of battles raged.

When the French were repulsed from before  
the Central Bastion, General de Salles was  
maddened with rage, and made furious exer-  
tions to stay the retiring tide of his soldiery.  
He invoked, threatened, and upbraided—seized  
some, and turned them round, with their face  
to the enemy, but all failed to stem the torrent  
of retreat. While thus engaged, he seized a  
nice-looking youth, a recently-arrived conscript,  
and, flinging the lad from his grasp, he ex-  
claimed, "You are no Frenchman!" The  
youth uttered a piercing cry, exclaiming, "I  
am no Frenchman! I am no Frenchman!"  
and, with the exclamation on his lips, he  
rushed forward, mounted the broken ramparts  
through a shower of grape and rifle-balls, and  
then fell dead within the work. The patriotism  
and pride of the young soldier were stung by  
the reproach of his general, and he resolved to  
seal his claims to nationality by the surrender  
of his life.

A group of French officers, stationed in one  
of the redoubts, were accosted by a common  
soldier, who requested a little brandy. It was  
offered to him, when he said, "See, gentlemen,  
my arm is shattered by the splinter of a shell,  
and I am holding it together with the other  
hand, oblige me by placing the flask to my  
lips." This the officer promptly did, and spoke  
kindly and encouragingly to him. As the flask  
was withdrawn, he said, "I lose an arm,  
perhaps life, but the victory is with France;"  
and, refusing any further assistance, he walked  
away to the surgeon of his corps. This spirit  
of self-sacrifice was extensively evinced among  
the officers and men of the French army.

General Bourbaki was wounded by a rifle-  
bullet in the breast, and, leaning on the arm  
of a wounded soldier, retired to the hospital  
after the combat, refusing every other assistance  
offered. Wounded together side by side in the  
fray, the heroic officer would accompany his  
poor soldier, sharing with him whatever  
chances of assistance surgical skill could offer.  
Indeed, the wounded French soldiery showed  
the utmost devotion to the triumph and glory  
of their country. On the night of the 8th  
many of them were being brought to the rear,  
when the flames burst up from the burn-  
ing city, and they resisted all persuasions to  
allow themselves to be borne away until they  
had for a long time gazed upon the scene. In  
one of these groups of wounded men was a  
sergeant; he believed his wound was mortal,  
and refused to be carried further, begging to  
be permitted to die on the plateau in view of  
such grand results of victory. The soldiers  
laid down the litter, and placed his back  
against a large stone. After viewing for some

time the flames flinging their tokens of destruction above the ruined buildings, he said, "Comrades, I die—my life is ebbing away; this is the place to bid you farewell." He then took off his cap, waved it faintly above him, and said, "Adieu, friends!—Sebastopol is ours!—*vive la France!*—*vive l'empereur!*" This was his last effort for the honour of his country; he was soon cold and stiff upon the chill dark plateau of Sebastopol.

A gentleman, whose curiosity led him among the ruins on the 11th, found a number of French soldiers enjoying themselves in what had once been a tavern. The doors had been pulled off the hinges for firewood, and above the passage was chalked in large characters, "*Entrez sans frapper.*" The spirit of jollity indicated by this little incident pervaded the soldiers of our ally even when many of their slain comrades lay mutilated and ensanguined around them.

When the Highlanders entered the Redan to remove the wounded, among the first objects that caught their attention among the dead were several British officers, each holding in his grasp a Russian soldier or officer. One had his hand, stiffened in death, upon the throat of a Russian soldier, who lay beneath him. Another had his arms locked round the waist of an enemy of his own rank. While engaged in a furious struggle of strength, both had fallen under the discharges of grape which swept "the open" of the work. Near the centre of the space a Russian officer, partly stript, lay without any visible cause for his death. His hands and feet were beautifully white and small, as those of a lady, and his features regular and calm, and singularly handsome. He seemed as if he had laid down to sleep with perfect composure of mind and body, and that the hurricane of the cannonade had swept above without disturbing his repose.

Some of the slain soldiers of the second and light divisions clung to the parapets and slopes

as if still living, showing with what reluctance they retired, and with what desperation had fought. A gigantic Irish grenadier, had literally led his comrades, encouraged them by voice and gesture, as well as by personal daring, lay stretched in "the open" with a single wound in the forehead. He had been killed early in the assault; but by shell, shot, grape, nor explosion, struck during all the storm and wreck which passed over and within the redoubt.

During the assault upon the Redan a soldier of the 88th (Connaught Rangers) deavoured to cheer on a party of the division, who, from their disparity of numbers, were unwilling to advance, placed his bayonet upon his bayonet, and waved it above his head. An officer of the 77th asked him what he gave: "I shall recommend you to promotion," was the reply, which was scarcely uttered when the officer himself was slain.

The wounded English soldiers bore up bravely, although their want of success at the Redan oppressed them. As some of these fellows were brought to the rear, they were tempted to sing "Cheer, boys, cheer," but it was a faint performance. The testimony of all who conversed with the English soldiers bears out this idea, that had they been supported in their attempt upon the Redan, or had the numbers who escaped the fire which swept the space between it and the trenches entered the work, been at all adequate to the enterprise, they would have charged there with it with the bayonet in the face of any obstacles or dangers, however formidable. Many young Dunham Massey of the 19th, scorned to retreat before forces, however numerous, and when victory was hopeless, turned to face the flaming batteries, and fell. Such was the gallant boy (for he was no more) named, survived, but most of them perished.

"They were true to the last of their blood and breath."

## CHAPTER CIII.

### EFFECT IN EUROPE AND THE EAST OF THE TIDINGS OF THE FALL OF SEBASTOPOL.

"Ye shall live renown'd in story—  
Ye, whose arms in fields of glory  
Sav'd your homes and native land."—*War Song.*

No event since the battle of Waterloo produced such an effect in Europe and the world as the fall of Southern Sebastopol. In England, however, the tidings were received with mingled feelings of discontent and triumph. The nation was chagrined that English skill and English valour did not play a more conspicuous part. It was felt that the power of

Russia was broken, and at this all rejoiced. There was also deep gratitude throughout the nation to the army for its bravery and endurance under such severe tests of both; but there was great dissatisfaction with the generalship of the commands-in-chief, and the inefficiency of the head-quarters' staff. Generals Simpson, Codrington, and Markham

met the expectations of the people. Lieutenant-general Markham, when commander of the expedition before Mooltan, gained considerable distinction, but he did not show much ability in the Redan, which was probably attributed to his impaired health. The despatch of General Simpson was so badly written as to excite murmurs all through the country; the public could not understand from it why a general at the Redan should have taken place, from the imperfection of the arrangements for which Generals Simpson, Codrington, and Markham were responsible. With a small force of troops, utterly inadequate for the purpose, General Simpson assailed the most powerful work of the defence, notwithstanding the warning afforded by the failure on the 18th of June. The British soldiers were killed out, not by the fire of the Malakoff, as they have been apprehended, for the French had previously captured it, but by the bayonet of the garrison, after the English had been long enough in, if reinforced, to have taken the place. The small British force was reported—"all was confusion in the trenches; the trenches were so crowded" that General Simpson could not re-organise the attack. The English could learn just sufficient to show that there had been a scramble into the place, a desperate combat when the troops entered, and a desertion of these men from want of support, that the commander-in-chief and his lieutenant-generals did not know what to do. The inexperience of the raw young soldiers led General Windham when within the trenches to drive the Russians out with the bayonet, but this was a source of chagrin to the nation, not accustomed to hear of its soldiers attaining anything where their officers led, and accomplishing everything which it was unable to accomplish by heroism. It was generally believed that want of confidence in the commanders was the chief cause of the failure in the Redan holding back; and a general thought that the Redan was mined, and would fall up as soon as the Russians retreated. If well founded), was another cause of the backwardness of the English soldiers. But these explanations relieved the country of any fear as to the lasting bravery of its soldiers, regrets were still bitterly cherished for the conduct of the military chiefs should have impaired the confidence of the troops. The Russians at Silistria were deterred in their final assault by precisely the same influence which checked the British at the Redan, which justified the prediction of Lieutenant-general Pakenham, made to an eminent person before the 18th of June—"The men will lose confidence and will finally refuse to advance." While England mourned in the shame of this thus produced, and over the loss of so

many of her gallant sons, she exulted in the humiliation of the enemy, and the prospects of final victory and speedy peace, which the destruction of Sebastopol and the proud fleet which nestled in its harbour so naturally encouraged. Never since the year 1815 were more jubilant congratulations heard from man to man in England. In the theatres and concert-rooms of the capital, the sister capitals of Scotland and Ireland, and in the provincial cities of the three kingdoms, the people gave vent to their rejoicings by the most marked demonstrations.

The 30th of September was appointed for public thanksgiving. The day fell on Sunday, which prevented that marked expression of feeling which would have been given had a holiday been created for the occasion; but appropriate sermons were delivered, suitable to the occasion, and thanksgivings ascended in nearly all the sanctuaries of the British Isles.

Although the war had not been so popular in France as in England, the rejoicing was greater. Victory is a precious word to France, the love of military glory makes the announcement exciting, however the cause in which it is gained may be regarded by the public. Fêtes, balls, addresses, congratulations, theatrical displays, and every customary form of French triumph, showed the excitement into which all France allowed itself so freely to be carried. A grand religious festival lent its solemnities and pageant to the expression of the general satisfaction. The minister of public instruction addressed a circular to the French bishops, which ran thus:—

"The emperor, elevating his thoughts to the Supreme Judge of armies and of empires, desires you to call the faithful to the steps of the altar, to render public thanks to the Almighty. Monsieur the Prefect will concert with you such measures as shall give to the *Te Deum*, which you will cause to be sung on Sunday, the 16th instant, all the solemnity desirable."

The Cathedral of Notre Dame was selected for the ceremonial, and decorated in accordance with French military as well as religious taste. On the four columns by which the first gallery of the portico was supported the shields of France, England, Turkey, and Sardinia were emblazoned, and the colours of the four nations were hung along the base of the two towers; over each of which four green banners were hoisted, embroidered with golden bees. Crimson velvet embroidered with gold was hung round the interior of the cathedral. At intervals there were placed spread-eagles of gold. On the columns were large clusters of the allied flags. From the roof were suspended oriflammes and banners.

At mid-day on the 16th the emperor and Prince Jerome left the court of the Tuileries in a state carriage, attended by a brilliant escort, and followed by a military procession. Immediately on the empress entering the state carriage one hundred guns thundered their salutation over Paris. Along the line of route, from the Tuileries to Notre Dame, the enunciations of triumph were loud and incessant. The clangour of the trumpet, the roll of the drum, and the shouts of the people were blended; flags waved from windows and balconies, and the regimental standards were lowered to the emperor as he passed. Over every sound could be heard the great bell of Notre Dame, giving a peculiar significance to the scene and the triumph. France seldom saw a finer day—the mellow autumnal light fell richly on magnificent equipages, martial uniforms, and gaudy yet graceful flags. The whole scene was animated and sparkling, as if France went forth on her bridal day. When the emperor arrived at the church he was received by the Archbishop of Paris and the cathedral clergy. The metropolitan presented to the emperor the holy water and incense, and addressed his majesty in terms of congratulation; who replied declaring that he had come to thank Heaven for the triumph vouchsafed, knowing that his arms could not succeed, nor France be secure, without the protection of Providence. The emperor was then conducted within the church; he advanced to the foot of the altar, and bent on one knee, remaining with his head resting upon his hand for some minutes in silence, and was thence conducted to his chair or throne. In the aisles and transept the benches were occupied by the state officers and members of foreign embassies: strangely and unaccountably the ambassadors of Austria and Prussia were amongst the most prominent. Prussia, ever ready to thwart the aims and policy of the allies, was now as ready to cringe basely before their power. Among the conspicuous persons were Abd-el-Kader and his Arab suite, whose deportment was an object of curiosity, as a group of Mohammedans occupying a prominent part in a Roman Catholic temple was a novelty. The Arabs, without affecting any sympathy with the service, conducted themselves with propriety and good taste. In the side aisles the people, without distinction of rank, were admitted. When the emperor had taken his seat the *Te Deum* began, and was chanted in the midst of the most profound silence. The *Domine salvum fac Imperatorem* was sung three times. The vast assembly then knelt, and the archbishop pronounced the benediction. The emperor and his suit retired with the same pomp, and were met with even greater demonstration of enthusiasm by the people who thronged the streets.

The rejoicings at Turin, if less imposing were quite as heartfelt as at Paris. In Constantinople the news seemed too good to be true; at first it was doubted, grave thoughts shook their heads, declaring that the wish of Allah must be done; but when uncertainty dissipated by intelligence the authority of the sultan could not be disputed, the people gave way to an exuberant joy such as seldom agitated the citizens of Constantinople. The sultan, like other allied sovereigns, made suitable arrangements for publicly recognising the value of conquest. The Greek inhabitants of the Turkish capital were not partakers of the general rejoicing. Their rage was intense, and expressed in a violently and vindictively, as circumstances allowed. Many attempts were made by them to assassinate French sailors and soldiers, even invalids. The Greeks of every class in Constantinople went scowling about with looks of bitterest resentment towards the allies, especially the French. As, after the 18th of July, their delight was boundless, so now their spondency and resentment were profound. Throughout the Mussulman states feelings similar to those evinced at Constantinople were displayed. In Alexandria and Morocco, Tunis, and even in beleaguered Kars, the tidings received an enthusiastic welcome.

The Scandinavian states showed more sympathy with the allies than any other neutral nations. In Denmark and Sweden a secret but determinedly-expressed satisfaction was evinced in various public ways; but in Norway the exultation of the whole people rivalled that of the nations by whose arms the victory was gained. No nation had so much to gain as Norway from the continued progress of Russian aggression; and it required the counteracting power of the Swedish court to prevent the Norwegian people flying to arms, and participating with the allies in the hazards and glories of the war. In Germany the contrary everywhere manifested regret; even among the German princes nearly related to her majesty, there was one who had no share in the joy which filled her breast—George of Hanover was as cordially with Russia as the other German potentates generally were. The courts of Belgium, Holland, and Naples, did not partake in the rejoicings of the allies; but the peoples of most of the European nations rejoiced with France and England; perhaps the Belgians, and the lower classes of Naples and of the Swiss Sonderbund, were the exceptions. The aristocratic classes in Germany sympathised with Russia still. The *Augsburg Gazette* conveyed the true state of feeling in Germany in the following passage:—"We have ever has calmly studied the position of Germany throughout the struggle must be inevitably convinced that in the leading cir-

has existed a secret sympathy with a secret hatred for the Napoleon. From reasons caused by the unmisgiving feeling of the whole people, the cause was not openly espoused; but a tacit was given to it by inaction, and no idea entertained of acting against Russia. The capability of the Russian army was beyond so long as the Western powers were in the field, and the quiet hope was entertained that Napoleon III., like Napoleon I., would knock his head to pieces against this invincible adversary, and Germany reap where she had not sown; but the fall of Sebastopol has shattered the belief and deceived that hope.

“Nationalities,” as the patriots of Poland, Hungary, and Italy are termed, were incited by the intelligence, and in hopes and fears alike groundless. Mazzini, and Ledru Rollin, immediately employed their pens in predicting issues, none of which came to pass. Anticipations may be judged of by the following extract from their joint address to the people of Europe:—“The town of Sebastopol has fallen. The war between the governments of Western Europe and the czar is long and indefinitely prolonged. It is impossible for Russia to treat after a defeat, sinking into the position of a power of third rank; and it is impossible that the governments, in the face of a public opinion emboldened by victory, should offer less onerous conditions. For us, the fall of Sebastopol is but as the end of a war; the last word and *denouement* belongs to the people.” The only thing that this paragraph is the incapacity of the world to deal with a vast European question and their assurance in presuming to give advice to the people of England, either as to expediency, political necessity, or ethics. For Louis Kossuth we cherish profound esteem and respect, as a brave, noble-minded man, and true patriot who knows the resources, wants, and needs of Hungary; but we deny his fitness to enter upon the field of English politics, to prescribe for English statesmen or the people a political programme. The modes of attaining them, commended by him to the English people, were ridiculous as his vaticinations were false. No such effects were produced in the minds of neutral nations by the intelligence of the fall of Sebastopol, how was it received in France and countries over which the czar reigned? At St. Petersburg the rage of the people was unbounded; they followed the imbeciles in the streets, shouting, “Revenge for Sebastopol!—revenge for Sebastopol!” in the pride of their national arro-

gance, they believed themselves able to conquer the world, and underrated the power, as they despised the rights, of all other peoples. The Emperor Alexander was represented as replying to a suggestion that negotiations for peace might now be opened, by the haughty remark—“Russia never negotiates after defeat.” This was false as to the past, and destined to be so upon the disaster of Sebastopol. It was deemed politic for the emperor to take a tour in his empire, visiting its principal cities, and endeavouring to keep up the courage of his people and his troops. He accordingly proceeded, in the first instance, to Moscow, accompanied by the empress and the Grand-dukes Constantine, Nicholas, and Michael. It was announced at St. Petersburg that the emperor had gone to the ancient capital of the empire to pray for success to “the arms of the orthodox Church.” This was also circulated in Moscow, and produced an immense sensation. The emperor was received with fanatical enthusiasm. He did not arrive until near midnight; but instantly the bells of the churches rang joyful peals, and the city was illuminated as suddenly as if by enchantment. The people were in earnest; the czar was the impersonation of principles dear to them—civil despotism and religious intolerance. Alexander proceeded to the glorious palace of the Kremlin. The next day he was received with great ecclesiastical pomp at the Cathedral of the Ascension, whither he went to offer prayers on behalf of the armies of holy Russia and the orthodox Church. He was received by the patriarch, who presented to him the following address, remarkable for its stern fanaticism, base adulation, and blasphemous appropriation to the czar of a passage in the 110th Psalm prophetic of the Messiah:—

“Most pious Emperor,—Does the old metropolis of your throne, to which was reserved, by special decree, the honour of receiving you with a joyous presentiment on your arrival in the world, need to express to you its sentiments when it sees in you the accomplishment of its prayers and its presentiments, and the source of new devotion for the country? It feels profoundly the high imperial grace which you have shown us, in accepting the immense burden of the empire, with the extraordinary inheritance of continuing the just war in which we are engaged; and in finding time, amid the numerous occupations of the commencement of a reign, to recall to mind your cradle, Moscow, and to accord to it the joy of your presence. But that is not all. We understand, with profound respect, the lofty reason of your arrival among us. You hasten to the hereditary sanctuary of the coronation of the czars to address your imperial prayer to Him who ‘saves kings,’ and with

the intercession of his saints—of Bishop Peter, who blessed the commencement of this capital, and of Bishop Alexis, who blessed your birth, and in your holy baptism received you in his arms—to obtain that ‘the Lord shall send thee from Zion the sceptre of power;’ and that your firmness shall triumph over the efforts, and your penetration over the cunning, of the enemies of Russia. Russia will understand your prayer; millions of hearts will repeat it in all the orthodox churches, and all the empire, in order to assure you power, victory, peace, health, and salvation. We address to the Lord another prayer: it is to see you soon with the sacred sign of the saints—the crown of your father and your ancestors—amid the benedictions of heaven and of Russia.”

Before the emperor left Moscow, he addressed to the civil governor of the city a document which at once shows the imperial policy and spirit, and how heavily the capture of Sebastopol was felt by the court:—

“Count Arsenius Andreievitch,—From the time that I ascended the throne of my ancestors, it has been my heartfelt wish to visit the dear and trusted ancient capital of my empire—the city in which I was born and received baptism, under the protection of the relics of the worker of miracles—St. Alexis of Moscow. Having now fulfilled this wish, I have experienced from the inhabitants of Moscow a reception which has caused great gladness to myself and my whole house—a reception such as Russia has at all times given to her sovereigns. I commission you to express my heartiest acknowledgments to all classes in Moscow. My happiness would have been complete, had not preceding events clouded these fortunate moments. It is already known, by my order of the day addressed to the Russian armies, that the garrison of Sebastopol, after an unexampled siege of eleven months—after deeds of prowess previously unheard of—after a self-denial, and the repulse of six obstinate attacks—has passed over to the north side of the town, leaving to the enemy only bloody ruins. Sebastopol’s heroic defenders have achieved all that human strength could perform. Past and present events I accept as the inscrutable will of Providence, who chastens Russia with heavy hours of trial. But Russia’s trials were once far heavier, and God the Lord sent down to her his all-bountiful and invisible aid. Wherefore let us also now put our trust in Him: He will defend Russia, the orthodox, who has drawn the sword for the just cause—the cause of Christianity. The incessant proofs of all and every one’s readiness to sacrifice property, family, and the last drop of their blood for maintaining the integrity of the empire and the national honour, delight

me. It is precisely in these national efforts and efforts that I find consolation and strength, and from my whole heart, indissolubly blended with my loyal and gallant people, I, trust in God’s help and grace, repeat the words of Alexander I.,—‘Where truth is, there is God!’ I remain unalterably well inclined towards you.”

From Moscow the czar proceeded to Tula, which place will be described in another chapter. There he was some time ill, and suffered great anxieties from the operations of his allies against Kinburn, to be related in due course. Thither he summoned Tottleben to strengthen the defences, and the Grand-Constantine concocted measures for rebuilding the Black Sea fleet. Early in October he issued a ukase for the increase of the army. The levy fell most onerously, as usual, on Poland, as the province which furnished the best soldiers, and it was the policy of Russia to drain that country of its warlike youth, thus exhaust its nationality. The Emperor, having deserted in great numbers, more than those who crossed the frontiers of Prussia and Austria were bound, sent back, and either hanged, or scourged to death! The sufferings of Poland were terrible. While at Nicolaiev, the czar consulted by telegraph Prince Gortchakow, who remained at Warsaw, and he relied upon the prince’s judgment rather than upon that of any other officer in his army. The flashes of the telegraph were incessant. During the absence of the emperor from the capital, despondency hung like a cloud over the whole city; the same state of things prevailed at Moscow, notwithstanding the factism of the people.

Such were the effects which rapidly followed one another after the entire ruin of Southern Sebastopol became known throughout Russia. The exhaustion of the country was greater than was known in Western Europe. A Russian nobleman, with whom the author has the pleasure of acquaintance, assured that had the war been prosecuted with vigour after the destruction of Sebastopol, Russia would have sued for peace, on any terms, before the spring of 1856 opened for fresh naval campaigns, and subjected her in the Baltic and White Sea to fresh blockades. The country was drained, the people depressed; the fanatic clergy began to express the apprehension that God was at last fighting against Russia, it seemed as if the prophetic announcement was heard over that vast empire, “I will be against thee, O Gog!” The scripture figure of a hook placed in the nose of a vast ravenous monster, disappointing and restraining him, and which learned theologians apply to Russia, was certainly





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of expression of the providential restraint upon the Russian empire at the crisis on which we write. The spirit of the war was as bigoted, fierce, vindictive, and savage as ever, but its power of mischief was checked by an Almighty hand. The passions passing within, and upon the boundaries of the empire, were mighty providential chastisings its cupidity, bloodiness, and tyranny. Russia was beaten, though on some fields of the conflict, as in Minor, the apathy or treachery to one or on the part of her enemies enabled her to maintain a protracted struggle. The grand

moral lesson was taught that aggressive nations act upon principles which react to their own ruin. The poet is often quoted who sang—

“War is a game, which, were their subjects wise,  
Kings would but seldom play;”

but, unfortunately, subjects are as much disposed to play it out as kings. It was easier to make peace with the Emperor of Russia than with his people, and the defeat and suffering entailed upon them were retributive. Notwithstanding the energy displayed afterwards, the power of Russia for the purpose of this war fell with the fall of Southern Sebastopol.

## CHAPTER CIV.

CONTINUATION OF THE BLOCKADE OF KARS.—SUFFERINGS AND NOBLE ENDURANCE OF THE GARRISON.—REPULSE OF AN ASSAULT BY THE WHOLE RUSSIAN ARMY. (?)

“Do but behold yon poor and starved band,  
And your fair show shall suck away their bones,  
Leaving them but the shales and husks of men.  
There is not work enough for all our hands.”—SHAKSPEARE. *Henry V.*

In the last chapter on the blockade of Kars, a narrative of events was brought down to the closing of September. The following letter, from the Erzerum correspondent of the French press, will confirm the general representations given of the conduct of General Williams and of the gallant men who co-operated with him. It is agreeable to find, from a French source, opinions corroborative of the comments pronounced upon the British commander and his faithful coadjutors:—“Were it for the presence of an English superior like Colonel Williams, the British commissariat would have become desperate. Colonel Williams has displayed the most praise-worthy energy in preventing our men and horses from misery. It was he who saved the town from utter destruction. God knows how it is, but it actually exists, notwithstanding the representations. There are regiments which have not paid for fourteen, eighteen, and even for five months. Money, however, was sent. The government is not to blame. It is known it to send, on one occasion, large purses; but the crowd of needy pashas, great, and they pay themselves so exactly, that the money disappears as it were by enchantment, and the soldiers continue exposed to all sorts of privations. You may easily see that Colonel Williams, who opposed the system, cannot have many friends among the pashas of those robberies. They accordingly did everything they could to have him removed. The Porte has confided to him the duty of reorganising the army, of which he probably assume the command. Baron de Tschernburg, a German officer, has been

attached to his staff as inspector of the cavalry, with several other European officers. The intelligence from Kurdistan is unsatisfactory. The town of Mouch is said to have been reduced to ashes. A courier sent thither by M. Castagné was murdered on the way. A body of Bashi-bazouks is believed to have gone over to the Russians. The revolt appears to be most serious.”

On the 7th of September, news arrived of the battle of the Tchernaya, and the terrible defeat of the Russians, which much encouraged the English officers.

On the 10th General Williams wrote to Lord Clarendon, giving the following picture of affairs:—

“Their cavalry are employed in setting fire to the dry grass on which we endeavour to feed our horses, and for which daily skirmishes take place (up to within range of our long guns). The weather has become cold, and snow fell on the surrounding hills on the night of the 8th; but, after the equinoctial gales, we may have two months sufficiently moderate to admit of military operations. I therefore continue the work of adding to our defences. *Troupes de loupes* have been made round our intrenchments on the heights, which extend more than a mile from Veli Pasha Tabia to the English tabias; in the meantime the interior line of the town has not been neglected. In spite of the military executions I informed your lordship of in my last despatch, desertion to a serious extent occurred last night; I therefore advised the muschir to disband the regiment of rediff, from which all these desertions have taken place, to

put the officers on half-pay, and to distribute the men among the companions of the other corps. The sentence was executed this morning, to the astonishment of the officers and soldiers of this unworthy regiment; and I trust we have now struck at the root of the evil, for the general disposition of the garrison is admirable."

On the 11th of September Consul Brant addressed Lord Clarendon in terms which showed that "hope deferred maketh the heart sick:"—

"I would not wish to throw discouragement on the result of the expedition under Omar Pasha, but I cannot divest my mind of great anxiety as to its results from the effects of the climate and the nature of the country it will have to traverse in its advance on Tiflis—a country of swamps, woods, and rivers, and of small resources for provisioning an army; possessed by an active enemy like the Russians, I conceive the only chance of success against Tiflis (the safety of the army depends on its success) consists in a rapid march through the country. If the proceedings of Omar Pasha be dilatory he will lose half his men by sickness and privation, and will effect nothing. In my opinion, a much safer plan would have been to send even a smaller force by this route. The expedition has been too long delayed, and by this delay its success has been imperilled. I hope most sincerely that my prevision may prove incorrect. Everything depends on the activity and energy of Omar Pasha, and the support he may receive from his own government. If the latter be not greater than my experience leads me to anticipate, I can feel no confidence in a favourable result, and I cannot help thinking that 10,000 European troops, with 3000 or 4000 cavalry, sent to Kars a month ago by this route, would have effected more than the present expedition, even if it prove as large and as complete as it is reported to be. Saleh Bey, a miralai of cavalry, has just arrived from Kars. He is going on to Constantinople to represent, on the part of the muschir, the dangerous predicament in which the garrison stands, unless immediate and direct succours be sent for its relief. He says that Omar Pasha's army will require a month or more before it can move from the coast, and General Mouravieff may not find it necessary to retire from before Kars for some weeks, and then possibly he will take only his best troops, leaving a sufficient force to maintain the blockade. Now, although this force may be small, and the troops not very choice, it will answer the purpose, for the Turkish garrison cannot move a step beyond the intrenchments, because it has no cavalry, and may be said to be without artillery, the horses being so reduced in

condition that they cannot drag the guns. Thus, while there is any force before Kars supplied with guns and cavalry, the garrison cannot venture to issue from its works. The stock of provisions is so small that it will last until the period arrives when the sea will oblige the enemy to retire to their quarters; so that if succours be not sent to Kars by Trebizond without a moment's delay, the garrison may be forced to abandon the place with the guns and ammunition, and to seek safety in retreat at any risk. This is exactly what Saleh Bey stated, and which a letter saw from Baron Schwartzenburg confirms. It may happen that General Mouravieff will think it hazardous to leave a small force before the place, not knowing exactly the resources of the garrison; or he may think it necessary to concentrate all his forces to meet the advance of Omar Pasha; still it would be most prudent to risk the capture of Kars on a moment of opinion as to what General Mouravieff will decide on doing."

Meanwhile the indefatigable exertions of General Williams continued to inspire confidence in all around him. The following testimony to this effect was written at the request of Captain Thompson, whose own hardships and labours were such that he only arrived home to die:—"Nothing is done without the general. He is *de facto* commander-in-chief, and we come next to him in point of responsibility and hard work. The Turkish pashas sit under their tents all day, perspiring and smoking, and we are out all day and night. It is a tiring, fagging work; but we have to remember that we are Englishmen, and with the example of our pasha we are not likely to forget it." The captain immediately adds:—"My scribbles were stopped by seeing about 200 Cossacks coming across the plain at a gallop to cut off our foragers. They have been rather too successful of this lately, and once or twice have been more successful than they ought to have been. However, I made last night some small pits, and sent the men down to them among the rocks under the Kara-dagh. Our foragers were desired to run under the rocks for safety, and the Cossacks followed them, thinking they had not been seen, when pop, pop went the rifles, and over tumbled some Cossacks, while the rest galloped away. We then presented them with a couple of rounds of grape, as a parting gift, but they were already too fatigued for it to take effect."

On the 14th a Russian deserter informed Dr. Sandwith that great sickness had suddenly stricken Mouravieff's army; from his account the doctor inferred that it was cholera. The Russian commissariat was conducted in the most praiseworthy manner, the supplies of

being abundant, sheep-skin coats and articles of warm apparel were sent in quantities for their comfort and protection from the cold. At that date General Williams to Lord Clarendon, informing him of the loyalty on the part of certain portions of the rediff soldiery:—

From my more recent despatches your lordship will have perceived that desertion is a great evil against which we have to contend. The example exhibited to the troops of disbanding of the regiment of rediff, as mentioned in my despatch of the 10th inst., was no less than six desertions yesterday; formerly, we recaptured two of the deserters; proved to be men of the corps in question. They were tried by a council of war, and were shot. On their trial they denounced persons (inhabitants of Kars) who had instigated them to this act of treason, and armed them with peasants' clothes to enable them to effect their purpose. Three of these were seized in a house where the musket of one of the prisoners who suffered yesterday was found, together with the clothes and instruments of seven more deserters. There is little doubt that these wretches are in communication with the enemy, as proclamations were found on the last-captured spy, giving any deserters free passage through the frontier posts to their homes. A council of war has tried and condemned these men, who were hanged to day in the market-place; the appointments of the seven deserters who have escaped by their agency will be placed on the gallows as a further proof of their guilt. Your lordship will learn with surprise that, up to this moment, no Christian subject of the sultan has betrayed us, all those who have so justly forfeited their lives being Christians."

The disloyalty of the militia and of some of the inhabitants of Kars was not the only proof of the want of good faith on the part of the sultan's subjects, as the despatch from General Williams to the Foreign-office on the 10th proved:—

A large force detached from the Russian army, which I informed your lordship was engaged in the neighbourhood of the Soghanli, was seen by my foot-messenger about ten days ago searching in the direction of the village of Geuleh, where Haji Ali Pasha and several other officers who had recently left were stationed, for the purpose of passing the cavalry and artillery horses which they wanted them, and for seizing a favourable opportunity to get barley into our camp. Haji Ali Pasha, with his attendants, having incautiously ventured too far from these detach-

ments, was taken prisoner, and is now in the Russian camp, opposite our intrenchments. This is the second pasha who has been taken in this manner; Bahlool Pasha, the hereditary chief of Bayazid, having fallen into the enemy's hands near Euch-Kelissa, about two months ago. I should state to your lordship that, by Prince Paskiewitch's official reports on the last war, this very Bahlool Pasha allowed himself to be taken prisoner in Bayazid, and, while in the enemy's hands, exerted himself as an active partizan in their favour by intriguing with and rendering neutral several of the sultan's Turkish subjects. The similarity of the game played and playing by this man forces me to bring him to your excellency's notice; the more so as several of the Kurdish bands of horse under Veli Pasha, during the recent unsuccessful operations of the Russian general-in-chief against Erzerum, disbanded and fled to their homes without firing a shot. Another very serious coincidence is the conduct of the principal Mussulman inhabitants of Erzerum during the late panic. There is no doubt that they would have treated with the enemy if the forts around the city had not restrained them, and prevented an attack from the Russian army. I can only conclude that, as in 1829, Russian gold was ready at hand to effect its work. The Christian notables and their flock alone (under their bishop) showed true loyalty, and I have thanked them, through his reverence, in the name of the British government."

It will naturally strike an English reader as improbable that men holding the high position of these pashas should expect to return to a professed allegiance to the sultan after such deeds; but they had only to pay the pashas at Constantinople well to escape every punitive measure by which the Porte might be supposed to visit such treason.

On the 17th the garrison was overjoyed with what Dr. Sandwith called "glorious news." Omar Pasha was represented as being at Batoum, with a vast number of steamers crowded with troops, and an immense transport. Forty thousand men were represented as constituting his army. Mouravieff was said to have departed from his camp with 12,000 of the blockading army for Akhiska, but Sandwith had no doubt that the enemy himself had issued this report to throw the garrison off its guard. General Williams does not appear to have believed either rumour, for in his despatch to Lord Clarendon, dated two days later, and already given, he does not mention them. He knew both Omar and the Russians better than his officers did.

On the 23rd a Georgian of some distinction deserted to the garrison. He was one Aislan Agha; six horsemen were in his retinue. In

his effort to enter the city, the Russian patrol stopped him. Agha replied to their challenge authoritatively in Russian—"Do you not know me? I am the colonel going the rounds." The patrol hesitated. Agha made the moment of hesitation available, and, with his brave followers, charged through, and entered the city in safety. His arrival was a great event, for he brought the news of the fall of Sebastopol. The tidings ran "like wildfire" through town and garrison, and acclamations of joy burst from soldiers and people. At mid-day there was a general parade, and the news was read at the heads of the various battalions. The citizens turned out, and there was a *feu de joie* of pistols, guns, fowling-pieces, Bashibazouk carbines, &c. A grand salute was ordered from the castle, but as soon as the first gun was discharged a regiment of Russian cavalry, with two batteries of artillery, approached the Hafiz Pasha Fort, and opened a quick fire. The officers of the garrison were astonished at this strange procedure; but the sagacity of General Williams was not for a moment at fault. He pointed out the real object—an intention to prevent the salute being heard *as a salute* by the Russian army, lest they should infer the truth, or that some other great victory was gained; for the Russian troops were beginning to despair of capturing Kars, and would have been disheartened by hearing that victory elsewhere had crowned the allied arms.

On the 26th intelligence reached the muschir that Omar Pasha's army was rapidly concentrating on the Chourouk-su, and that the "Sirdar Ekram" intended to begin his operations against Georgia with instant vigour. The muschir also received tidings that Sebastopol was partly taken, and the Russian fleet entirely destroyed.

On the 25th the cholera broke out with fearful violence; it was imported from the enemy by means of deserters. Dr. Sandwith made every effort to check its course, but it continued its ravages from day to day, until 1000 soldiers and many citizens perished by it. On this day the whole country seemed on fire, from the burning of the grass by the Russians, to prevent the cavalry of the garrison from sallying forth in quest of fodder for the horses.

On the 26th news arrived from Omar Pasha which seems altogether irreconcilable with the honour and good faith of that general in what concerned the relief of Kars. Dr. Sandwith, referring to that intelligence, thus wrote concerning it in his journal of the 27th:—"An aide-de-camp of Omar Pasha entered the city last night; the generalissimo has landed at Suchum Kaleh with 45,000 of the best Turkish, Egyptian, and Tunisian troops; the trans-

port corps was shortly expected. The aide-camp has been twelve days on the road."

In a private letter of General Williams written from Kars on the 28th of September he thus describes his hopes as excited by Turkish general:—"Omar Pasha is most likely now on his march towards Tiflis or Akh for we heard from him two days ago, tell us that he was concentrating his troops on Chourouk-su, and that he should himself march on with the greatest possible speed, begging to hold out twenty days. With our economy of bread we can *do much* more than that, and would have given the Russians cold fingers we let them inside our lines."

From these statements it would appear that not earlier than the 13th of September Omar wrote to General Williams, informing him that he had landed at Suchum Kaleh, was at the head of 45,000 men, and in twenty days would relieve Kars. Here is a threefold statement, as to the place in which the generalissimo was, the troops at his disposal, and his power within a given time, at the head of such a considerable force, to create a diversion sufficient for the relief of the garrison. In another chapter, relating the actual history of Omar's proceedings, we shall be able to show that on the 13th of September, on any date in September, he had not the slightest prospect of relieving Kars in twenty days, and never would have sent a despatch to that effect, unless it was his intention to keep General Williams in the place until a retreat from it was impossible—unless, in fact, he partook of the desire which was cherished by the clique at Constantinople, of handing over General Williams and his British assistants to prisoners of war to the Russians. Let it be remembered that at this juncture the pasha whom General Williams caused to be sent away from Kars and its neighbourhood in disgrace, and to be tried and punished at Constantinople for their peculations, were shielded from undergoing the punishments awarded them by the powerful interest of Omar, whose influence they were originally appointed; and that Selim Pasha, at Erzerum, and Mustapha Pasha, at Batoum, were carrying on the same game of false promises and false representations; and it will be difficult for any one to keep in view all these facts without coming to the conclusion that General Williams was trifled with and betrayed by Omar, Selim, Mustapha, the pashas and seraskier at Constantinople, and that some others at that city, who were neither Turks nor pashas, but from whom General Williams was entitled to sympathy and support, were not displeased with the progress of this combination against him. Indeed, it is much to be doubted that if displeasure had been resolutely evinced

not these schemes by legitimate English influences at Constantinople, they would have been reduced to practice. Mr. Oliphant added the camp of Omar Pasha as an amateur. He touched at Suchum Kaleh, Ghelend-Redout Kaleh, Batoum, Shefketail, and Pizond, during the month of September. He met Omar at Batoum, and gives this account of the prospect of affairs then, "the 11th of September:"—"I found Omar at Batoum, in a state of impatient expectancy, occupied chiefly in the reorganisation of Mustapha's army, and the establishment of hospitals for them. He told me that the accounts he had received of the country between Batoum and Kutais had induced him to change his plan of operations to Suchum Kaleh, as by so doing he would not only secure his left flank, but find a more practicable line of march." "That prospect had Omar 'in the middle of September' of relieving Kars in twenty days, when his own army was not even collected on the shores of Asia? How could he boast of being at the head of 45,000 men, when he knew well there was not the smallest prospect of being within many thousands of that number, and when he had already learned by personal inspection of Mustapha's army at Batoum that instead of 12,000 men, at which it had been computed, there were not 1000 including invalids?"

Mr. Oliphant, so ardent an admirer of Omar Pasha, and a personal friend of Colonel Simmons, the English commissioner in his camp, candidly remarks on the tardiness displayed by the French commander:—"On the 11th of September General Williams writes:—'What is being done for the relief of this place?' This important question is answered, in the 12th of September, by Colonel Simmons' despatch to the Earl of Clarendon, dated three weeks later (the 11th of September), from the Crimea:—'Up to the present time General Pelissier has not signified his assent to the departure for Asia of more of the Ottoman troops now stationed at Batoum.' Two thousand had been allowed to depart three days before. Sebastopol had been relieved a fortnight previous to this. The principle of using a portion of the Turkish army had been held some lines at Baidar. It had not been employed in the trenches, nor was it engaged in the siege. It was now becoming a great encumbrance and embarrassment to the allied forces, encamped in so limited a space. 'It would appear to be most desirable,' says Colonel Simmons, 'for the interest of the allied troops now here that they should depart.' Again: 'General Simpson informed me that he sees no objection to the departure. The only obstacle, therefore, is to be, that the assent of General Pelissier and the French government has not been

given.' Here, then, we are enabled, for the first time, to arrive at some definite conclusion as to the immediate and proximate fall of Kars."

The circumstances so accurately described by Mr. Oliphant in the above quotations and comments made by him, prove that Omar Pasha could not have sincerely and honourably written, at any time within the month of September, to General Williams that he would relieve Kars, if the English commissioner held out for twenty days. It was a cruel and treacherous mockery of his situation; and if it were not an act of vindictive perfidy, it is impossible to account for it. It was so late as the 3rd of October when Omar reached Suchum Kaleh, which he must have intended to be the base of his operations when he addressed the faithless letter to which General Williams and Dr. Sandwith referred with so much unfounded hope. Omar spent a month loitering in Mingrelia when he got there, independent of the time consumed in marches and battle; and Mustapha Pasha, who was ordered to effect a certain movement on the Rhion in Omar's support, spent two months in marching about ten miles and back again, having employed ten thousand men in a manner which both he and Omar Pasha knew was useless, if they did not actually mean it to be so. These facts must come again under view in future chapters, when the reader will be left with ample evidence that "Omar never intended to relieve Kars," as the author of this History is aware officers who served in his army, and must have been in his confidence, have admitted. The feelings of General Williams upon the receipt of such encouraging tidings from Omar, may be judged from the buoyant style in which he depicted his own sufferings and those of the garrison, in the following extract from a private letter of the 28th of September:—"Our last enemy is cholera, which, after inflicting much loss on the Russians, came to us three days ago; but I hope it will not prove of a virulent type. We are in capital 'caif.' For the last two days Mouravieff has been sending off his baggage to Gumri, and, even by the light of lanterns, the arabas moved on that road all last night. We still look sharp, and leave nothing to chance. Our little fellows are in high spirits, and would fight like devils if he tries a last gasp and rush. *Nous verrons*. We are all thin and bronzed from exposure and night-work. My sword-belt would not do its duty were it not shortened by many a buckle-hole; but all of us are in high spirits. The mortality amongst our horses has been, and is, terrible from sheer starvation; we can with great difficulty bury them, and employ for that purpose large detachments of infantry."

On this day General Williams sent to Erzerum, urging the preparation of provisions and stores in case the enemy should raise the blockade, which he gave some indications of being likely to do. In this the general was disappointed, in common with the muschir, and all the officers, English, Hungarian, and Turkish. Mouravieff was as daring as he was skilful, and had been acting cautiously, but effectively, to leave the impression which the garrison entertained. He did not, however, succeed in lulling the vigilance of General Williams, as the following events show:—

#### GENERAL ASSAULT BY THE RUSSIAN ARMY.

On the 29th a grand attack was made upon the city by the whole of Mouravieff's force. That general, having heard of the arrangements for an expedition to Georgia under Omar Pasha, and of the fall of Southern Sebastopol, naturally supposed that the armies under Pelissier and Simpson would display more enterprise than they did, and that so important a sphere of action as that of Asia Minor would receive their attention; he feared that French and British troops would be landed at Trebizond, and also be dispatched in support of the diversion contemplated by Omar; he therefore determined upon a desperate attempt to take Kars by storm. No expectation of making an assault existed in the Russian camp at nine o'clock on the night of the 28th. Preparations soon after that hour began to be made, and Mouravieff was himself all activity; the brave and energetic old man was everywhere directing, arranging, superintending. Kmety showed his just appreciation of the Russian commander-in-chief when he persisted in believing, contrary to the opinion of Dr. Sandwith, that he would assault Kars, even if obliged to raise the blockade. Mouravieff went from corps to corps, encouraging the troops, and chatting familiarly with the junior officers, contrary to his habit, and assuring them that Kars would be easily taken. He had determined that, if possible, it should be taken, for he had concerted his measures with determination at any cost to secure success, and was ready at the chosen moment to launch 30,000 men against the obstinate city. We have in a previous chapter given a general description of the place and its defences, to which our readers must refer while perusing this relation of the battle. So singular was the situation of Kars, so numerous the defences, and so peculiar the character and relation to one another, that it is very difficult to give a clear and comprehensive view of the progress of the contest. Colonel Lake, the engineer officer who, under the approval of General Williams, planned the defences, expressed the great difficulty he felt to convey

in writing a perspicuous account of the conflict; in a letter to a friend he represented as necessary, pencil in hand, personally to scribe what occurred, in order to communicate it intelligibly to others.

About three o'clock in the morning, on the sentinels most in advance heard dull sounds, as if of distant wheels. He at once supposed it to be convoy-carts, which came and went so frequently in connection with the Muscovite camp. Listening for some time the sounds struck his ear as the familiar rumble of artillery-wheels, and he communicated his suspicions, which were confirmed by others. The first sentinel, putting his ear to the ground, heard the measured tramp of infantry, but was supposed that it proceeded from the relieving-parties passing from post to post. A word passed, and the alarm was given. Kmety commanded this portion of the line of defence occupying a central position behind, in the rifle camp, where Major Teesdale also had his tent. Kmety could hear no sounds, the night was dark, the city was silent, and all beyond was also still. The noises which were heard before were hushed, and it was evident that they indicated the approach of the enemy, the approach was managed with extreme caution and care. Silently, quietly, but swiftly Kmety marshalled his troops, and the men peered down into the deep darkness, and listened with anxious ears, but nothing stirred which could be heard or seen. After an hour's pause a few riflemen were sent out upon a reconnaissance; they stole forward in the furtive, rapid way peculiar to that service, but as yet nothing could be heard. By degrees, as they lay upon the earth, the rumble of artillery as the march of men could be recognised more and more distinctly, and Kmety from his position also heard it. The word was passed, and the Zebeks prepared their pieces (*carabines à tige*), and were ready to fire upon any shape which might emerge from the gloom. The artillerymen loaded with heavy charges of grape, but all was again silent. It was a time of awe and thrilling suspense. At last the riflemen returned from their reconnaissance, if such could be called, exclaiming that "The Giaours were coming," and at once messengers sped to every other portion of the camp. Peering into the dense gloom, a soldier, remarkable for his faculty of seeing by night, perceived the masses of the enemy coming steadily on, and exclaimed, "It is moving—it is a column of the Muscovs!" In a moment a gun was pointed, and sent out its thunder of defiance, bearing also into the closely-packed mass of the Muscovites a shower of grape. Cries arose from the wounded—a shout of triumph from the Turks, answered promptly by a cry of rage and defiance from the enemy now rushing

on to the works; every step was met by  
ing fire of grape, and the Russians fell  
as the leaves of the forest stricken by the  
storm. Kmety was at once at his post.  
Lake was going his rounds, but arrived  
in the fight, and threw himself into the  
ek Battery, to the right of the Tahmasp  
doubt, and separated from it by a line of  
work called the Rennison line. Lake  
sleep, no doubt in the sound sleep of the  
worked and weary soldier, when the boom-  
of the cannon roused him. His soldier  
told him it was but a dream, for he  
lept too soundly to awake until roused by  
aster's call. The accustomed ear of Lake  
that these sounds were the notes of open-  
conflict. He was scarcely dressed, and  
red to hurry forth, when General Wil-  
already on the alert, called out to him  
the enemy was attacking in force. Lake  
ved at once that guns were firing in  
direction of Kanli Battery on the extreme  
of the defence, and Tahmasp on the  
west. Galloping to the former, in the  
ste of battle, he with difficulty perceived,  
e dawn had not yet broke, that there was  
e in front of it, but beyond range, and  
ting almost exclusively of cavalry and  
ry. Judging by the position taken, and  
escription of force there that no attack  
meditated in that quarter, and that the  
y was merely making a feint, he ordered  
he Russian artillery fire should not be  
red, unless the troops came well within  
He then remounted, and turned to-  
Tahmasp, whence the flashes of the  
n the darkness were quick and fierce, and  
soon followed by a roll of musketry,  
told but too plainly that the enemy was  
o the works. Lake afterwards declared  
here was an intensity of sound in the  
ade, and in the roll of the musketry,  
s he had never before heard. The con-  
ness of close, earnest, awful battle, took  
ion of his mind. Riding to Tchin-  
y (afterwards called Vassif Pasha Bat-  
he was enabled to comprehend more  
the scheme of attack; he perceived  
e enemy was directing his efforts upon  
t of the Tahmasp line of breastwork,  
was defended by Hussein Pasha, a gal-  
rcassian. The right of these works soon  
peared under a powerful fire; there  
was more immediately engaged, and  
Teesdale took post throughout the battle.  
ack was soon extended to the batteries,  
after the interpreter (Zohrab), Captain  
son, and Major Teesdale (the English  
as). There was a battery behind these  
Churchill Battery, named after the secre-  
the general, and another named Wil-  
Pasha Battery. The key of the place

was Fort Lake, according to Colonel Lake's  
idea, who planned it, although Kmety re-  
presents the Tahmasp Heights as the key of  
the whole defence. Mouravieff hoped to turn  
the Tahmasp lines, and penetrate to Fort  
Lake, which was connected with the English  
batteries, and was, in fact, a part of that line  
of defence. Possessing Fort Lake he could  
shell the town, destroy the magazines, and  
(having conquered Tahmasp) render the city  
no longer tenable. The position of the assailed  
became now most serious: Mouravieff had  
posted artillery on an eminence, which enabled  
him to throw a heavy fire into the Tahmasp  
Redoubts, and the works on its left; shot and  
shell fell thickly among them. No previous  
fire of artillery opened their way, but relying  
on a surprise, the Russian columns came on as  
they always did throughout the war, in close,  
dense masses. Floods of grape smote them from  
the batteries they were so gallantly storming.  
As they reached the breastworks, musketry—the  
long rifles of the Lazi, Minié rifles, *carabines à*  
*tige*—were directed against their very heads,  
sweeping down rank after rank, as the strong  
wind scatters the ascending smoke. The Rus-  
sian officers displayed a professional pride and  
personal daring that was magnanimous; fore-  
most in danger, they dashed, sword in hand,  
upon the bayonets of the garrison, in the hope  
that by the very desperation of the rush they  
made, an entrance would be forced for their  
followers. On the left flank the enemy pressed  
on, and attacked the position in rear; but the  
redoubts were closed, and Hussein Pasha, the  
gallant Circassian, defended the Tahmasp Bat-  
tery itself, and the line of breastwork to its  
left, which the enemy were successful in turn-  
ing. On the right of the Tahmasp range of  
heights, and separated from the Tahmasp Re-  
doubt by lunettes and breastworks, was the  
Yuksekk Tabia, a redoubt into which Teesdale  
entered soon after the attack. Along the front  
of the Tahmasp Redoubt, and the works be-  
tween it and the Yuksek Battery, and beyond  
that defence to the right on to the heights  
called Shirshani Tepessi, the Russians made  
daring, desperate, and protracted efforts to  
effect an entrance; they did succeed in cap-  
turing a lunette to the left of the Yuksek  
Tabia, in which were some guns, but they  
were not able to make much use of them, and  
they were somewhat early in the battle driven  
out of that work at the point of the bayonet by  
Kmety in person, at the head of four companies  
of Rifles. The Russians turned the extreme  
right, as well as the left of the Tahmasp line  
of defence, but found that the works were all  
closed. They then necessarily occupied the  
camp in the rear, which had been Kmety's  
head-quarters; there they planted their stand-  
ards, massed their battalions, and opened a

tremendous fire of musketry against the rear of the whole line of the Tahmasp defences. Major Teesdale skilfully turned his guns to the reverse of the Yuksek Battery, now made the front, and directed a galling fire of grape upon the camp, where the enemy had thus ranged his infantry. Teesdale worked his cannon and plied his musketry with rapidity and boldness. This effort was one of the redeeming circumstances of the battle; his guns swept down numbers as they rushed on, especially the officers, fiercely against the redoubt, which they were maddened with despair to find closed against them, as well as desperately defended.

While Teesdale, from his position at the Yuksek, on the north-west of the defence, maintained an obstinate conflict, Kmety's attention was directed to that point also, but more especially to the left of the Tahmasp range. General Williams and the muschir were at head-quarters, which were situated to the south-west of the town, and as nearly as possible in the centre of the whole defence. It was his desire, when the conflict began, that Lake should remain at the Tehin Tabia, at the other side of the river to that where head-quarters and the reserves were placed, and in a position, if possible, still more central to the points attacked. But Lake, perceiving that the enemy had stormed the English batteries on the north of the defences, repaired to Fort Lake which commanded them, and directing the heavy guns there, so as to dislodge the temporary victors, dealt also among them horrible slaughter. The necessity of Lake's presence there was obvious; for while one portion of the enemy was turning the Tahmasp range of defence, and attacking them in reverse, another powerful body, consisting of a division of infantry, and two regiments of dragoons, supported by fieldpieces, penetrated on the north beyond the Tehakmask Tabia,\* and breast-work nearer to the river, and attacked that line of defence called the English tabias. These were occupied by weak garrisons, but were gallantly defended, as all agree, except, indeed, General Kmety, who was not there, and who deprecates anything done where *he* was not.

Captain Thompson was on the same side of the river as that in which head-quarters were. The captain had charge of two batteries: one, called the Kara-dagh, overlooking the road to Gumri, to the east of the city and of the defences; the other, the Arab Tabia, to the north-east. From this remote position he was enabled to render immense service, by using artillery of very heavy metal, especially one "big gun," and by the opportune dispatch

of his Bashi-bazouks (on foot), and the risons of his tabias to the relief of the immediately assailed. He was, like bound fast in sleep when the sound of cannon from Tahmasp aroused him. Loping up to the heights of his position looked beyond the city and the river, were hidden in darkness, and saw the of the guns at Tahmasp, and very soon the streaming flashes of the musketry. could only perceive that a fierce fight waging, but the duties of his own post kept him simply an observer. After a while he heard cheers under the English batteries, which, as already shown, were attacked after the lines at Tahmasp—those batteries much nearer to him than the latter. As dawn began to dawn, he was horrified to perceive that the English tabias were being stormed; he could distinctly count five Russian battalions—three regiments of dragoons (accounts name only two), and sixteen fieldpieces; the resistance, however noble, was borne down; and the fieldpieces were brought into position above the gorge of the river, and began to fire down upon the tabias, and also in the direction of the magazines, the position of which was pointed out by deserters. At this juncture, General Williams, whose attention from his central position directed to every quarter, and who thought of everything, sent up word to Thompson to bring his men to the relief of the troops driven from the English batteries. His own promptness and forethought were such that he needed no such orders; he had already dismounted the Bashi-bazouks attached to his command, together with 800 infantry, sent them across the river. While they were acting in obedience to his orders, he opened fire from his guns, simultaneously with those from Fort Lake, which opportunely directed their fire upon the spot, as already mentioned. Dr. Sandwith describes Captain Thompson's battery, effecting, with one great gun, the service now performed; this was not the case, the whole battery was directed upon the English tabias, and one gun of large calibre effected immense slaughter among the invaders. Lieutenant Koch, under Captain Thompson's orders, opened fire also from the Arab Tabia, and sent its garrison across the river, to assist in expelling the captors of the English tabias. The fire from these batteries (Lake's and Thompson's) was murderous, and it was possible for the enemy to occupy the tabias while exposed to it. Lake had so skilfully constructed the works, that no redoubt could be held by the foe without being exposed to flanking fire from some other battery. Thompson, however, supposed that his battery did more than it was possible to perform,

\* This must not be confounded with Tahmasp, on the north-west of the defence, as might easily be done by English readers from similarity of name.

not see the hand-to-hand conflict which necessary to expel the assailants from the and they had so bravely won. Kmety, in account, most disingenuously tries to leave impression that Koch, not Thompson, had the glory of what was accomplished from the river in driving the Russians out of English tabias. This is as unfaithful as unbecoming. Judging from his writing, General Kmety is bitterly prejudiced against English, and seems intensely envious of reputation acquired by British officers—when these officers have covered themselves with honour by their personal courage and their skill, and were at the same time his generous upholders and intimate friends. Obligations of gratitude, no pride of perfriendship can counteract this ungenerous unsoldierly disposition on his part. It is worthy that one so brave, and one so much revered in the despatches of General Williams and in the private letters of all the English officers who served at Kars, should allow variance of honour to eat out the generous magnanimous emotions of a gallant soldier's

Even with the advice of a certain illustrious person at Constantinople, and the assistance of others as envious and less gifted, General Kmety is not sufficiently ingenious to the merits of others without damaging himself. He has, however, rendered services upon almost equal to those rendered by Lord, for he has unintentionally indicated a portion of the English public at all times of such questions, what a centre of intrigue, and envy is to be found somewhere near the British embassy at Constantinople.

Turning again to the proceedings of Lake. As he saw the attack on the left of the English, he placed two very heavy guns on the Tehin Battery, and directed their fire upon the Russian artillery, which had unlimbered, and was cannonading the reverse of the Tahmasp Heights. From the Tehin he proceeded, directly related, to Fort Lake, which had already been engaged, but which redoubled its courage under the auspices of the colonel. When the Russian attack on Fort Lake, with that of the batteries of the Tehin, Thompson, had rendered the English position untenable by the Russians, reinforcements arrived there from Captain Thompson, and his rifles had held the Russians at bay on the right and left of Tahmasp Heights. He fought with the coolest and most unflinching courage, taking deliberate aim, nearly always bringing down a foe. The veteran Englishman distinguished himself greatly on this occasion. Both Hussein Pasha and General Williams made repeated sorties upon the Russian infantry, who were pressing in upon

them from the captured camp, and, with a mere handful of men, frequently scattered many times their number. Meantime, General Williams had to watch the Russians, who menaced the Kanli Tabia, and to take care that they did not turn their feint into a real attack. By his judicious and timely orders to Colonel Thompson, he provided that every assistance which could be rendered thence should be afforded to the English tabias. He sent his own reserves to the Tehin Battery, the garrison of which was ordered up to Lake's support at Fort Lake, and gradually directed men from the Tehin Tabia to the assistance of Kmety. Kmety, in his querulous pamphlet, makes no acknowledgment of this, although he knew well that every movement was directed by General Williams, and that the line occupied by himself, from the position of Hussein Pasha to that of Teesdale, would have been certainly captured by the enemy but for the judicious arrangements by which Williams sent forward assistance. Kmety must have known from Kolman, who acted as chief of the staff to General Williams, that every movement was dictated by pencil-notes written by the general, and conveyed by Kolman to the various points where these orders were made effective. Immediately after the battle, and while he remained in Kars, and even while he remained in Asia Minor, no one was more lavish of praise, in reference to the comprehensive measures of General Williams, than Kmety; it is strange how he should become better informed when he took up his abode upon the shores of the Bosphorus. It is also unfortunate for the magnanimity of the brave Hungarian, that it is so sure a road to preferment there, to decry the independent commissioner of her majesty. Opportunity for sending assistance to Kmety did not arise until after a conflict truly terrible, and in which both sides showed the utmost gallantry. The battle continued to rage along the Tahmasp Heights and along its flanks, Kmety, Hussein Pasha, and Teesdale, performing prodigies of valour, and inspiring all beneath them with courage dauntless as their own. Their presence of mind was equal to their heroism; no confusion was permitted to arise; each stroke of artillery and volley of musketry was given with deadly precision; and the bayonet did its brave work in the grasp of resolute and steady hands. To assist Kmety by infantry was difficult, for the Russians occupied the plateau behind the Tahmasp Heights. It was by the occupants of the defences there making desperate sorties, that additional troops could find a passage from the reinforcements sent up by General Williams. The battalions which constituted these reinforcements advanced gradually, taking advantage of all the inequalities

of the ground, and placing the Russians in the vanquished camp under a double fire the most galling. A long line of wall, which had been built to shelter the camp-kitchens, formed a shelter for the reserve battalions; and from this they threw out their forces as they could, and in proportion as their fire made impression upon the Russian masses. At last, the fire of these masses slackened, the deadly rage of cannon, musketry, and rifle, at close range, mowed down the enemy as the scythe cuts the field-flowers. Kmety, at the proper juncture, charged them with his infantry. The guns from Fort Lake smote them heavily. The 1-gun battery and the Yussuf Pasha Battery raked them with a cross-fire the most withering, and with perfect impunity. The hour of victory for the garrison had arrived; the astonished and baffled enemy knew not what to do. No provision had been made by Mouravieff for such a contingency as actually happened; he did not suppose that the Tahmasp works were closed in reverse, or that, in case of their being turned, victory to the assailants could be delayed. But there his battalions stood upon the plateau within the defences, yet unable to hold so much as a single lunette, whilst a blaze of vengeful fire encircled them, and death smote them on every hand. Never were troops placed in a predicament more dreadful; seldom have troops shown a more soldierly contempt of death and respect for duty. The retreat was disastrous; the vanquished squadrons, battalions, and artillery, had to run the gauntlet of the renewed and triumphant fire of all the defences within range of which they had come. The pursuing ball and grape sped along the line of their retreat, and havoc the most signal rent their columns. Soldiers and citizens sallied forth in pursuit; the wild Lazi and the sedate white-turbaned townsmen glided down the declivities in lines of exulting conquerors, strewing the slopes with the slain of the defeated. The victory was won; but the victors were not able to utilise the battle as their own valour and the skill of their chiefs would have impelled, from the total want of cavalry, of horses for their fieldpieces, and from the sickly condition of the men.

Among the fearful episodes of the bloody tragedy, one of the most sanguinary was connected with the fate of the Russian cavalry in the attack upon the English tabias. Supposing them all to be open in the rear, the troopers turned the nearest of these defences to their own line of advance, and cut down a timid Turkish colonel who had abandoned his men, and some hundred of his soldiers who followed him in his effort to escape from the tabia, where he was posted, to the stronger defences of Fort Lake. These tabias were

connected with breastworks, and the Russian Dragoons, under the idea that they were sible, charged furiously up to them; but in his construction of these works, had detected every line of intrenchment by five of *troups de loupes*; the Dragoons were, then, received with a murderous fire—the white flag fell dead beneath it; confusion arose among them, and before they retired and re-formed, numbers were shot down; they fell helplessly under the cool, sure fire of the rifles.

The Turks, in the pursuit, dealt slaughter upon the pursued. Hussein Pasha sallied forth from the left of the Tahmasp intrepid young Teesdale rushed forth to Yuksek; Kmety and the troops on Rennel's lines were soon upon the track of the foe. An attempt to rally was impossible; the Russians fled with the utmost precipitation from beneath the vengeful fire of the victors. Williams' cavalry at that moment—a brigade—the destruction of the enemy might have been much greater, and there is no saying what the results might have been of any further attempt to continue the blockade of Kars. His only force was about 100 mounted horsemen, who did their best to the pursuit effectual, as far as pursuit could be ventured in the presence of the powerful cavalry of the enemy.

The loss on the part of the Turks was 1300 men, of whom 300 fell in the defence of the English tabias, and the rest in the defence of the line of breastwork to the left of it to the right up to Yuksek Tabia, and on the right of that up to the strong eminence of Shirshani Tepessi. The loss of the Russian was enormously disproportioned to that of the garrison, it could not have been much more than 15,000 men killed and wounded; of course it cannot certainly be affirmed that the destruction was so heavy; but, upon a rough computation, it is difficult to fix upon a more mate less terrible. General Kmety gave his opinion on this point in the following terms: "The total loss in killed and wounded on the side of the defenders was 1094, of whom 790 were either killed or wounded in the defence of Tahmasp. The number of the killed and buried by the garrison after the fight was about 6500, of whom more than 6000 were killed in the attack on Tahmasp. This does not include the killed and wounded taken away by the retiring columns."

Sir William Williams thus referred to in a private letter to the number of the slain. "They literally covered the country round the field of contention. Upwards of 5000 were killed under ground, so that his losses have been enormous. Mikho, a prisoner, my old se-

the battle from the Russian camp, and he *they confess* to 9500. One hundred and wounded and a few prisoners remain in hands. We have four Russian wounded in a house near us, and they feed and as we do, from our kitchen."

Colonel Lake is more specific:—"I found a young officer of Russian chasseurs, stripped of his shirt and drawers, sitting against a tree, with his eye hanging out on his cheek, having entered the eye, and passed out of the ear. I bound up his eye with my kerchief, put him on the horse of one of our dragoons, and sent him down to the camp. I have since seen him, and he is well; but his eye is gone, of course. He says he is only twenty years of age; he is a good-looking and gentleman-like. His horse I saw lying in the ditch of Yuksek, with his horse beside him. I rode over the field afterwards; and, if I had not seen it with my own eyes, I should have disbelieved what I am now going to tell you. The Russians commenced burying the dead the same day: first of all our own. We lost in killed and wounded between one thousand and two hundred, among them several officers. On this time, and this is the fifth day, when we have kept several regiments constantly employed, we have not yet finished our painful occupation. The accounts show six thousand, three hundred, and actually buried of the Russians. This does not include those who fell at a distance; of whom were carried off by the enemy, and others are still lying in all directions. I saw about yesterday, and found bodies without number in various spots. We have only two hundred and odd wounded Russians in our camp. I saw the enemy taking their dead away all the time of the attack; and the deserter who came in to-day says that 2000 (which I saw) started yesterday for the camp laden with wounded, and that two-thirds of the Russian infantry are *hors de combat*. We have seen officers' funerals going every day in their camps; and I believe a number of them fell during the action. The Erivansky regiment, one of their crack regiments, only brought 350 men out of action. I saw one that, having besieged us for four days, Mouravieff was ashamed of going without a final attack. Now, if he has met Omar Pasha, he will have to encounter his army (in good spirits) of 45,000 men, his own force being considerably cut up. I saw the Russians had altogether 30,000 men engaged, the flower of the Caucasian army. We had under 7000 engaged, not one regiment of cavalry, for most of our horses have been killed, and few remained even for the guns."

.. II.

When the number actually buried, the wounded prisoners, the proportion that fell beyond the Turkish lines, the slain and wounded carried away, are all taken into the computation, a loss of 15,000 men is not too heavy to attribute to the attack. Colonel Lake subsequently came to that conclusion. He thus expressed himself in a private letter, written on the 6th of October:—"It is impossible for the Russians to get away, I imagine, for a day or two, for Mouravieff cannot leave his wounded, and many cannot be moved. He seems to be burying officers every day—dying of their wounds, I suppose. Deserters who have come in say he has lost 300 officers, among them many of high rank. They say he has 15,000 men *hors de combat*. Up to the night before last the numbers buried by us amounted to six thousand and odd. I do not know if there are any more since. Our loss in killed and wounded was 1092, exclusive of the townspeople (who lost 101), and of Bashi-bazouks, the number of whom I know not. It has been very hard work burying the dead, and many regiments have been employed in doing it since the battle. All the dead horses had to be removed."

The scene after the battle, described by other eye-witnesses, is one of the most painful ever presented as the result of conflict. Scarcely did the most murderous struggles in the Crimea leave such a wreck behind. Dr. Sandwith, who, as a medical man, was peculiarly qualified to judge of the havoc of the battle-field, thus wrote of what he witnessed:—

"I rode round the batteries soon after the action, and seldom had the oldest soldier witnessed a more terrible sight. There were literally piles of dead already stripped of their clothes by marauding soldiers, and lying in every posture; while the plaintive cries of men with shattered limbs arose from time to time from amidst these acres of defaced humanity. Every ghastly wound was there—deep and broad sabre-cuts, letting out the life of man in a crimson flood, limbs carried off by round-shot, and carcasses of man and horse torn and shattered by grape. I urged our men to carry off the wounded, but this work proceeded slowly—for the distance to the town was nearly three miles, all or nearly all our horses and mules were dead, and our ambulance corps thereby rendered useless. Suddenly a band of music strikes up; it is the rifle band, and the tune is a wild Zebek melody. At once a dozen of these mountaineers spring up from their repose, join hand-in-hand, and dance amidst the dead, the dying, and the wounded.

"After a day of hard fighting, of glorious triumph, and soul-harrowing work, the night closes in upon us long ere we had removed the Russian wounded from the battle-field. God

help them! After lying naked in a scorching sun, with shattered limbs and burning thirst, they are now exposed to a frosty night. I verily believe that the sensations of the human body are so blunted after a while as to be no longer susceptible of suffering.

"*Sunday, September 30th.*—This is no day of rest; our soldiers are hard at work with the spade, and before nightfall they have buried many thousand Russians, and removed the wounded. Some pious Mussulmans of Kars declare they saw a sacred band of 10,000 men, all clothed in green, the prophet's colour, fighting with our troops. These heavenly warriors disappeared when the Russians retreated. Yesterday and to-day the cholera has ceased—a singular phenomenon, occasioned, I presume, by intense moral emotion."

Dr. Sandwith also gave the following graphic description of the retreat and pursuit:—"About mid-day the Russian columns were seen running down the hill, their cavalry and artillery steadily protecting their retreat. A confused mass of citizens, horse and foot, followed them with the utmost temerity, firing into their retreating ranks. But where was our cavalry? where were the fierce Turkish horsemen who once overran the east of Europe? Two thousand of these horsemen would now destroy the Russian army: as it is, we are forced to keep to our intrenchments—we have no cavalry and no horse-artillery; and, with deep chagrin, we see the enemy gradually reform, and march off unmolested."

The following touching episode in his narrative of the fate of the wounded occurs in Dr. Sandwith's report of his experience subsequent to that bloody day:—"One of our wounded Russian officers is a Pole, who has had half his face carried away by a grape-shot. He regrets beyond measure the loss of a ring, on which is engraved the name *Eloise*, and declares that the recovery of this trinket, which he values beyond anything in the world, would at once cure him. Mr. Rennison our interpreter, hearing of this, produces a ring, which he has bought from a soldier, and which proves to be the identical one so much desired. The poor fellow leaps from his bed, wild with joy, on the recovery of his lost treasure, the gift of some distant well-beloved one. This wounded officer died of a paralysis a few days after this event."

The conduct of men and officers during this fierce fight was most glorious. The Turks fought so as to deserve all the commendations heaped upon them by General Williams in his despatches, and speeches made at public meetings in England after his return.

The English officers behaved with the greatest heroism; and those of them least exposed to the fire of the enemy, but who had, neverthe-

less, most difficult duties to perform, showed the utmost coolness, and showed extraordinary vigour and presence of mind. The European officers not English—such as Kmety and man, better known then as Fezy Bey, and Fezy Pasha—behaved with great gallantry. The men who had most opportunity for distinguishing themselves by personal courage were Kmety, Hussein Pasha, Major Teesdale, Kerim Pasha, and all these officers fought with chivalrous courage. It was not until Kars surrendered that all the exploits of this intrepid young Teesdale were known. This chivalrous youth leaped from the parapet of the Yuksek Tabia to succour wounded Russian officers, although these benevolent acts were effected under showers of bullets. It would be difficult to conceive of valour more than was done by Hussein Pasha and Kerim Pasha.

It is to be regretted that among the English men who defended Kars any difference of opinion and feeling should have sprung up. General Kmety, as already noticed, has endeavoured to express discontent with the honours conferred on his own, and conceded by all, and to claim for himself the whole honour of the defence of Kars. The general has published a pamphlet in the introduction to which he addresses W. F. Williams, finding fault with his conduct in certain speeches delivered by him in England he had not given to the writer the due meed of praise, and the general therefore essayed "to complete" the description given by Sir William by a narrative of his great services. Anything published on the defence of Kars by such a man as General Kmety claims notice, or we should hesitate to give it wide publicity in these pages, but by his own pamphlet it is never likely to be obtained. The gallant Hungarian does not give a good reason, any more than the real reason for publishing his little tractate. Surely it is natural that in England, among the friends of Lake, Thompson, Teesdale, Churchill, &c., General Williams should speak more particularly of the services of those officers than of Kmety, Kolman, and others, not English officers, nor in the service of England in any way. Let it be recollected that these speeches were made "after dinner," a description of speech also depending upon what Dr. Brown, the metaphysician, would call "simple suggestion"—the presence of the friends, relatives, brothers, officers, &c., of the British commissaries and compatriots would naturally bring up vividly the services of these Englishmen; if General Williams were speaking after a banquet at Pesth or Warsaw, he would have suggested to him more forcibly the gallant Hungarian officers whose swords, at his command, so recently leaped from their scabbards against the

General Williams had neglected General Kmetz at Kars, or in connection with Kars, either personally or officially, the brave Hungarian soldier might have justly felt indignant, and appealed to the British public for justice. Was this so? Are not the facts notoriously otherwise? Did not General Williams so deport himself at all times to General Kmetz as to detract from the latter expressions of the warmest admiration and gratitude? And when Lord Stratford, who has, it would appear, now undertaken to take care of the Turco-Hungarian conflict, did not even trouble himself about his country, does not every reader of Blue-books know that General Williams urged upon Lord Stratford (of course in vain) that the neglected Hungarian should receive it? Failing to move Lord Stratford, who is as good a patriot as need be, where patriotism comports with his own interests and power, was not Lord Clarendon obliged to say by General Williams to obtain for General Kmetz the just recompence of his services from the Turkish government? If Sir William Williams, in his official communication, omitted to afford the due meed of praise to the Hungarian, while he loaded the English officers with approbation, there would have been just ground of complaint on the part of the former; but this was not the case, Kmetz was praised *too much*—not, indeed, for his services, which deserves and will ever have full homage of the brave everywhere; but for his services on the whole during the eventful and bloody assault of Kars. Whatever was the skill of General Kmetz, the 29th of September, 1855, did not display its perfection. When at last Kars capitulated, as Kmetz himself admits, Williams furnished him with the means of his escape. His honour found shelter beneath the chivalry of his commander, for which, in truth, Sir William was; and as Kmetz well knows, there were other and delicate ways in which the English chief showed him consideration in the hour when flight was necessary. The despatch of General Williams after the battle is one of the most modest official communications written in modern times. It was carefully said of the document, by a well-known military writer, "He mentioned everything but himself." Kmetz had a prominent place in this world-spread document, as the following extract shows:—

"The intrenchments of Tahmasp, being the nearest the enemy's camp, demanded the most vigilant from all intrusted in their defence. General Kmetz, a gallant Hungarian officer, commanded the division which occupied the eminence; he was assisted by Major-General Hussein Pasha, and my aide-de-camp, Major Teesdale, who has acted as chief of the staff. . . . The central column pre-

cipitated itself on the redoubts of Tahmasp and Yuksek Tabias, where desperate fighting occurred and lasted for several hours, the enemy being repulsed in all his attempts to enter the closed redoubts, which mutually flanked each other with their artillery and musketry, and made terrible havoc in the ranks of the assailants; and it was here that Generals Kmetz and Hussein Pasha, together with Major Teesdale, so conspicuously displayed their courage and conduct. Lieutenant-general Kerim Pasha also repaired to the scene of desperate strife to encourage the troops, and was wounded in the shoulder, and had two horses killed under him."

How General Kmetz could have the effrontery to complain of respectful notice on the part of the English commissioner, after such a despatch, would excite universal astonishment, if Beicos, where he wrote, was not so near the palace of the British embassy on the Bosphorus. The pamphlet of the Hungarian officer, detailing the progress of the battle, is one of the most disingenuous productions that perhaps ever issued from the press. From beginning to end he takes no notice of General Williams, and had the English pasha been hid in the heart of the city of Kars he could not have been more completely ignored by General Kmetz. The fact was, that throughout the seven hours and a half during which the sanguinary fight lasted, General Williams had the whole direction of the conflict, and had it not been for his care, coolness, and promptitude, General Kmetz's own imprudence, notwithstanding his heroism, would have sacrificed himself, his position, and the post he was appointed to keep. At the beginning of the contest the Hungarian soldier rashly threw his whole force into the conflict, leaving *no reserve* at his own disposal. This he admits in the following terms:—"As I was convinced that no immediate danger was to be apprehended on the right flank and rear, and that everything depended on a repulse of the first assault, I determined, perhaps contrary to the strict rule of tactics, to appear at the very outset with my full strength; I accordingly brought my reserve forward before the enemy came within gunshot range."

This tactical error was soon seen when the critical hour arrived for testing it. Instead of his rear being safe, the Russians, without resistance, fell upon his rear, and did so with comparative impunity until Teesdale turned the guns of Yuksek Tabia in reverse, making his rear his front. What would have become of Kmetz and his lieutenants, had Williams and Lake not sent reinforcements during the combat, and timed them with a skill of which the Hungarian hero for once proved himself deficient?

The line of defence where Kmety's division was stationed was planned by General Williams. The way in which it was to be defended depended upon that officer's directions, and according to Kmety's own statement they were given in the following terms:—

“Hold Tahmasp as well as you can; if, in the event of an attack, you find it impossible to hold it, retire into Fort Lake, but on no account before the enemy shall have lost 2000 or 3000 men. Supports will be sent forward from the chief reserves in the town to Tchin Tabia, from Tchin Tabia to Fort Lake, and from Fort Lake to the plateau of Tahmasp.”

General Kmety did not comply with these orders strictly, for, by his rash act of “showing all his strength at first,” he left it out of his own power to retire upon Fort Lake, had that been essential. But General Williams strictly performed what was necessary according to the scheme laid down in these directions. “From Tchin Tabia to Fort Lake, and from Fort Lake to the plateau of Tahmasp,” troops were sent to reinforce those positions under the ever-watchful eye and ready hand of the muschir's adviser and the virtual commander-in-chief.

It is, perhaps, the shortest and simplest way for popular reading, to prove General Williams' comprehensive direction of affairs throughout the struggle, by quoting the words of the other officers engaged, written—not for the public, nor to meet the calumny of Kmety—but in the confidence of private friendship at the time, and when Kmety was in the habit of praising General Williams as a general and a hero! Colonel Lake thus writes:—“General Kmety, finding himself hard pressed, *now sent an aide-de-camp to me for assistance. I sent him a battalion of infantry, and four companies of picked men. On their way from ‘Fort Lake,’ they were joined by two more battalions sent up by General Williams from below.* The whole of them went gallantly forward, and put an end to the affair. They attacked the Russians on their left flank, and drove them down the hill in the greatest disorder, followed for some distance by our troops. The enemy's guns once turned round, unlimbered, and fired, and then finally retreated. Thus ended, I think I may say (as I was only a small actor in it), as decisive an affair as any one need wish to see.”

From this extract it is obvious that, but for the assistance rendered by Lake, according to the orders previously given him by General Williams, and also by the general more directly at the critical juncture, Kmety must have been crushed beneath the numbers of his assailants. No one, in reading his account of the battle, would suppose that Colonel Lake rendered any

important service, or that General Williams rendered any service at all. Kmety aims to create a vulgar prejudice that, because General Williams did not rush forth, and throw himself into one of the exposed batteries, his conduct was not that of a hero! How would it have been possible, if General Williams were in the Teesdale or Yuksek Tabias, that he could have chosen the time to send reinforcements to Kmety, or to Lake, or, in fact, do any act of a chief in command? He might have fought his own battery, and have left the muschir to bungle the general interests of the defence. What he did do was what good sense, duty, and honour dictated; he stood in the most central position of the defences, and issued his orders in every direction as the progress of the battle required. As before related, General Kolman acted as his chief of staff, and carried notes in pencil, by which orders were issued in every direction as they were required. General Kolman knows well that Sir William stood by his side during the battle, and issued his orders through him. Kmety and every other officer did his duty at his post to the best of his ability—the only failure which occurred among the European officers being on the part of Kmety himself, who not only showed his whole force at first, leaving himself without reserves, but threw himself forward to the defence of the right of the Tahmasp redoubt, although he admits in his pamphlet that it was on the left, where Hussein Pasha so fearlessly defended, that the chief danger lay. This is his own account of what he did, and why he did it:—“Although the force moving against Hussein Pasha is far greater than that against Rennison's line, I remained to ward off the first blow against the latter, which were for the moment more exposed to danger than was Hussein Pasha. I took this course, first, because Rennison's lines, being simply a long line of breastworks, could be taken in rear; and, secondly, because the ground in front being more even, the affair must be more quickly decided, so as to leave me at liberty, if I should prove successful, in beating the enemy back at this point, to co-operate with greater ease from hence some ulterior measures for disengaging Hussein Pasha; and, at the worst, Hussein Pasha could retire within the redoubt, and there prolong his defence, whereas, if Rennison's lines were carried, the greatest disorder would have reigned over the whole plateau of Tahmasp.”

The event did not justify his judgment; it was his inability to give timely succour to Hussein Pasha nearly compromised the defence; and, but for the reinforcements sent by Lake and the general, the outflanking force of the Russians would have pressed forward from the

reme left, achieving what amount of mis-  
ef it is impossible to say.

Captain Thompson, since no more, in a letter  
a friend, October 3rd, a letter which no one  
ld read without perceiving that he never  
ended it to come before the public, thus speaks  
the English pasha in connection with this  
guinary day:—"I hope you think we did  
duty; it was 'touch and go,'—but our  
ows fought well, and will fight much better  
next time. It was certainly a glorious  
ory, when you take into consideration the  
eking difficulties we had to contend with.  
pasha (Williams) may well be proud."

What Captain Thompson says of General  
Williams is so mixed up with his admiration  
Kmety, that the whole context must be read  
perceive how these gallant soldiers really  
nd to one another before the intrigues of  
English embassy at Constantinople threw  
r silken threads around the heart of Kmety:  
I am sorry to say the Turks (some of  
ln) behaved badly, and bayoneted the  
unded Russians; it was impossible to avoid  
we had but three English officers engaged,  
we could not stop it. But all glory to dear  
Kmety, who fought like a lion. *When he  
ed of the part I took in driving the Russians  
of the English batteries, he rushed upon me  
kissed me on both cheeks, calling me 'Mein  
on! mein Sohn!' and other very flattering  
phets, which modesty forbids me to repeat.  
r old man! he has no wish for himself but  
do something for the Turkey which saved  
from the Russians after the Hungarian  
olution. He is one of the few remaining  
e Hungarian patriots, and I only wish I  
ve Queen of England for one half hour, that  
ight reward him as he deserves. Directly  
the action, our own brave general (Wil-  
s) came to where he was and said, 'Gene-  
Kmety, I thank you in the name of the Queen  
England for your gallantry and exertions on  
day.' Kmety told me privately, afterwards,  
had he been presented with an English earl-  
and £20,000 per annum (a fabulous sum to  
he, he should not have been half so pleased.*

was not touched, although in the hottest fire  
the morning. His aide-de-camp was shot  
ugh the arm, but I hope it will be saved.  
sure the English government (or people)  
ld do something for him. He is a gentle-  
! Although now serving on the half-pay  
colonel, many men who were in a very  
rdinate position two years ago are now  
seniors in the service. He was selected  
among them, however, to take the com-  
nd of the first division in Kars, and nobly  
e done his duty."

t any person really desirous to test General  
ty's pretensions to candour, turn to his  
nchlet after reading the above account of

his conduct to Captain Thompson, and mark  
the cold and slighting manner in which he  
speaks of his services. That Captain Thompson  
was a man of truth and honour no one doubts,  
and if his testimony as to the extravagant elation  
Kmety professed to feel at receiving the  
approval of General Williams is to be credited,  
what is to be thought of the same man when,  
sixteen months afterwards, he writes an account  
of the battle in which *General Williams is not  
so much as mentioned?* Even Major Teesdale,  
to whom he professed to be greatly attached,  
and whose conduct through the fight was most  
heroic, he condescendingly speaks of as a prom-  
ising young officer. How different the gene-  
rous and cordial spirit of the young officer to  
the veteran, whom he supposed to be his  
warm friend:—"We have now begun real  
work in earnest. The Russians are encamped  
at Zaim, and we daily, or indeed hourly, ex-  
pect their nearer approach. The general has  
posted me on the hills above the town with  
the brave old Kmety, my dear friend and com-  
panion during the winter; and at present I  
am living in a little bell tent by the side of  
his. I have just returned from my first recon-  
naissance, and have had a peep at the Russian  
camp."

According to the despatch of General Wil-  
liams, and the testimony of Colonel Lake, Mr.  
Churchill, the general's secretary, rendered  
most important services by taking direction of  
the 1-gun battery, which he worked with the  
skill of an artillery officer, and did great exe-  
cution upon the enemy. General Kmety  
takes no notice of the courage, intelligence,  
and presence of mind of this civilian soldier,  
but sneers at him as a person of great use to  
General Williams in his civil capacity. This  
is a specimen of the spirit in which the Hun-  
garian criticises every officer engaged, unless  
he be a Pole or a Hungarian.

All these men, English, Hungarian, Pole,  
German, Turk, and their Russian enemies  
also, covered themselves with whatever glory  
may cover men who in the discharge of duty  
show contempt of death; but the man whose  
presiding genius directed all within the assailed  
lines, and foiled the wily lieutenant of the  
czar, was William Fenwick Williams, whom  
history will ever name as the hero of Kars.

The following Russian account will be read  
with much interest; a different name is em-  
ployed for the line of heights first assaulted,  
to that given to it by the British officers; but  
there will be no difficulty in identifying it.  
This brief relation of the general facts, coming  
from a Russian officer, is a very honourable tes-  
timony to Turkish valour, and the valour and  
science of the British, and other foreign offi-  
cers:—"The main attack of our troops, which  
were put into motion on the night of the 28th

to 29th of September, with the entire storming apparatus from Tschirotlitschai, was directed against that point which is to Kars what the Malakoff, with the Korniloff Bastion, was to Sebastopol—viz., the Schorakh group of hills, with their enormously strong fortifications. The dark squares of our men moved like huge shadows silently and noiselessly over the plain. In the east at length a white streak announced the break of day, and a cold breeze came sweeping along. The action began on the Schorakh Heights, and it was here that Death gleaned the firstfruits of his harvest. General Maidel had received instructions to climb these heights, and to take the fortifications, let it cost what it might. He was closely followed by Generals Kovalevski and Prince Gagarin, with their storming columns; but a murderous cross-fire made such fearful gaps in our close masses, that even those who had got up high on the hill, aye, had even attained the edge of the fosse, were obliged to turn back. At this point, Kovalevski and Prince Gagarin were each of them hit by two balls, and General Maidel was first of all slightly and then seriously wounded. He also was obliged to leave the field. The officers were compelled to expose themselves so much in order to bring their columns through that fearful fire. Only Maidel's Caucasian battalions, under the command of Colonel Tachanoff, succeeded in penetrating into the fortified position of the Turks, and for a moment kept possession of it; but in vain were all their attempts to storm the central fortification from that point. It was in vain that a number of guns was brought up to their support; the fearful fire of the enemy prostrated both gunners and horses. The Caucasians endeavoured to hold their ground until the reserve under General Broniewski came to the assistance of their thinned ranks; but this general received a serious wound, and so did his successor in command, Colonel Ganeski. With a view to facilitate the storming, General Basin, who had joined the day previously, was ordered, in conjunction with General Baklanoff, to storm Tchakhmakh from the side opposite to us. He took three redoubts, together with twelve guns that they mounted, and eleven stand of colours and pennons, and for many hours held out against a murderous cross-fire of artillery, but without however, being able to advance any further. The Turks defended themselves most obstinately and undauntedly under cover of their works. A sultry day succeeded to the coolness of night. The struggle had already lasted five hours, and the men were exhausted. An exterminating cross-fire from the upper and lower rows of the fortress, lying one above the other like stairs, continued to devastate our infantry and artillery. At length it became necessary

to decide upon a retreat, else the army would have been entirely destroyed. This was executed in such a way that, by the skilful arrangements of General Kaufmann, all pursuit was made impossible to the Turks, who were already preparing for it. The failure of the attack attributed to the loss of officers, but it is not to be denied that, nevertheless, our troops fought with their very utmost; but the Turks fought with an invincible obstinacy. At the calling over the muster-roll in camp, more than a third (some say a good half) were wanting of those who, the night before, had stood in the front before the storm began. The whole of the following day was occupied in collecting the killed and wounded, and we now stand in our former blockading position. Many officers who are only slightly wounded have remained in front, so as not to leave their regiments without officers, or merely under command of subalterns. The emperor's body regiment of Carabineers (Erivan) has suffered most of all its officers (thirty-two) have been either wounded or killed: the next is the Grand duke Constantine regiment of Grenadiers, which has lost three commanders of battalions killed, while four other majors received wounds or contusions; in addition to them the regiment is minus twenty-eight officers killed or wounded."

On the evening of the battle General Williams wrote a brief despatch to the English foreign minister, announcing the victory, recommending the English officers to his notice in whose power it was to do so much to promote the advancement they so well merited. In that despatch General Williams greatly underrated the losses of his own army, and more that of the enemy, for it was impossible so soon to estimate the full extent of the damage. It is not necessary, therefore, to finish the document, as in another despatch dated October 3rd, the general transmitted an accurate and detailed account of the actions and results of that sanguinary day.

"Your lordship will perhaps recollect in my despatch of the 28th of June I stated that the Russian general, after his successful demonstration against the southern face of the intrenchments, which is flanked by the Pasha Tabia and Kanli Tabia, marched southwards and established his camp at Bugah Tikmeh village situated about four miles from Kars. Knowing that General Mouravieff served in the army which took Kars in 1828, I conceived the last manœuvre to be preparatory either to a reconnaissance, or an attack upon the heights of Tahmasp, whence the Russians successfully pushed their approaches in the year above mentioned.

"While, therefore, the enemy's columns were in their march towards Bugah Tikmeh

d those heights with Lieutenant-colonel and, after studying the ground, decided the nature of the works to be thrown up; were planned and executed by Lieutenant-lake with great skill and energy. I for your lordship's information a plan by that officer of the town and its neighbouring heights, which are situated on the site side of the river of Kars-chai, over three temporary bridges had been thrown up our communications. As all verbal descriptions or bird's-eye views of ground cannot give an imperfect idea of any locality, I beg to enclose a sketch made by Mr. Churchill, which will, I trust, tend to elucidate my description.

Your lordship will observe that, while our magazines in the town were rendered safe as circumstances would allow, the hills of Kars commanded all, and were, therefore, the keys of our position. The intrenchments of Tahmasp, being those nearest the enemy's camp, demanded the greatest vigilance and all intrusted with their defence. General Kmetz, a gallant Hungarian officer, commanded the division which occupied this eminence; he was assisted by Major-general Hussein Pasha, my aide-de-camp, Major Teesdale, who has been as his chief of the staff.

Throughout the investment, which has lasted four months, the troops in all the redoubts and intrenchments have kept a vigilant watch during the night, and, at their appointed stations, stood to their arms long before dawn. In my despatch of the 29th ult., I informed your lordship of the arrival of the Russian army at the fall of Sebastopol, and of the landing of General Pasha at Batoum. I also acquainted your lordship with the fact that the Russian army was engaged in sending off immense quantities of heavy baggage into Georgia, and giving every indication of a speedy retreat. The Russian army in nowise threw us off our guard, and Lieutenant-colonel Lake was directed to strengthen many points in our extensive and well-manned lines, and among other works the one bearing my name was constructed.

At four o'clock, on the eventful morning of the 29th, the enemy's columns were reported to be advancing on the Tahmasp front. They consisted of three in number, supported by 24 guns; the first, or right column being directed on Yuksek Tabia, the second on Yuksek Tabia, the third on the breastwork called Renan Lines. As soon as the first gun announced the approach of the enemy, the reserves were put under arms in a central position, from which succours could be dispatched either to Tahmasp or the English lines. The mist and imperfect light of the evening day induced the enemy to believe that he was about to surprise us; he advanced

with his usual steadiness and intrepidity, but on getting within range he was saluted with a crushing fire of artillery from all points of the lines. This unexpected reception, however, only drew forth loud hurrahs from the Russian infantry as it rushed up the hill on the redoubts and breastworks. These works poured forth a fire of musketry and rifles, which told with fearful effects on the close columns of attack; more especially on the left one, which, being opposed by a battalion of 450 Chasseurs, armed with Minié rifles, was, after long and desperate fighting, completely broken, and sent headlong down the hill, leaving 850 dead on the field, besides those carried off by their comrades. The central column precipitated itself on the redoubts of Tahmasp and Yuksek Tabias, where desperate fighting occurred, and lasted for several hours, the enemy being repulsed in all his attempts to enter the closed redoubts, which mutually flanked each other with their artillery and musketry, and made terrible havoc in the ranks of the assailants; and it was here that Generals Kmetz and Hussein Pasha, together with Major Teesdale, so conspicuously displayed their courage and conduct. Lieutenant-general Kerim Pasha also repaired to the scene of desperate strife to encourage the troops, and was wounded in the shoulder, and had two horses killed under him. The right column of the Russian infantry, supported by a battery, eventually turned the left flank of the intrenched wing of the Tahmasp defences, and while the Russian battery opened in the rear of the closed redoubt at its salient angle, their infantry penetrated considerably behind our position.

"Observing the commencement of this movement, and anticipating its consequences, Lieutenant-colonel Lake, who had taken the direction of affairs in the English tabias, was instructed to send a battalion from Fort Lake to the assistance of the defenders of Tahmasp, and at the same time two battalions of the reserves were moved across the flying bridge and upon the rocky height of Laz Jeppé Tabia. These three reinforcing columns met each other at that point, and, being hidden from the enemy by the rocky nature of the ground, confronted him at a most opportune moment. They deployed and opened their fire, which stopped and soon drove back the enemy's reserves, which were then vigorously charged with the bayonet, at the same moment when General Kmetz and Major Teesdale issued from the redoubts at Tahmasp, and charged the assailants. The whole of that portion of the enemy's infantry and artillery now broke, and fled down the heights under a murderous fire of musketry. This occurred at half-past eleven, after a combat of seven hours. In this part of the field the enemy had, including his reserves,

twenty-two battalions of infantry, a large force of dragoons and Cossacks, together with thirty-two guns.

"While this struggle, which I have attempted to describe, was occurring at Tahmasp, a most severe combat was going on at the eastern position of the line, called the English tabias. About half-past 5 A.M., a Russian column, consisting of eight battalions of infantry, three regiments of cavalry, and sixteen guns, advanced from the valley of Tchakmask, and assaulted those small redoubts, which, after as stout a resistance as their unavoidably feeble garrisons could oppose, fell into their hands, together with the connecting breastworks, defended by townsmen and mountaineers from Lazistan, whose clannish flags, according to their custom, were planted before them on the epaulments, and consequently fell into the enemy's hands; but, ere the firing had begun in this portion of the field, Captain Thompson had received orders to send a battalion of infantry from each of the heights of Kara-dagh and Arab Tabia to reinforce the English lines. This reinforcement descended the deep gully through which flows the Kars River, passed a bridge recently thrown across it, and ascended the opposite precipitous bank by a zigzag path which led into the line of works named by the Turks 'Ingiliz tabias' (the English batteries). Their arrival was as opportune as that of the reserves directed towards Tahmasp, which I have had the honour to describe in the former part of this despatch. These battalions, joined by those directed by Lieutenant-colonel Lake, gallantly attacked and drove the Russians out of the redoubts at the point of the bayonet, after the artillery of the enemy had been driven from those lines by the cross-fire directed from Fort Lake and from Arab Tabia and Kara-dagh, by Captain Thompson. This officer deserves my best thanks for having seized a favourable moment to remove a heavy gun from the eastern to the western extremity of Kara-dagh, and with it inflicted severe loss on the enemy.

"After the Russian infantry was driven from the English redoubts, the whole of the attacking force of cavalry, artillery, and infantry, retreated with precipitation, plied with round-shot from all the batteries bearing on their columns. During their temporary success, however, the enemy captured two of our light guns, which the mortality among our horses from famine prevented our withdrawing from their advanced position. He also carried

off his wounded and many of his dead; he left 363 of the latter within and in front of these intrenchments, and his retreat occupied at least an hour before the assailants of Tahmasp were put to flight. During this combat, which lasted nearly seven hours, the Turkish infantry, as well as artillery, fought with most determined courage; and when I recollected that they had worked on their intrenchments, and guarded them by night throughout a period extending to nearly six months, I think your lordship will admit they have proved themselves worthy of the admiration of Europe, and established an undoubted claim to be placed among the most distinguished of its troops.

"With regard to the enemy, as long as there was a chance of success, he persevered with undaunted courage, and the Russian officers displayed the greatest gallantry. The loss was immense; they left on the field more than 5000 dead, which it took the Turkish infantry four days to bury. Their wounded and prisoners in our possession amount to more than 7000, while those who were carried off are said to amount upwards of 7000.

"As the garrison was afflicted with cholera, and I was apprehensive of a great increase in the malady, should this melancholy duty of the burial of the dead be not pushed forward with every possible vigour by our fatigued and jaded soldiers, I daily visited the scene, and strove to encourage them in their almost endless task; and I can assure your lordship that the whole battle-field presented a scene which was more easy to conceive than to describe, but literally covered with the dead and dying.

"The Turkish dead and wounded were removed on the night of the battle. The dead numbered 362; the wounded 631. The Turkish people, who also fought with spirit, lost 1011 men.

"His excellency the muschir has reported to his government those officers who particularly distinguished themselves—a difficult task in an army which has shown such a display of valour throughout the unusual period of six hours of uninterrupted combat."

Such are the facts connected with one of the most sanguinary battles ever recorded; but I did not decide the fate of Kars; valour was ultimately defeated by treachery within, and Kars and her brave garrison were doomed to obtain more generous consideration and more honourable treatment from the foe than they were terribly chastised than from the ostensible friends too confidently trusted.





WILLIAM WILLIAMS, BARON OF WARS.

## CHAPTER CV.

CADE OF KARS CONTINUED.—SUFFERINGS OF THE GARRISON AND CITIZENS.—HOPES OF RELIEF DISAPPOINTED.—CAPITULATION.

“Has hope, like the bird in the story,  
Which flitted from tree to tree  
With the talisman's glittering glory—  
Has hope been that bird to thee?”—MOORE.

AFTER the battle both armies were much distressed. The infantry of Mouravieff had suffered dreadfully; nor did his splendid and numerous cavalry altogether escape. Such as were brought into action were as much cut up as the rest of the army. The army of General Williams was in a condition to undertake any active operations, and therefore the blockade quietly assumed its previous form. General Kmety has expressed the opinion that it was in General Williams' power to have struck a severe blow against the Russians had he been sufficiently prompt and active! However strange such language may sound concerning General Williams, that we do not misrepresent General Kmety the following extract from his treatise on the battle of Kars will prove:—“The Turkish army, profiting by the enthusiasm which prevailed, and taking advantage of the inequalities of the ground and the darkness which reigned during the early part of the night before the rising of the moon, should have undertaken an attack on the night after the victory by several light movable columns, directed from different sides upon Ainali, to surround the enemy's troops, which, some 3000 strong, after having been beaten back by the Ingiliz tabias, had retired to that place, and were there encamped. This camp was distant more than four hours' march from the main camp at the enemy's head-quarters at Tchevilli Kaya, whereas it was only one hour and a half distant from us. The enemy's troops echeloned between these two camps had been withdrawn immediately after the battle to his head-quarter camp; no supposition, therefore, could have come to Ainali for several hours. The want of horses for our artillery is no excuse, for by night, and on broken ground, we required no guns, and we had only a few battalions of rifles. The usual order and discipline could not have reigned in the enemy's camp after so bloody a day, on which many of his superior officers had fallen, and he was numbered, as it must have been, with the dead. Moreover, we were elated by success whilst the enemy was correspondingly depressed. According to the information in the hands of the defenders, the enemy's total effective force round Kars, after deducting his losses in the battle, was believed not to exceed 15,000 infantry and 10,000 or 12,000 cavalry, including the troops at Ainali. The

effective force of the defenders at this time within the intrenched camp might have been some 17,000 or 18,000 men, of whom, as will have been seen by the recital of the battle, a considerable portion had not been engaged. The defenders were not half so much fatigued as the enemy, the whole of whose infantry must have been in movement throughout the preceding night. By dispersing the camp at Ainali, the victory would have been utilised, and the least result would have been that the enemy would not have had sufficient force to continue his blockade, shutting us up within a circumference of ten hours' march. By omitting this enterprise, the glorious victory remained unfruitful as to any result it had upon the war, as must be the case with all victories which are not, as General Clausewitz says, ‘immediately used in the military household.’ The general in command of the Russian army underrated his foe, whereas the general in command of the Turkish army overrated his.” Of course the general in command of the Turkish army was the muschir, but virtually that army was commanded by General Williams, and this shot was levelled solely at him. It is difficult to be persuaded that Kmety seriously meant all he wrote, unless we accept a different estimate of his generalship to that which we desire to hold. Kmety can hardly have been so far blinded by envy, or such influences as Beicos afforded so much scope for, as to believe that it was in the power of General Williams, even with the muschir's concurrence, to adopt such a course as the Hungarian general represents as having been feasible. The Russian camp at Ainali was not one of easy access; it was situated on an elevation, the ascent to which was steep and precipitous. It was not possible for General Williams, even if his troops had been fresh, to take the camp at Ainali by a *coup de main*, and before he could have made any impression the Russian artillery and cavalry would have been thrown forward in their whole force, for cavalry could have operated efficiently upon the ground. Kmety represents only a portion of the Turkish troops as having been engaged in the battle. It is certainly true that they were not all actively concerned in the conflict of the 29th, but all had been exhausted either by combat, watching, or working in the intrenchments, and were in no condition to at-

tempt the camp at Ainali. If Williams had succeeded, there can be no doubt that the next day Mouravieff would have retaken the post, and no advantage whatever would have accrued to the garrison of Kars. If, however, this had been a fault of General Williams, it is strange that Kmety took so long a time to find it out. Why did he not suggest it? his rank entitled him to do so. But if he had done so, and that the matter was as certainly against the English general as it is in his favour, the last man in the world entitled to come forth as the censor of the British commissioner was Kmety. What the conduct of Williams was to him let Kmety's own words bear witness; they are addressed to the commissioner:—"On your arrival at Kars in the autumn of 1854 you relieved me from the outpost duties, which had been intrusted to me with the irregular corps during nine months, without the intermission of a single day, and in which my strength and constitution had necessarily suffered severely. You placed me, at my request, in command of a division of the army, and you supported the exercise of my authority in that position with all the weight of an influence such as no other European officer ever enjoyed in this country. At length, when the word 'Surrender' was uttered for the first time, you enabled me to leave the beleaguered garrison on grounds personal to myself. For all this my acknowledgments are due, and far be it from me to withhold them."

It need scarcely be said that these acknowledgments, although far beneath what is due by Kmety to Williams, are simply made to give an air of candour to his aspersions, and so to point the shaft of his envy. The facts were, that Kmety, while at Kars, wrote to Erzerum, entreating General Williams to go to the former city, and representing it as a *sine quâ non* to the success of the defence. Then and afterwards, his protestations of respect and gratitude to the commissioner were boundless, and well they might be; Williams used every influence he possessed to secure justice for the gallant Hungarian from the Turkish government, and to save him from the consequences of neglect on the part of the British ambassador. That he did so sincerely, the following despatch of the commissioner shows, and, happily, his generous efforts were attended by success. The letter was addressed to Lord Clarendon on February 13th, 1855, and was one of the first acts of friendship performed by Sir William to his ungrateful *protégé*:—

"I beg to bring to the especial notice of your excellency the services rendered by Ismail Pasha (General Kmety) to this army, prior and subsequently to my arrival at its headquarters. At the battle of Inje-Dereh he was

one of the few who endeavoured, by personal bravery, to encourage the soldiers when abandoned by their officers. Since that battle General Kmety kept the outposts, and was the eye of the army until it went into winter quarters; and he is still the officer in charge of the advanced posts of Kars.

"In despite of these services, General Kmety does not receive the pay due to his rank, nor has he had a decoration accorded him for his personal gallantry. I trust, however, that through your excellency's influence both these claims will be attended to at the seraskierat; he is one of those men who are not stained from complaints or intrigues, and I must therefore appeal in his favour without a request on his part."

The last act of friendship performed by Sir William to General Kmety was in keeping with the first; the relation of which we cannot anticipate here, so as to require hereafter a passing notice. When, eventually, Kars was about to be surrendered, and the Hungarians very properly preferred flight to falling into the hands of the Russians, Williams handed him his purse containing all he had except one guinea, which he afterwards added, and went himself a prisoner penniless into Russian camp. Few men who wear the uniform of a soldier of any nation could act upon the hand of a benefactor who had so nobly acted.

After the battle of the 29th, Mouravieff did not abandon his purpose of reducing the city by hunger, and General Williams looked forth eagerly for help, which was promised from various quarters, but sent by none. At one time the garrison was sure of an effective diversion by Omar Pasha; at another they expected direct help from Erzerum, by the aid of Selim Pasha; then rumours of a landing of allied troops at Trebizond, or Batoum, were insinuated their influence within the circle of defence; but all proved deceptive—like the bird in the story, which flitted from tree to tree, and hope displayed her talisman only to dazzle, lure, and disappoint. The cholera, of which there was a temporary cessation, probably, as Sandwith thought, from the intensity of emotion which prevailed, reappeared with increased fury, and the hospitals were filled; that while the men-at-arms desired another battle, in the expectation of inflicting upon the enemy more signal defeat, the doctor dreaded it, lest he should be unable to tend the wounded in addition to the sick. The privation which citizens and soldiers were now experiencing may be inferred from the distribution of food which amounted per day to eleven ounces of bread, and soup which contained only a little more than an ounce and two-thirds of meat.

s matter. On the 7th of October, the e of things was truly horrible; the irregular istan soldiers had, in many instances, crept houses from which the citizens had been oved by death, and were found dead there unger or of the pestilence. The people the troops died very fast; so that the onsibility of General Williams was suffi- t to appal the bravest heart that ever beat in an English breast. During the night understorm burst over the city; houses, iers, and inhabitants were struck by the ric fluid, adding another dreadful feature e aspect of prevailing horrors. It seemed f the hand of some avenging angel had ed a vial of wrath over the suffering city. he next day, while mourning and desola- eigned around, a peasant made his way the city, and revived the desponding es of all by the announcement—alas, untrue! at Omar Pasha was near to Akhiska. On the h of October, General Williams addressed Clarendon, referring to the obstinacy of ravieff, notwithstanding his defeat:—

He still blockades us closely, and the ction of huts in his camp this morning avs that he intends to continue this course.

He knows that all our cavalry horses, and great majority of the artillery horses, are t of starvation, and that we cannot take eld; he is also aware that cholera inflicts e losses on us, which are aggravated by difficulty we have of burying the horses.

Under these circumstances I address these lines to your lordship, with a hope that ay representations may be instantly made to eral Omar to act with vigour and decision gnt Georgia; otherwise, in spite of our bril- victory, we must ultimately fall into the ny's hands."

onsul Brant informed Lord Clarendon that évas "greatly disappointed that, notwith- ding the arrival of Omar Pasha in Georgia, r the terrible defeat of the Russian army on h 29th of September, General Mouravieff has e withdrawn within the Georgian frontier, r can only attribute this to his conviction h Omar Pasha will not march on Tiflis this iter, and the certainty that the Kars army ot molest him, because it has no horses for artillery, and no cavalry, and therefore nt of necessity remain within its intrench- ts."

n the 13th the often-revived hopes of the ison again flickered into fitful life, by illigence concerning Omar Pasha. A vil- ar entered the lines, and stated that it was wn through the country that Omar had an Kutais, and was marching on Akhiska! Or's name was an *ignis fatuus*; his expedi- was much in character with the wayward

appearances of that natural phenomenon. Lord Stratford wrote the same day from Constantinople to his government:—

"In answer to my inquiries at the Porte, I am assured that nothing further has been received from Omar Pasha; that the passage of troops and the conveyance of provisions are in progress, though slowly, in consequence of the limited command of transport for those purposes.

"It is impossible not to apprehend that the many changes of plan, the exigencies of our operations at Sebastopol, and heavy demands on the transport service, concur to diminish the hope of relieving Kars.

"In reply to my earnest solicitations that a peremptory order should be immediately sent to the commanders at or near Erzerum to attempt the introduction of provisions into Kars at every risk, I am assured by the seraskier that orders to that effect are already on the road."

It is more than probable that "peremptory orders" were sent to "the commanders at or near Erzerum;" but they were of a nature the opposite to that which Lord Stratford de Redcliffe mentions. Selim Pasha, who commanded there, never intended to do anything for the relief of Kars, any more than Omar Pasha. To ruin the English pasha, and check the interference of English officers, was, in the opinion of the pashas, true patriotism, which harmonised with what they conceived to be their own interests.

The columns of the *Nord*, the *Northern Bee*, and the *Invalide Russe*, at that time represented the condition of Kars as hopeless, and ridiculed the idea of help from Omar or from Selim, which showed that Mouravieff knew well with whom he had to do, and gave his government correct information. The 14th brought another report about the wandering Omar; he was then represented as unable to reach Akhiska, and as having marched direct upon Tiflis. By the 17th the cholera began to abate, after having carried away 1000 of the troops, and a much larger number of the townspeople. Starvation became imminent, and but for the ingenuity of General Williams and his talented secretary, Mr. Churchill, the garrison would have been compelled to surrender. By various stratagems, the store of food was eked out, and the unflinching English pasha held firmly by his post. Still he turned with anxious heart and hope towards Erzerum, and towards Omar Pasha. At last the pangs of hunger became unendurable; grass was torn up wherever it appeared, that the soldiers and people might feed upon the roots. Around the lines flocks of vultures hovered, contending with the dogs of the city for the corpses

scratched by the latter from the shallow graves. On the night of the 21st about sixty Lazistans attempted to fight their way through the Russian circle of pickets; half the number were slain, the rest, many of whom were wounded, escaped to the hills. Still desertions continued; some of the deserters were slain by the enemy; others were arrested, and shot by order of drum-head court-martial. Some corn was found buried deep under the houses; and onions were occasionally smuggled in by the peasants.

On the 22nd and 24th tidings arrived calculated to cheer the garrison; but ended, like their predecessors, in delusion. Dr. Sandwith relates these particulars in these terms:—

*"October 22nd.*—Glorious news arrives, and, like a gleam of sunshine, raises our drooping spirits. We hear that Selim Pasha has landed at Trebizond, with an army of 20,000 men, and that he is marching straight on to Erzerum. We now feel confident of being relieved, since the road from Trebizond, although a difficult one, is, nevertheless, quite practicable for an army. All the artillery and siege-guns now existing in Erzerum and Kars have been conveyed by that route. During times of peace, too, an army of muleteers, with the whole western commerce of Persia, passes to and fro; and the land, in consequence, is largely cultivated for corn and barley. Besides this good tidings, we hear that Omar Pasha has taken Kutais, and is marching straight for Tiflis.

*"October 24th.*—A peasant who has found his way into camp from Erzerum, having been eight days on the road, brings confirmation of the fact of Selim Pasha's advanced guard being at Baiburt."

Nothing was farther from Selim's thoughts than any attempt to relieve Kars, or assist the English pasha in any way whatever. In this way October closed; nothing done, or sincerely attempted, for the relief of Kars. Some of the English officers who were attached to Omar Pasha's army, in their zeal to serve him, have also taken part with Selim, and written letters to the English newspapers, declaring that if Selim had marched his forces against Mouravieff, the Turkish general and his army would have been annihilated. It was not, however, expected that Selim should fight a battle with Mouravieff, upon which the fate of Kars was to depend; but that he would so operate as to compel the Russian chief to concentrate a large portion of his forces to oppose Selim, and thus leave an opportunity for throwing provisions into the town, of which there were still stores at Olti; but Selim would not stir; his object was that of Omar, and of the seraskier at Constantinople, and of the whole tribe of corrupt pashas whose peculations had been stopped by

the English general; that object was his tactical destruction, which the fall of Kars, they supposed, secure. To this end it was necessary to encourage General William Gortchakoff to hold out, under promises of immediate succour, until his army should become so exhausted that they could not effect a retreat in co-operation with any relieving force that might be sent for that purpose. The English reader may judge of the mode in which this infamous scheme was carried out by the following extract from the journal of Dr. Sandwith, written on the last day of October.

*"October 31st.*—A post comes in this morning from Selim Pasha, who is already at Erzerum with his advanced guard, awaiting the arrival of his other troops. At Baiburt, says, his soldiers loudly demanded to be sent on to the relief of their comrades by the English marches. He does not give the number of his army, lest his despatch should be read by the Russians; but he tells us his troops are numerous and first-rate. We have no time to wait for a fortnight, and our relief is certain."

Had Selim shown as much honest courage as he displayed capacity for treachery and intrigue, Kars would have been saved.

At the close of October Colonel Lake wrote to his friends as follows:—"To-day we have news that an army has arrived at Erzerum, and will march instantly to our succour. I grant it may be so, and that we may be able to attack the enemy in the open. We are totally unable to extricate ourselves without the assistance of some kind. Our great object is to keep up the spirits of the troops. Hitherto we have succeeded tolerably well, but we cannot at all make out why Mouravieff has not sent in all our private letters, and cannot conclude that politics were touched upon by some of them. I suppose they have been sent round of all the Russian camps, and I trust the readers have been edified. I have still to say. I have always had, a presentiment that we shall finish this campaign gloriously. We have assuredly learnt to place our entire confidence in Him who never deserts. We who do so, for we have received not the smallest atom of assistance from man. We have been left as a ship about to foundry, which it is considered impossible to save. Therefore useless making any attempt to do so. The world may judge hereafter, when it is known, how far we have been well treated. As Omar Pasha has not thought proper to come direct to our assistance, his coming here has been of no kind of use to us. We are to blame for this or not, time will tell. I shall write again when a post goes; almost despair of our getting one either by land or sea. We are expecting a fall of snow."

but we have no longer the same piercing wind which we had a week ago. No cholera, I am thankful to say; it was severe while it lasted."

November opened gloomily for the garrison; the second day twenty soldiers were sent to the hospital under the influence of cholera, caused by eating the roots of *Hyoscyamus Niger*, which they had devoured while digging up the roots of grass. The cases were not mortal.

On the 3rd the enemy, in considerable strength, entered the village of Shorak, beneath the Mahmasp Batteries, with the object of reducing the timber of the houses for firewood. Heavy guns opened upon them, by which they were driven out, carrying away their wounded, and leaving twenty slain behind them. Mouravieff despaired of reducing the town, and would have raised the siege; but certain Armenian fanatics corresponded with him, and urged him to remain; several of these were detected and hanged. On the person of one of them was a letter to the Russian general, in which was written, "Wait a little longer; the troops are starving; the pashas are fighting for themselves; they will soon capitulate." General Williams had placed too much confidence in the professions of loyalty made by the Greeks and Armenians, who, except in rare cases, favoured Russia, in the hope of advancing their religious ascendancy by her power.

The discovery at the beginning of November of a large depot of coffee and sugar, tended to revive the drooping spirits of those upon whom the responsibility of feeding troops and people devolved. A few of the remaining horses, unfit for service, were slaughtered, to make horse-drawn for the hospitals, which was the means of storing many of the famishing invalids. The supplies only lasted a short time, and the children began to die very fast for want of nourishment; many women also perished, and no uncommon thing to see a corpse at the window in passing from post to post.

On the 3rd of November General Williams communicated with Consul Brant, urging him to send copies of his letter to Lord Clarendon, Lord Stratford, and Sir James Simpson:—

"I have told the English officers to join the Veli Pashas in their advance. The day came to-day with twelve battalions and batteries, and 500 carts, to destroy the village of Shorak, and carry off the wood of the forest. He was driven off by our artillery; he set fire to it and withdrew. On the relieving army, and also increased by sending troops from Constantinople. The enemy has struck his tents and hutted his camp. The village of Shorak was under the command of Tabia, and the danger of the enemy's

attempt, and his want of wood, either for firing or for sheltering his troops, may be guessed by the large force employed. The troops expected to join Selim Pasha are very slow in their movements; although the muschir declares he has notice of their embarkation at Constantinople from the seraskier pasha, no information of their arrival at Trebizond has been received. The Russians hutting their troops indicates the severe cold in tents, and, possibly, either their wish to be prepared for a hasty retreat, or their determination to remain where they are for a longer period. It would be difficult to divine their true motive, but I would fain hope it may not be the last, for if so the garrison will eventually be forced to yield to famine. The season has singularly favoured the Russians by the snow and bad weather coming so late this year; but I think it cannot be delayed, under any circumstances, beyond the end of this month."

While thus sternly placing the realities of his dreadful situation before the proper official persons, it is astonishing to find with what buoyant courage he addressed his private friends:—"We hope to see Selim and Veli Pashas soon, with a succouring force from Erzerum, but have not heard from Omar Pasha for seven weeks. The enemy has taken down his tents and hutted himself; the nights are now getting frosty and biting. I hope we shall yet bother Mouravieff; but depend upon one thing, we will stick to our posts like 'bricks.' We want *cheers* from England, *hatred* from Russia, but *pity* from no one. There is not a long face at my table, we trust in Providence. All our recent posts have been captured by the enemy—I mean those from Erzerum and England; and we are consequently in utter darkness as to political and domestic intelligence. If snow falls it will greatly embarrass the enemy; but, at the same time, interfere with the advance of our succouring armies. Let the worst come, we have saved Asia, for no army can, at this season, advance towards the south without imminent risk of being buried in snow."

On the 10th of November Consul Brant received a communication from the muschir, ordering peremptorily the pashas at Erzerum to advance:—"Our affairs are desperate. Let Selim Pasha's force, with that of Veli Pasha, excepting those intended to garrison the forts of Erzerum, march upon Kars immediately. Let Mehemet Pasha seize and put at the disposal of the military pashas the whole land carriage of the country. If Selim Pasha has not arrived, let Tahir Pasha send him an express instantly with this message."

After every means by which his courage could be roused, or his shame awakened, or his soldierly generosity touched, had been used

with Selim by Consul Brant, Majors Stuart and Peel, and Captain Cameron, he reluctantly fixed upon the 13th for his departure. It is evident that he never intended to keep this promise, for on the 18th of November Consul Brant wrote to Lord Stratford as follows:—

“I have the honour to inform your excellency that a peasant from Kars brought me to-day a few lines from General Williams, of the 12th. The general evidently seems to be in the belief that Selim Pasha has received the troops promised, of whose arrival at Trebizond, however, we have heard nothing, and his excellency has requested both Major Stuart and myself to entreat your excellency to hasten their expedition. A colonel arrived with a long letter from his excellency Vassif Pasha to Selim Pasha. The precise contents of this letter I do not know, but the object was to urge on his excellency to the relief of the garrison. Selim Pasha inspected his troops yesterday, and they mustered between 5000 and 6000 infantry; most of the cavalry were on duty at the outposts; they will amount to nearly 2000, chiefly regulars, and besides these, they could collect 1500 or 2000 Bashibazouks, if not more. The troops are in good health, well armed and clothed, and have lately received four months' pay, and I have no hesitation in saying that such a force under an active and brave general could relieve Kars; but I have seen enough of Selim Pasha to have discovered that he is neither active, nor energetic, nor brave, and I have long feared that he would not advance. He has a new excuse for delay every day; to-day it was, that he must wait a change of weather. It is much finer than we had any reason to expect at this season, beautifully clear, though a little cold at night, and I can only say that as finer weather cannot be expected before next summer, it is evident his excellency will not leave Erzerum.

... The Russians cannot have many troops before Kars, I should think not more than 22,000, and they are discouraged, and have no heart to fight; but in the camp it is said that General Mouravieff is of so obstinate a character that he will never abandon the siege, even though he should risk his own life and the destruction of his whole army by a desperate assault, or by frost or famine. He has put his troops into huts, which are well constructed, and having plenty of firewood, they can stand the frost for some time yet, and too long, alas! for the safety of the garrison at Kars, which in the last extremity can do nothing but surrender; for, without cavalry, and without horses for their guns, they could never, I imagine, cut their way through the enemy, who is still superior in numbers, taking into account his numerous cavalry and artillery.

Omar Pasha is too slow in his movements to hope anything from him. About twelve days ago his excellency was still on the coast, although he had gained a victory, I suppose will require time before he can resume advance.”

The day after the consul thus wrote the ambassador, General Williams addressed the following affecting letter to the former:—

“Tell Lords Clarendon and Redcliffe that the Russian army is huddled now, and takes notice of either Omar or Selim Pashas. It cannot have acted as they ought to have done. We divide our bread with the starving Turkish people. No animal food for seven weeks—kill horses in my stable secretly, and send the meat to the hospital, which is now very crowded. We can hold out, and try to retreat over the mountains *vid Olti*. Have provisions sent that direction ere the 18th day after this. We shall carry three days' biscuit with us.”

In the meantime the cry of distress was high in Kars, and many desertions took place. These were, however, for the purpose of getting into the country, seldom with the intention of joining the enemy. Selim continued sending lying despatches to the muschir, availing himself of the certainty of speedy succour, while he was making excuses for not moving, to Consul Brant and Majors Stuart and Peel. The following entry in Dr. Sandwith's journal confirms the view of Selim's behaviour:—

“November 12th.—Colonel Lake, who has been on duty all night, comes into my room early this morning to thaw himself. He brings good news. A despatch has arrived from Selim Pasha himself, addressed to the muschir, in which he announces that his advanced guard has defeated a Russian *corps d'armée* sent from Bayazet. He checks his advance, and that he is marching straight for Kars. No more details are given. We calculate that he must be near *Vezirlik* and is about three days' march from us. His good news puts us in high spirits.

“November 16th.—A report comes in this morning at daybreak that guns have been heard in the direction of Ardahan, and that the Russians are leaving their camp. A thick fog lies between our camp and theirs, increasing the suspense. The people of Kars are called under arms, and scouts are sent out to see what occurs. Meantime a thrill of joy and excitement runs through the population at the idea of the near approach of a succouring force. These hopes are, however, doomed to disappointment—the report is a false one.”

A sortie in conjunction with an advance by Selim Pasha was prepared, and the army, weak with hunger, rallied immediately on the prospect of battle, but no force with which to form such a combination appeared.

The prejudices of the people against the sh of horses or asses caused the loss of many es from famine while yet those animals ght have been slaughtered for food: at last, n these prejudices gave way before the vings of hunger, and buried animals were g up and eaten.

On the 20th of November the possibility of etreat across the mountains was discussed; there were no horses, nor were the men al to a march of more than a few miles; 00 soldiers were in hospital, and if it had n possible to move, there were no means of oging up artillery. Twelve thousand Rus- cavalry would have made quick havoc of a retreating army.

On the 21st a fall of snow indicated the roach of the stern winter of that climate, the soldiers lay dying and dead from cold, hunger in every part of the camp. On ay General Williams wrote his last letter n Kars, which was to Consul Brant, esting him to send no more written commu- tions, as the blockade was so close that y were sure to fall into the hands of the sians.

On the 23rd, before dawn, the Russians w shells into the camp near Kanli Tabia. troops were called to arms, but only six ven men were able to respond. Dr. Sand- declared that twenty Russian soldiers had taken any of the batteries had they wn the helpless condition of their defenders. ix o'clock that morning a despatch was ved from Selim Pasha, who had the cold- led perfidy and cruelty to make false e- ntations concerning assistance, deceiving superior officer and the garrison even in misery which he knew they endured. a sent word that he was to have "left rum for Kars on the 16th, and would an on." A little note in cipher from Consul t was borne by the same messenger, which and truthfully contradicted this decep- v communication. Mr. Brant's note was in e terms:—"Selim Pasha wont advance, ugh Major Stuart is doing his utmost to e him. Omar Pasha has not advanced far o Suchum Kaleh. I fear you have no hope n yourselves; you can depend on no help is quarter."

a communication decided the fate of On the 24th General Williams called eashas and British officers together, and ned them of the message which he had ed. They unanimously declared that t or further resistance were alike impos- and the general sent his aide-de-camp, el Teesdale, with a flag of truce, to the an commander, to request an interview e next day for the purpose of negotiating of capitulation.

Before this was undertaken, it was deemed necessary to provide for the safety of Kmety and Kolman by other means, for the Russians might hand them over to Austria. As recorded in a former page, General Williams gave to the Hungarian his last guinea, and he and Kolman sallied forth to cut their way through the Russian lines. On the 27th they arrived at Erzerum; and Consul Brant, in his despatch, thus represented the account which Kmety gave of these transactions:—

"When General Williams learnt on the 23rd, by a communication from Consul Brant, that Selim Pasha would not advance, he saw that all hope had vanished. The soldiers were dying by 100 a day of famine. They were mere skeletons, and were incapable of fighting or flying. The women brought their children to the general's house for food, and there they left them, and the city was strewn with dead and dying. Under these circumstances, the general called together all the pashas, and asked them if they thought their soldiers could resist longer, or could possibly retreat. They all declared either an impossibility. The next day General Williams sent Major Teesdale, at 2 P.M., to General Mouravieff's camp, to ask him to appoint an hour the following day for an interview, to treat for a surrender. At sunset Major Teesdale had not returned, and General Kmety and General Kolman left with a guard of Kurds to cut their way through the Russian patrols. They passed several, and at last were stopped by one, and separated, and it was twenty-four hours before they rejoined each other, and in three days and nights they reached this in safety. General Kmety does not know more than above-stated as to terms, but he says the garrison being in so distressed a state it must submit to any conditions General Mouravieff chooses to dictate."

It will be recollected by the reader that Major Stuart, Major Peel, and Captain Cameron, were attached to the troops under the command of Selim. Upon the surrender of Kars, Major Stuart became the senior British officer in Asia Minor, and the duty devolved upon him of informing the British ambassador to the Porte of the circumstances which led to the catastrophe as far as cognisable by him. The following despatch, written by that officer to the ambassador, justifies the views expressed in this chapter of the conduct of Selim Pasha:—

"It appears that on the 23rd inst. the general received a letter, dated the 12th inst., from Erzerum, informing him that the assistance so long expected from here could not be afforded. This assistance had been boastfully promised by Selim Pasha, the muschir in command, im-

mediately after his arrival here in the latter end of October, and the general was holding out from day to day in expectation of it, having long since ceased to hope for anything from Omar Pasha. On the morning of the 24th he called together all the pashas holding commands in Kars, explained to them the position in which they stood, and asked them severally if the troops were in a condition to attempt to cut their way through the Russian lines. The answer from all was that it would be impossible, owing to the debilitated state of the men, and the absence of all discipline among them.

"At this time there were but six days' provisions in store, at the rate of half a pound of bread a day per man; the hospital was crowded; the dead from exhaustion numbered seventy or eighty a day; many had become idiotic, and all were in a state of extreme emaciation; add to these evils the daily desertion of whole platoons, and the utter demoralisation that prevailed throughout.

"With respect to the townspeople, matters were, if possible, worse. All cried to General Williams for relief; and every day his quarters were beset with women, who flung their starving children on his steps to die.

"Under these circumstances, it was the unanimous opinion that no alternative remained but to propose a surrender. What terms will be granted remains to be seen.

"This disaster, my lord, might have been averted had there been a man of energy and ability in command of the troops here, but these are qualities which are rarely to be found among Turkish generals. The Russians have now at Kars 20,000 effective troops, of whom one half are cavalry, and by the surrender of that place they gain seventy field-guns, and sixty-six garrison guns, with 500 rounds of ammunition, 20,000 stand of small arms, including 2000 excellent Miniés; while we lose 15,000 men, including General Williams and his immediate staff."

On the 25th the interview between Generals Williams and Mouravieff took place. At first the Russian general seemed disposed to demand an unconditional surrender, but General Williams expressed his determination to perish with the garrison in preference. He found in Mouravieff a magnanimous enemy. Dr. Sandwith gives the following account of the interview:—"If you grant not these' (*i.e.* the terms proposed), exclaimed the general (Williams), 'every gun shall be burst, every standard burnt, every trophy destroyed, and you may then work your will on a famished crowd.' 'I have no wish,' answered Mouravieff, 'to wreak an unworthy vengeance on a gallant and long-suffering army, which has covered

itself with glory, and only yields to famine. Look here!' he exclaimed, pointing to a loaf of bread and a handful of roots, 'what splendid troops must these be who can stand to their arms in this severe climate on food such as this! General Williams, you have made yourself a name in history, and posterity will be amazed at the endurance, the courage, and the discipline which this siege has called forth from the remains of an army. Let us arrange a capitulation that will satisfy the demands of war without outraging humanity.'"

The terms of capitulation ultimately agreed upon were honourable to both armies:—

I. The fortress of Kars shall be delivered intact.

II. The garrison of Kars, with the Turkish commander-in-chief, shall march out with honours of war, and become prisoners. Officers, in consideration of their gallant defence of the place, shall retain their swords.

III. The private property of the whole garrison shall be respected.

IV. The rediff (*militia*), Bashi-bazouks, Laz, shall be allowed to return to their homes.

V. The non-combatants, such as medical officers, scribes, and hospital-attendants, shall be allowed to return to their homes.

VI. General Williams shall be allowed the privilege of making a list of certain Hungarian and other European officers, to enable them to return to their homes.

VII. The persons mentioned in the articles 4, 5, and 6, are in honour bound not to serve against Russia during the present war.

VIII. The inhabitants of Kars will be respected in their persons and property.

IX. The public buildings and the monuments of the town will be respected.

*November 27th, 1855.*

This document was inclosed in the despatch of General Williams, which was appropriately directed to Lord Stratford. It is a dignity, manliness, and pathos, in the despatch which must have penetrated the heart of Lord Stratford, however case-hardened by officialism. It is dated from the Russian camp near Kars, on the 29th:—

"From the various despatches in which I have addressed to your lordship through Mr. Brant, the intelligence which have now the misfortune to announce you have been expected by your lordship.

"I had received direct promises of support from Selim Pasha; and Omar Pasha's operations, until I knew that his movements were directed towards Suchum Kaleh, had buoyed me up in my determination to hold out to the last moment; this intelligence from the *capitulation* reached me on the 24th instant."

same post which brought me positive news Mr. Brant of the indisposition or inability of Pasha to advance further than Kupri. We had, up to that date, suffered from cold, want of sufficient clothing, and starvation, without a murmur escaping from our troops. They fell dead at their posts, in tents, and throughout the camp, as brave soldiers who should cling to their duty through the lightest glimmering of hope of saving a man entrusted to their custody. From the day of their glorious victory, the 29th of September, they had not tasted animal food, and their nourishment consisted of two-fifths of a pound of bread and the roots of grass, which they had scarcely strength to dig for; yet day and night they stood to their arms, their emaciated frames showing the fearful effects of starvation, but their sparkling eye telling me that they would do were the enemy again to attack them. We had now lost nearly 2000 men by starvation; and the townspeople also perished, and would have died by hundreds if we had not divided the bread of the soldiers among those who had bravely fought by their side. I therefore begged the muschir to call a truce of war, which, on being told that we had only six days' rations, came unanimously to the conclusion that nothing was left to us but capitulation; and that the debility of our men, and total want of cavalry, field-artillery, and ammunition-mules, rendered any attempt to retreat impossible. The muschir then deputed me to treat with General Mouraviev, and I consequently waited on his excellency on the 25th instant. He at first seemed determined to make prisoners of all who defended the place; but as the rediff, or militia, of the townspeople, formed a large portion of our infantry, I made a successful appeal to his humanity, which, coupled with the obvious danger of destroying our artillery and stores, which we should have had recourse previously to an unconditional surrender, brought about the convention which I have now the honour to inclose for your lordship's information without the expression of unavailing regret.

I have only to add that the stipulations were carried into effect yesterday; that my aides, officers, and the regular troops composing the last garrison, amounting to 8000 of whom are prisoners of war, and that the officers, numbering 6000, have marched towards their respective homes. I and my aides are to march for Tiflis to-morrow, there to await the decision of the emperor as to the place of our abode in Russia."

The terms of the capitulation were honourably carried out. When General Williams received the intelligence, the garrison and

citizens were overwhelmed with grief; but all felt the necessity of surrender. Under date of November 28th, the journal of Dr. Sandwith dramatically describes the preparations for delivering up the city. The soldiers staggered forth scarcely able to walk, so reduced were they by hunger. Others dashed their muskets to pieces, exclaiming—"Thus perish our pashas, and the curse of God be with them! May their mothers be outraged!" Some of the officers broke their swords, and heaped curses on the Porte, and even on the sultan himself. The reverence of the Turks of every rank for their padishaw is great, and therefore Dr. Sandwith might well write of these indignant curses as "awful words, the like of which he had never heard so much as whispered before." The citizens also joined their murmurs against the government, and their curses upon the pashas. The author last quoted represents them as gathering in groups, and saying—"God is great! And has it come to this? Is Islam fallen? *Vai, vai!* (alas, alas!) and do my eyes behold it? Would to God we had never been born! Would to God we had died in battle! for then had we been translated to heaven, then had we been purified and acceptable. The Giaours are coming, and our arms drop from our hands! God is God, and Mohammed is his prophet. How has the All-merciful forsaken his children, and delivered us up to be a prey to the spoiler! Thus are the sounds of grief and indignation heard from each turbaned warrior, 'while woman's softer soul in woe dissolves aloud.' Let us draw a veil over this distressing scene; scarce was there a dry eye that witnessed it, while grey-bearded soldiers sobbed aloud. In the midst of these lamentations General Williams rode through the camp. At once the citizens crowded round him, kissing his stirrup, and praying for blessings on his head. '*Néréyé, néréyé?*' (Where, where are you going, pasha?) they asked. 'I am a prisoner,' he answered. 'Let us go with you; we will follow you,' was the universal cry. '*Veeliams Pasha chock adam dur!*' (Williams Pasha is no end of a man), was the sententious remark of a grey-beard, and he was voted quite right."

It is no exaggeration to say that the majority of citizens and soldiers would have preferred death to capitulation. Even the men who were ready to escape under the pressure of hunger, would have gallantly perished in the redoubts rather than have surrendered to the Muscovs. It required some tact to prevent insubordination, which would have inevitably led to the destruction of these poor fellows. At last the moment arrived when the troops were paraded to ground their arms and march forth. Deep dejection marked

every countenance, and an expression of mingled shame and indignation. Yet so prostrated were the soldiers by famine, that nearly four hours were consumed in marching out to the Russian camp. The men were compelled to halt every half hour in order to recruit their strength, and, short as this march was, eighteen fell dead from over-exertion. The muschir rode at the head of the troops; on one side of him General Williams; on the other Colonel Lake. The latter officer, recording the circumstances, relates them with all the graphic force of one who had witnessed what he relates:—"At the head of the army rode the muschir, General Williams on one side, and myself on the other. We did our utmost to keep up his spirits, though we as much needed consolation as he did. He groaned most piteously, and declared that he was an old man, and that it was very hard upon him that he should be taken prisoner. At intervals, however, his natural kindness of heart shone forth from this cloud of sorrow, and somewhat lightened his load of misery. 'What right have I to complain,' he exclaimed, 'when English officers, who have fought so hard, and suffered so much for me, are carried away into captivity far from their homes?'"

When the dismal procession reached the ruins of an old Genoese church, it halted, and the Turkish troops surrendered themselves prisoners of war. The muschir, with the commissioner and his staff, rode on to the quarters of the Russian chief, where they were received with the greatest kindness and hospitality. These excellent qualities were exercised also towards the Turkish soldiery, who were fed with excellent bread and soup, which, from the voracity with which it was partaken, proved fatal to some. Finally, the captive English and chief Turkish officers were sent into Georgia, with the exception of Dr. Sandwith, who, as a non-combatant, had his liberty, of which he availed himself by at once leaving for Batoum, choosing his route over the wild hills of Lazistan. He passed through many hair-breadth escapes, but by a series of happy providences, and his own courage, reached a place of security, and finally bid farewell to Asia Minor. General Williams and the other prisoners arrived at Tiflis, where they were not much impressed with anything but the inhospitality of the inhabitants, who were, for the most part, ignorant and bigoted in the last degree; any intelligence possessed by the community seems to have been confined to the Russian officials, the priests, and the ladies, who far surpass their lords in education. It was not much to the credit of Omar Pasha that Williams got to Tiflis before he did, nor to the credit of the Porte that their

muschir reached the capital of Georgia, not a conqueror, but as a prisoner of war. captives were separated, and sent into the interior of Russia to different destinations. dangers incurred by some of the prisoners these journeys were very great, and are not easily reconcilable with the generosity which they give their captors credit. surely might have been detained at Tiflis. In Russia they experienced much kindness both from the officials and the inhabitants, were treated with every consideration, and peace restored them to home and friends.

In a former chapter notice was taken of murmurs of the pashas and the Turkish government as to the impolicy of defending Kars. Many officers in England have caught up the idea which the commissioner with Omar Pasha in Mingrelia has been rather industrious in circulating. It is astonishing how prevalent at all conversant with the topographical character of the theatre of war in Asia Minor, the relative conditions of the Turkish army in Anatolia, and the Russian army of the Caucasus, could come to any other conclusion than that General Williams took the only course open to him in order to save Asia Minor from being overrun by the enemy. The importance of the intrenched camp of Kars, more especially as the key of Asia Minor, cannot be overrated; its position within ten miles of Gumri or Alexandropol, on a point practicable for heavy artillery, and by way of the ammunition, warlike stores, and provisions of the invading Russian army would have been conveyed to Erzerum and the more distant provinces of that important, indeed, most important, region of Turkey, would render its capture indispensable to the advance of any general worthy to command and to carry out such an enterprise. The first act of Persia's drama during the last war but one was to capture Kars, and after a bloody struggle succeeded in three or four days. He then made himself master of the road to Erzerum, and his victorious march from that city to Bayazet is told in the history of that war. After the campaign of 1854, and when the Turkish army lay in a partially executed and ill-planned intrenched camp, General Williams reached its head-quarters at Kars, and from its great capabilities of defence, he at once determined to preserve it, and render it the key of Asia Minor. When it shall be known that in consequence of finding rock on the surface, there was in no part of the defensive works executed by him a ditch over which a half-grown man could not have leapt, the natural capabilities combined with judicious flanking defence could be fully appreciated by the bloody struggle sustained against the finest army Russia

to the field during the last war. Indeed, as long as Kars was held, no army of the enemy could penetrate, and be secure of its communications with its grand magazines and fortresses of Gumri. The English commissioner always conceived that a division of Mouravieff's army might be detached from the blockading force to capture Erzerum, assisted by the Erivan division, which had in the preceding campaign captured Bayazid, and was kept out of the plain of Passin by the division under Veli Pasha, who was sent from Kars after General Williams' arrival in that camp to take the command of that force. After the commissioner had lodged the troops in their winter-quarters at Kars, he proceeded to Erzerum, and planned and executed those forts which, together with the lines in the Dévéboyonou (the pass which separates the plains of Passin and Erzerum), he knew could resist any attack of a detached force from the grand army blockading Kars. Veli Pasha was ordered to look well to his advanced posts, and to fall back the moment he found himself menaced by Mouravieff's detached division, combined with that of Erivan, which, from the nature of the pass of Toprak Kaleh, could single-handed resist. This was the last combination executed by Mouravieff, and it signally failed. Veli retired before the magnificent cavalry of Dondokoff, which formed the advanced guard of the expeditionary force got into his position in Dévéboyonou—assisted the Erzerumbees to man the forts which General Williams had armed with a battering-train, and which his efforts and remonances had got up from Trebizond the preceding year—and showed such a face that the expeditionary column returned to Kars after destroying the magazine of flour and biscuit at Yenikoi, and which those scoundrels, whom Lord Stratford allowed to insult the commissioner, had persisted in dropping there instead of carrying on to Kars. Veli Pasha then re-occupied his position on the road to Bayazid. Erzerum was saved, and Kurdistan retained in its duty to the sultan—the immense agricultural wealth of the plains of Erzerum, Mingan, down to Trebizond and Samsoon, preserved; and vast supplies from those ports were shipped for the allies, then combating before Sebastopol, consisting of corn, barley, and cattle, also great numbers of mules and batteries. Now, any man who with the eye of a general will examine the ground about the city of Erzerum, together with the various passes leading into its extensive plain, cannot estimate its resistance to such a magnificent army as that of General Mouravieff at more than fourteen days. He had 10,000 splendid cavalry, which, while the Turks were blockaded or assaulted, would have made themselves masters of the country. What resistance could

have been offered by 1500 wretched and dispirited horse? Nothing was more wonderful, and at the same time consoling, in connection with the blockade of Kars, than the reflection that even in the hour of deep distress these 10,000 cavalry could make no attempt to molest the garrison in their lines, not even after the battle of the 29th of September, when they had only fifty horsemen left! What bitter regrets arise from this fact—that if General Williams had only had the provisions lost at Yenikoi, he could have delivered the place to the allies instead of the Russians. Whatever their partisans may say and think of those who at the “*eleventh hour*” were sent to relieve the city by a diversion in the rear of the besiegers, its fall is to be ascribed to that man who at the first hour of the watch refused to the English commissioner that countenance which would have enabled him to surmount all his difficulties. On the day of disaster, there stood the remnant of that magnificent Russian infantry, with its whole cavalry untouched, and its artillery uninjured, but without the power to move one step from its supplies of Gumri, and but too glad to retrace its steps into Georgia. Who after this will hazard his military reputation by denying that Kars was the key of Asia? Had Russia overrun Armenia in June and July, how would the war have ended?

With regard to Omar Pasha's late acts, there cannot be much divergence of opinion. The allies wished him to operate from Trebizond, where he would have found land carriage, and a road over which a battering-train had moved the preceding year, and all the food of Armenia for his army—and the stores of Erzerum were immense; but put all this out of the question, he went to Redout Kaleh, and there plainly demonstrated by this more advanced movement that he was in a most serious manner disquieting the enemy, and subsequently by his retrograde march to Suchum Kaleh, that he never intended to succour the besieged—even those who have not been somewhat behind the scenes may easily come to this conclusion.

The views thus expressed as to the selection of Kars as the key of the defence of Turkey in Asia are sustained by Colonel Lake, when, after the event, he was enabled to regard it in the light of a perfect experience:—“It was, moreover, consoling to think that the prolonged resistance we had succeeded in making had not been without good results. Had we abandoned Kars, and fallen back upon Erzerum, as, shortly after the victory of the 29th of September, we could so easily have done, we should have yielded to the enemy so strong a spot—at a time of a year when there was still some opportunity for further operations—that Asia Minor must have been almost entirely in his

power. As it was, we held the place until the season was too advanced to admit of his effecting anything."

Such ideas were not confined to the defenders of Kars. They were entertained by Mouravieff himself, and by the officers of his army. Even at Constantinople all who might venture to express an independent opinion, who were neither afraid of the padishaw nor the great padishaw of diplomacy by whom England was represented, placed the matter in this light. General Mansfield, who might from various circumstances be supposed somewhat under the influence of the English embassy and the Porte, thus wrote to Lord Clarendon:—"If I may be allowed to offer an opinion on the real cause of the disastrous issue of the Turco-Asiatic campaign, I should say that it must be found in the nature of the alliance, which absorbed all the really available means of action—whether French, British, or Turkish—in the invasion of the Russian soil, to the exclusion of attention to the hostile operations on Turkish territory. The contest pursued in the former required every practicable means to insure success, perhaps, it may be said, even military safety. The garrison of Kars performed a great duty in arresting the march of the Russian columns till the resources of the allies could be turned to Asia, either in consequence of a development they had not already reached, or of liberation from the Crimea. Some months since I ventured to predict in private conversation that we should have to be satisfied with such an issue of the operations of the last year; and that, assuming the allies to be prepared to take advantage of what has been thus achieved by the devoted garrison, we should have no reason to be disappointed when viewing the two theatres of war as one comprehensive whole. I have no reason to depart from the opinion then expressed. With regard to the proceedings of the embassy, I may be permitted to add that, after a disposition was shown to enable Omar Pasha to go to Asia, no effort was spared to expedite his movements; and that if events had marched with the same rapidity as the wishes of his excellency, we possibly might not now have to lament the surrender of Kars."

It is difficult to determine whether the last sentence of this despatch was intended to shift blame from the ambassador to Omar Pasha, or only to let both down gently; but, whatever the polite endeavours of General Mansfield in this way, the pages of history will assign to his lordship a full share of the responsibility. During the entire time of the British commissioner's presence in Asia, he was discouraged and thwarted by the man whose powerful influence should have sustained him at every step. Let one instance suffice to exemplify

this, apart from the direct story of the fall of Kars. When Eseed-deen-shere Bey, the celebrated Kurdish rebel, broke into open revolt the prompt and sagacious conduct of General Williams saved Kurdistan from civil war, and Turkish Asia generally from the consequences, which, at that juncture, must have attended the continuance of the revolt. Yet, so far from receiving the commendation of the jealous ambassador, the general was censured by him, and openly before the Turkish government, while to his own government he was described as a man apt to take unauthorised courses. Unauthorised indeed they were, for had he waited for intelligible or practical directions from the embassy at Constantinople, or until the messenger received such from the Porte, he might have waited until the Russians marched into Erzerum, or Eseed-deen-shere Bey ruled absolute in insurgent Kurdistan in co-operation with Mouravieff. It will be recollected that, at the campaign of 1854, Veli Pasha was detached from Kars to occupy the passes leading to Hassen Kaleh and Erzerum from *Bayazid, near Ararat*. During the winter, and when Williams was struggling at Erzerum, he heard of the revolt of this great chieftain at Zezera F. Omar, on the Tigris; and the consequence was that Veli Pasha's column was ordered by the authorities of Constantinople to march up to the rebels by Monsh and Bitlis; *that movement uncovered this road*, and if the rebellion had not been suppressed by the ingenuity of the commissioner, all Kurdistan would have been a blaze, and Veli could never have resumed his position to cover Erzerum and play his part in the coming campaign. According to General Williams at once determined, at that critical moment, to take upon himself the responsibility of sending an agent to Eseed-deen-shere Bey, *to offer him, on the part of England and the allies, his life and property* if he would surrender himself to the English consul at Mossul: he did so, and thus saved a great disaster. If that correspondence should be called for by a member of the House of Commons, Lord Stratford would shine forth in a manner more remarkable than attractive.

The treatment received by General Williams was similar to that of which the brave and ill-used Guyon had been the object. Lord Stratford seemed to view that wise and timid general with the utmost jealousy, though an Englishman, and with misapprehensions which the world acknowledge to be of a very high order, which he desired to devote to the service of Turkey and of the allies; his lordship refused him all countenance. We have seen private letters from Guyon to his friends, that have never been published, which would move the coldest and sternest heart to sympathy. The British ambassador refused

present to the sultan this noble English general, while at the same time he presented a celebrated French cook! Whatever may have been the merits of the latter, in his way, they were not of so much importance to the Turkish empire as the soldier whose genius baffled Austria and Russia on the plains and in the passes of Hungary, until the treachery of Geyorgy paralysed his arm and thwarted his plan. It was to Sir William Williams, in opposition to the coldness and *vis inertiae* of Lord Stratford, that Guyon was indebted for the interposition of the English Foreign-office, far as that was extended. Guyon regarded William with a warm personal friendship, and the sympathy which one noble nature has for another, and this was increased by the personal kindness and official services of the general. Guyon, who had commanded armies, could have acted as a general of division in the army to which Sir William was attached. The gallant Anglo-Magyar fell a victim to treachery at Constantinople soon after the war was closed.

Who shall say that the eloquent satire of the *Manchester Examiner* was not deserved, withstanding its severity, when in the following terms that journal depicted the causes which rendered the struggle of General Williams unsuccessful?—"The fall of Kars at length figures in an explanatory Blue-book of six pages, and, to speak the simple truth, we never read a more damaging document. The blame is distributed pretty equally over the participation of nearly everybody concerned, always excepting General Williams. How Kars is no longer a mystery. Given the corruption, the stupidity, the diplomatic snobbery, the professional jealousy, the clashing interests, the ill-judged parsimony, and the applicable obstinacy which all bore their part in bringing about the catastrophe, the mystery would have been if Kars had not fallen. The parts in this grand piece of tragedy were ingeniously conceived and admirably supported. Everybody did his best. It was a web of destiny from beginning to end. The fate of Macbeth was not more surely sealed, after his interview with the witches, than the fate of Kars was sealed after it was committed to the sinister auspices of Lord Redcliffe. Kars fell—the only wonder being

that it did not fall sooner; and it fell a sacrifice to the most shameful tissue of incompetence, littleness, and intrigue that ever sported with the policy of nations. We never advocated the measures out of which this disaster sprang, but we trust we are not the less competent to estimate the vices by which it was consummated, or to denounce the men by whom they were displayed. It was not Mouravieff who conquered Kars; if one man more than another is entitled to the glory of that achievement it is Lord Redcliffe, and we cordially leave the triumph in his hands: he is, no doubt, proud of his laurels."

It is pleasant, after dwelling upon the sorrowful story of the fall of Kars, to be able to relate that all its British defenders ultimately reached their homes in England; but, alas! even this bright page has its shadow—for the gallant Captain Thompson reached his mother's house to die: worn out by toil, and captivity spent in illness, and with a home-sick heart, his constitution was broken.

The British government and people received General Williams with acclamations. The queen conferred upon him a baronetcy, by the title of "Sir William Fenwick Williams of Kars," associating his name in the baronetcy of England with the scene of his wisdom and of his glory. In the House of Lords, Earl Granville pronounced a eulogy upon the general and his staff, to which that illustrious body heartily responded. The House of Commons granted him an annuity of £1000 for life. Finally, he was appointed Governor of Woolwich Arsenal.

The remaining operations around Erzerum were unworthy of notice. Selim Pasha was very well satisfied with his part in producing the surrender of Kars, and had no wish to be disturbed, or to disturb any one at Erzerum. Still he made a show of activity, as long as the snows did not effect a blockade of Turks and Russians. Mouravieff could do nothing—the season was too far advanced; and before spring could furnish him with an opportunity to attempt fresh exploits, negotiations for peace suspended all active operations. Before concluding the history of the war in Asia, some chapters will necessarily be devoted to a narrative of Omar Pasha's expedition in Mingrelia.

## CHAPTER CVI.

## EXPEDITION OF OMAR PASHA FOR THE RELIEF OF KARS.

"It was a glorious sight,  
 When the sun started from the sea,  
 And in the vivid morning light  
 The long blue waves were rolling free!  
 But little time had I to gaze  
 Upon the ocean's kindling face,  
 Or mark the breakers in the bay—  
 For other thoughts were mine that day.  
 I stood upon the topmost tower:  
 From wood, and shaw, and brake and bower,  
 I heard the trumpet's blithesome sound—  
 I heard the tuck of drum;  
 And, bearing for the castle mound,  
 I saw the squadrons come."

PROFESSOR AYTOUN.

THE feeling prevailing among the officials at Constantinople, at the beginning of September, was alarm lest the loss of Kars should incense Great Britain, and prevent the Porte from receiving the remaining instalments of the Turkish loan. They had learnt that the garrison at Erzerum was itself intimidated, and could offer no help to that at Kars. Lord Stratford thus wrote to the Earl of Clarendon, after a long interview at Constantinople with Omar Pasha:—

"It would appear, from the pashas' observations, that they attribute this approaching disaster primarily to the mismanagement and neglect of affairs by the late government, and look upon Redschid and Riza Pashas as especially culpable.

"It would appear, also, that they are very much grieved and disappointed at the time which has been lost in endeavouring to recover their position, and save the garrison of Kars; and that the cabinets of Paris and London, as well as the military authorities in the Crimea, have not considered the subject in that serious aspect in which it presents itself to the Porte, but have objected to the propositions which have hitherto been made with a view to retrieving their position and preventing the disaster.

"Omar Pasha has authorised me to state, as his opinion, that he feels satisfied that the effect will be very shortly felt, probably within a few weeks, by the advance of the enemy's cavalry, which is very numerous, and by a prohibition which he will impose upon the inhabitants to prevent all articles of provision from being brought to Trebizond, Samsoon, and Sinope, for exportation for the use of the allies.

"Some of the Kurds, it appears, have already joined the Russians, and probably a decisive success at Kars will take effect on the Persians.

"The result will be that a great part of the Asiatic dominions of the Porte, with its resources in men, money, and provisions, will be lost, for a time at least, to the Turks.

"The loss of revenue will be most seriously felt by the Turks in the prosecution of the war; and Omar Pasha appears to think there may even be difficulty in keeping the soldiers of the army of Roumelia together, they have been in great measure recruited in Asia; and hearing that their country is open to the Russians, without any force, however small, to oppose their progress through it, they will naturally, if not sent, seek to desert with the hope of saving their families from the hands of the enemy.

"The whole of these considerations, which press with great weight on the Porte, cause Omar Pasha more than ever to desire to make a decided movement, with the least possible loss of time, with the troops, according to the proposition which I forwarded to your lordship in my despatch of the 16th inst.

"For this reason he hopes to obtain the assistance of France and England for the conveyance of his troops, and for provisioning his army; for he says that without it the Turkish alone cannot perform the operation within reasonable time, and therefore the small force of 6000 men, in Erzerum will be dispersed, making, with the garrison of Kars, a loss of 22,000 men to the common cause, besides numerous artillery.

"From the turn affairs have taken, he appears to consider it questionable where the point of disembarkation should be, but unable to leave its determination to the development of events, and to the movements which the Russians may hereafter decide on making."

On the 5th of September Lord Clarendon received the following despatch from the English commissioner with the Turkish army Omar Pasha:—

"I have to inform your lordship that Omar Pasha has stated to me that he will not be able to leave Constantinople for five or six days, as he is occupied in making the necessary arrangements for the expedition to Asia, and his presence here is absolutely required to complete them.



سرور اعلیٰ لارودی همایون شاهی ناصر محمد بن محمد  
 ۱۲۷۰

OMAR PASHA



I yesterday was present at a meeting at Capudan Pasha's, at which the seraskier Omar Pasha were present, and when the necessary orders were given for carrying the following arrangements into execution:—

According to the calculations then made, the Turkish sailing fleet, consisting of six ships, is capable of carrying at one time 10 men or 1360 horses. The steamers belonging to the government, seven in number, of which three have been recently purchased, and five others, which the government have either hired or are on the point of hiring, are capable of carrying at one time 10,450 men or 2060 horses.

Orders were therefore given for these ships, the greater part of which have already proceeded to Sizopolis or Varna, to embark the batteries of artillery, with *materiel* and stores complete, and to fill up entirely with baggage-horses, which will proceed at once, the sailing-vessels towed by steamers, to Balaklava. They will then return, and load only with infantry.

Omar Pasha hopes thus to land 15,000 men and 3420 horses in Asia in two trips of the Turkish fleet alone, the operation occupying from three weeks to a month, or for each ship from ten days to a fortnight. This calculation, however, may differ very much from the reality if the weather should prove so tempestuous, and prevent the sailing-vessels from being towed.

The baggage-horses and artillery being embarked, the pasha hopes that, so soon as the troops arrive, he will be able at once to adjoin them with the troops already there, so as to get them out of the unhealthy climate of the Crimea, and to make some slight demonstration to the arrival of the rest of his troops from the Crimea.

The pontoon-train and remainder of the baggage-horses will follow, according as the means of transport are found.

Omar Pasha is most desirous that assistance should be given by the allies in conveying the troops and their *materiel* from before Sebastopol, and baggage-horses from Sizopolis; and considers the most practicable way in which this could be done would be by allowing the Turkish fleet to convey the troops on from the Crimea to Sebastopol, after having conveyed the contingent to Balaklava to replace

the pasha intends himself to go to the Crimea of Asia to examine the positions, and to obtain information, before the first ships can disembark their freight."

In reply to this the noble lord thus wrote, on the date of the 7th of September:—

The account of the arrangements proposed

by Omar Pasha for the relief of the army in Asia, which is contained in your despatch of the 26th ult., is inconsistent with subsequent statements which have reached her majesty's government.

"In your despatch you report that Omar Pasha reckons upon taking a portion of the Turkish troops from before Sebastopol, and replacing them by General Vivian's contingent. But it appears by a despatch of later date, from General Simpson, that Omar Pasha has given it as his opinion that General Vivian's contingent would not be fit to take up a position before Sebastopol until next spring; and in consequence of that opinion, and by reason of General Simpson's protest against having the contingent sent to him, which protest was founded upon Omar Pasha's opinion, her majesty's government have determined that the contingent shall not go to join the army before Sebastopol."

The "Blue-book" does not contain the despatch of General Simpson to which Lord Clarendon refers. It was probably telegraphic, and intended as a private communication. From the account which the foreign minister gives of it, the English general's unwillingness to risk any inconvenience to promote the expedition was obvious, but it was rendered still more so by the reply of Colonel Simmons. If this reply was correct in its statements (and the Blue-book furnishes us with no material for doubt), then General Simpson either acted very unfairly or very foolishly in urging the objections to which it was necessary for Colonel Simmons to reply. The vast magnitude of the undertaking about to be hazarded at Sebastopol—the final bombardment and assault—has been pleaded as an excuse for the general's unwillingness to part with any portion of the disciplined Turkish troops, and perhaps this is the solution of the mystery.

After the fall of Southern Sebastopol the English commander was more willing to part with these Ottoman troops; but even then Pelissier resisted with an *animus* which creates a suspicion that the French, for some reasons of their own, had no wish that Kars, where they had no glory, should be rescued. The British throughout the war regarded its great objects with a more single eye and stern sense of duty than their powerful ally appeared to do.

To the despatch of Lord Clarendon, Colonel Simmons replied in such terms as deprived General Simpson's objections of all force. It was dated Kamara, whither the pasha and the commissioner had returned, and was written on the 23rd of September, and received at the English Foreign-office on the 3rd of October:—

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your

lordship's despatch of the 7th inst., in which your lordship observes that the account of the arrangements proposed by Omar Pasha for the relief of the army in Asia, which is contained in my despatch of the 26th ult., is inconsistent with subsequent statements which have reached her majesty's government.

"In that despatch I had reported that Omar Pasha reckons upon taking a portion of the Turkish troops from before Sebastopol, and replacing them by General Vivian's contingent; but it appears, by a telegraphic despatch of a later date from General Simpson, that Omar Pasha has given it as his opinion that General Vivian's contingent would not be fit to take up a position before Sebastopol until next spring, and in consequence of that opinion, and by reason of General Simpson's protest against having the contingent sent to him, which protest was founded upon Omar Pasha's opinion, her majesty's government have determined that the contingent shall not go to join the army before Sebastopol. On this subject I beg to inform your lordship that this opinion was given by Omar Pasha in a letter to General Simpson early in the month of July, on the subject of the completion of the contingent, and before he was aware of the critical position of the army in Asia.

"He then stated that he was strongly of opinion that General Simpson could not contemplate making use of the contingent in the open field (*en rase campagne*) in front of the enemy until the officers and soldiers had become acquainted with each other, and until the officers had learnt sufficient of the language to inspire confidence in the soldiers, and to command them in the field before the enemy. The pasha then went on with a proposition to evacuate Shumla of all other troops, and to give up the hospitals, barracks, stores, &c., to the contingent for the winter, and to complete that force by directing 10,000 men from the army of Roumelia and Shumla.

"Before this letter was sent by the pasha, Lord Raglan had on several occasions asked me whether I thought it would be possible to make use of the contingent to hold the lines of Balaklava, so that the whole of the British army might be made available for the siege of Sebastopol or for field operations; and, upon consulting Omar Pasha upon the subject, he told me that he saw no objection to it if his lordship considered it absolutely necessary, although no doubt it would be better for the formation of the contingent if it could be assembled together in a garrison-town like Shumla.

"Soon after the above proposition was made by Omar Pasha, information arrived of the condition of the army of Kars, and he proposed to take the troops hence to Asia, as reported in my despatch of the 15th of July. This propo-

sition would not have interfered with that to the contingent, but the generals in conference refused to accede to it."

In the letter of Colonel Simmons, written to Lord Clarendon from Constantinople, it is intimated that Omar Pasha would proceed to the coast of Asia Minor, and decide upon the best place for disembarking his troops. This the generalissimo did. Mr. Oliphant found him at Trebizond early in September. He then upon the point of embarking for Batoum, which at that time had been fixed upon in ever-wavering councils of Constantinople as the best spot for the debarkation, and it was the generalissimo's intention there to await the arrival of his troops. Events, however, determined him after some time to return to Crimea, where he was at the date of Colonel Simmons's last despatch. None of those calculations upon which the pasha calculated had arrived, except those which it had been in his own power to order from Bulgaria. He consequently murmured openly against the conduct of the French, throwing the blame upon Pelissier, and declaring that at that late period of the season he could not save Kars from diversion in the rear of the Russian army. He had for some time solicited that three battalions of rifles might be allowed to leave (about 10,000 strong), but Pelissier offered an effectual objection. Sebastopol had now fallen, but the French general remained inflexible, although General Simpson was no longer unwilling that the Turkish troops should depart, and expressed his opinion that they could be spared.

Before landing on the Asiatic coast (Omar Pasha had proceeded from Bulgaria to Sebastopol, which he left on the 6th, two days before the final assault, but such was the jealousy displayed towards the Turkish chief by the allied generals that they did not even inform him of their intention to offer the assistance, although the troops over which he held independent command might have been called upon to take part in some way in connection with the achievement.

At the middle of September the Turkish general declared without reserve that he had no notion what the number of his troops would be, or when they might be in a position to leave. Officers who served with Omar Pasha in Turkey and the Crimea, whose military skill none dispute, have ascribed to the author that no officer could serve with the Turkish chief without being sensible of his military genius. How disgraceful, however, the treatment to which he was subjected by mean jealousy and selfishness of those who were under duty to the cause of the allies demands that they should be them a more honourable, prudent, and generous course.

When Omar arrived at Batoum great was astonishment to find that instead of a *corps* of 12,000 men there were only 300 fit soldiers, and perhaps three times as many half-naked and sickly men. The interest of the pashas in concealing from their government the reduction of the numbers under their command operated disastrously at Batoum, as elsewhere.

It was not until the 29th of September that Russia would allow the Turks to leave the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, and it was the 15th of October before the dilatory transports landed them on the Asiatic coast. Some have supposed that even then, had Omar landed his army at Trebizond, marching by Erzerum, he might have relieved Kars. The remarks of Oliphant on this point are deserving of notice:—"That to embark an army in the Crimea, to transport it across the Black Sea to disembark it again at the worst port on that sea (where it is often impossible, for a week at a time, to communicate with the shore); to make the commitments necessary for a large army on a long march; to organise a land-transport system which could move, and therefore very different in its character from that which, after exertions of a year, at this moment hampers our army; to march this force for a distance of 80 miles over a road which Curzon, Sandwith,\* and other travellers have described as one of the most impracticable in the world, and to cross two mountain-passes, at a season of the year when they are often blocked up with snow; and lastly, to arrive in a condition of coping with a hostile army, perfectly fresh, and 40,000 strong—I say that it appears to me that to have accomplished all this in the brief space of six weeks, would have been an achievement worthy, to say the least of it, of a general more than this war has hitherto produced."

Had the Turkish army debarked two months earlier at Soujuk Kaleh, Mouravieff would have been compelled to withdraw his army from the Kars to cover Tiflis; while the occupation of the pass of Suranim by the invaders would have secured the conquest of Imeritia, Mingrelia, Gouriel, and Abkhasia, and at the same time a movement by Selim Pasha upon Akzick, would have preserved Omar's line of communication from any interruption in that direction.

Soon after the pasha left Trebizond, the news arrived of the fall of Sebastopol. The sentiment was perhaps nowhere more undisturbed; for scarcely any city was more interested in the humiliation of Russia, which had done everything power and ingenuity could

Dr. Sandwith believed the route to be practicable for any—so did Williams and Lake.

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effect to injure the commerce of that place. The whole Turkish population, the French and British consuls, sailors, military, and visitors, gave vent to their exultation. The city was a blaze of decorative light; rockets pierced the sky, cannon thundered repeated salutes; occasionally small arms gave forth a *feu de joie*, and an enormous blazing torch was borne in procession through the city. Trebizond, always picturesque, whether viewed from the neighbouring heights beneath the pale moon or golden sunlight, was so when lit up with fitful illuminations. The Greeks literally howled with mortification and vindictiveness, until their manifestation of ill feeling obtained for them certain demonstrations which warned them to keep out of sight.

The Turkish chief remained some time at Batoum, where his green tents were pitched, and his forces gradually collected. The place itself, although occupying a position of some importance, was nothing better than a long, narrow, filthy, straggling street, having little merchandise except these three things, which are to be purchased everywhere—"vegetables, tobacco, and Manchester calicoes." The only mercantile persons visible were Armenians, who are always to be met with in an eastern city, upon whatever scale its trade or commerce may be conducted. Military men—British, Turkish, Lazistans, Egyptians, Tunisians, Albanians, French, Hungarians, Poles, and Prussians—crowded the dirty and contracted thoroughfare. Some officers of all nations were attached to the army of Omar, and many of his soldiers were Egyptians and Tunisians; some of the former were as black as negroes, and in all respects might be mistaken for such. They already complained of the cold, and betrayed symptoms of being unable to endure the climate.

The people of Anatolia were heartily disposed to the cause, and many of the peasantry presented themselves, armed only with their dirks and pistols, as volunteers for the campaign. Perhaps the most active, noisy, eccentric, jovial, and good-humoured members of this Babel were the English sailors, some of whom made the streets resound with snatches of Dibdin, and who paid compliments to the shrinking damsels of the place, more hearty and audible than intelligible to those for whom they were intended.

Omar Pasha was busy organising, and appeared to be anxiously expecting his troops, who, alas! came too slowly. He sent Mustapha Pasha, who commanded at Batoum, and had destroyed his army, a prisoner to Constantinople, to be tried for his delinquencies. When his crimes were punished (?), he was sent back with enlarged authority. He had probably bribed the chief pashas at Constantinople with

a portion of his ill-gotten gains. His subsequent conduct was even worse than his previous proceedings had been; for instead of co-operating with Omar Pasha, his only object was to take care of himself, and loiter about doing nothing for the object of the expedition, unless, indeed, this was the sort of co-operation Omar desired. The dilatory proceedings of the allies still caused delay; the British transport service, which has the credit of bearing the troops of Omar to Asia, did but little in that or any other way, and the French did nothing: Turkish means of transport were, for the most part, employed, and the service was efficiently conducted.

It was agreed on all hands that Batoum was an unsuitable base of operations for the expedition. Redout Kaleh, further north, was deemed at Constantinople the best point of support; and the defenders at Kars, and the consul at Erzerum, were also of that opinion. But Omar, for some reason which has never been satisfactorily explained, chose Suchum Kaleh, nearly eighty miles further north. Redout Kaleh was pronounced to be a dangerous harbour, where it was difficult to land troops; and the line of march from it to Kutais, upon which it was necessary for Omar to advance, whenever he might fix his point of departure, was deemed nearly as impracticable as that from Batoum. Mr. Oliphant, who examined portions of the route from Batoum and Redout Kaleh, supports the view taken by the generalissimo. Colonel Simmons and Colonel Ballard maintained this view also, long after the fall of Kars proved the abortiveness of Omar's attempt. Many were of opinion that the pasha, chagrined by the treatment he had received from the allied generals in the Crimea, never intended to save Kars. General Williams, Colonel Lake, and even Mouravieff, the Russian commander-in-chief, took this view. An officer, whose opinion is much to be respected, who knew Omar well, and the views of honour which prevail among Turkish pashas, observed to the author—"Omar Pasha is an able and courageous general, but he did not intend to relieve Kars." Another officer of eminence, to whom the author mentioned this opinion, replied—"Had not Omar intended to relieve Kars, he would never have clamoured at the Crimea and at Constantinople as he did for an army to be sent to Georgia." It seems as if both these officers were right. Omar at first was earnest in urging the relief of Kars, or, at all events, to obtain a command in Asia for himself; but finding that his views were thwarted, and himself slighted by the English and French generals, and being probably jealous of the fame acquired by the defence which General Williams had sustained, he determined to keep out of the way by making

Suchum Kaleh his point of departure. He was certain that when Mouravieff heard that he had chosen that place as his post, he ordered his army to be halted, and gave up all further communications, and of any interruption of the blockade. At all events, to Suchum Kaleh the army proceeded from Batoum, and the new arrivals for the expedition were received. Mr. Oliphant, after describing the principal street and its buildings, thus records his impressions of the general aspect of the place:—"At right angles to this street is an avenue, about a quarter of a mile long, leading to the hill upon which the Russian hospitals were formerly situated. From here I used to watch troops disembarking, collecting at the quay, pitching their tents, or going through their drill. The plains were covered with people and cattle, and as a party of wild Abkhassians come galloping in from the mountains on their wiry ponies, they pull up with astonishment upon the brow of the hill, and wonderingly at the scene below; for they see the plain that was so solitary, and the town that was deserted a month ago, now alive with an active population; and as they listen to the roll of the drums, or watch the glitter of the bayonets in the sunshine, they perceive in all the indications of the change which is about to take place in the destinies of their country."

On the 3rd of October, soon after sunrise, a salute of nineteen guns from the Turkish batteries of-war announced the landing of the generalissimo. He took the command of the army intended for the invasion of Georgia. He landed amidst the acclamations of the troops who were drawn out to receive him. The bands played, the veterans were gay with flags dancing in the morning air, and the little army was in fine order, full of hope and confidence, inspired by the hitherto victorious chief.

One of Omar's first acts was a stroke of political sagacity. The great man of the place was Prince Michael; he was married to a relative of the Princess Dadian, the chief person in Abkhassia, who received royal honours, and was invested with great authority. It occurred to Omar that if Michael, whom he knew to be at heart in the Russian interest, could be committed to the service of the sultan, it would compromise him with Russia, and compel his loyalty to the Porte. Omar accordingly, with great pomp, made him governor of the district, and commanded the obedience to him of all the neighbouring chiefs, who were assembled to part in the ceremony.

The pasha spent some time examining the neighbourhood, while the remainder of the army was arriving. In these excursions he was aided by the officers of his staff, Mr. Lowry, Mr. Oliphant, and other Englishmen. By this means he conciliated the Abkhassians.

endeavoured to open a confidential intercourse with the Circassian tribes, who were, ever, too mistrustful to be made extensive use of in any combinations against the Russians. Indeed, both Abkhasians and Circassians proved an encumbrance to the army in subsequent operations. A body of Abkhasian irregular horse was organised, which, as the Turkish army entered Mingrelia, plundered and molested the people whom it was in the interest of the sultan's service to spare, that it was disbanded. A squadron of Circassian irregulars proved as formidable to the Russians as their Abkhasian co-religionists had been found. When some of their chiefs had been killed, and even degrading punishment inflicted to check their persecutions and robberies, this force also had to be broken up. So much may be related in anticipation, to show how impossible it was for Omar to add to his army by any local levies or volunteers. After long delays, for which the Turkish chief does not appear to have been responsible, he commenced his march from Abkhasia upon Mingrelia. The country was very impracticable, and the route a very circuitous one towards Kutais compared with that from Soujuk Kaleh, between which place and Tiflis there was a road suitable for artillery; but Omar and his advisers considered it, for a portion of the way, to be politically dangerous; and Mr. Oliphant, in support of their views, he having disapproved that road for a considerable dis-

The *Assemblée Nationale* described as following the route actually taken:—"There exists between Suchum Kaleh to Tiflis a strategical line which forms the western line of the communications opened by the Russians to the south of the Caucasus, and which, having crossed two rivers of small importance, the Kedor and the Gadisca, encounters the Terek at Sougdidi. A distance of seventy miles separates Sougdidi from Kutais. Between these two towns, but nearer to the latter than to the first, is the fortress of Redout, erected on the spot where the roads from Redout Kaleh to Tiflis. Before the Russian army runs the Tcheni-chai, or the Hippus of the ancients. The next intelligence will tell us if the Russians have attempted to interrupt the progress of the Turks, or have retired to the east. The river Rhion flows to the east of the town, whilst the road followed by Omar Pasha approaches from the north-west. Nothing has been attempted to stop the advance of Omar Pasha might be before Kutais on the 10th of November; but it is very improbable that the Russians will abandon without the capital of a province and a strategic position of high importance. Were he to seize upon it by a *coup de main*, it is

doubtful if he will be able to push his advantage further, in consequence of the lateness of the season. Between Kutais and Tiflis there exists, near Suran, a mountain passage 4000 feet above the level of the sea, whilst the passage of the Rhion will likewise have to be forced." Upon this it may be remarked that there are nearer twenty than two rivers, of which a general must take note, between Suchum Kaleh and Kutais, as any good map will show, and as European travellers who have traversed the ground aver. The *Assemblée* overlooked the fortress of Ruchi, about six miles beyond Sougdidi, which was at least as important as that of Rhion.

The policy of making Suchum Kaleh the point of departure has been severely censured by some of the best judges on such matters, while others unhesitatingly justify the selection. As to Batoum, Colonel Simmons, the British commissioner with Omar's army, and who, it must be confessed, writes as the *alter ego* of the Turkish chief, has given his opinion against that place as a base of operations. Sir W. F. Williams, writing on the 31st of October from Kars, thus noticed Batoum, and the probability of operations by Omar in that quarter:—"Rumours of the operations of Omar Pasha also reached us, and I hope he is at least acting like a brave and resolute man. Batoum is but four days from Kars, and six for the march of troops; but if he operates manfully in any direction I shall be content."

Upon this Colonel Simmons animadverted as follows:—"No road is in existence by which troops can march in 'six' or more days from Batoum to Kars. The distance is indeed no more than 105 miles as the crow flies, and Omar Pasha had reason to believe that there was a mule-track, or rather a mountaineer's path; but he knew that it had to cross a chain of mountains near 10,000 feet in height, and, at the season to which his expedition had been delayed, covered with snow, and through the gorges of which, as he was informed, not even a mule could carry his load with any safety. This route has since been explored by a British officer, whose report, it is said, fully confirms the opinion of Omar Pasha and those whose advice was taken on the subject of his Asiatic expedition, which, allow me to add, he undertook 'like a brave and resolute man,' undeterred by the obstacles and delays thrown in his way, and removed in great measure by his zeal and energy, and hoping against hope to rescue his sovereign's forces from the fatal position in which they were placed by the strategy of others. Omar Pasha's opinion, however, be it right or wrong, was based upon the best information accessible to him, and upon which, being personally unacquainted with the country, he

could place reliance. If any authentic or positive information had been received from General Williams with respect to the route by Batoum, it would have immediately set at rest the much-debated question as to the point from which the relief of Kars should be attempted; but it appears his knowledge of this route must have been derived subsequently to the commencement of the blockade of Kars, for on the 15th of August, 1855 (p. 170 in Colonel Lake's book), after stating that an army could march from Redout Kaleh to Tiflis, he expresses a hope that a demonstration will be made in his favour in that direction."

Lieutenant-colonel Caddell, who was then a subaltern officer in the Madras army, and a field officer in that of Turkey, has also published his opinion; it is in the following terms:—"Batoum was still unhealthy, and Omar Pasha did not wish that the seeds of disease should be sown among his best troops while waiting an unlimited time for their comrades. Besides this, an operation straight towards Kars, which might have been feasible, though hazardous, in summer and autumn, became impracticable as winter drew nigh, and it would have been madness to trust to the passes being clear of snow in November, when the neighbourhood of Kars itself is described as being covered to the depth of a foot so early as the 9th of September. Suchum Kaleh was therefore chosen as a rendezvous. It was equi-distant from Kars with Trebizond, and near to Tiflis, to which a direct road led in rear of the Russian blockading army. It was the beginning of November before Omar Pasha received sufficient men to garrison Suchum Kaleh and Chimeherra, and to push on with an army of 23,000 men through Abkhasia, across the Ingour, into Mingrelia, thus turning the formidable lines of intrenchment constructed by the Russians on the only road leading inland through the broad morass from Redout Kaleh. The destruction by the enemy of all the bridges across the numerous rivers and streams, the pacification of the occupied provinces, and the difficulty of provisioning his force with only 1500 baggage-animals, caused delay in his progress, and December had arrived before he had reached the banks of the Skeniscal, a few hours' march from Kutais. It was utterly impossible to cross this river, then navigable and in full flood. Kars had already surrendered, and, as his army was exposed to severe privations, Omar Pasha made a leisurely retirement towards the coast. The whole of the operations were too late; but that was not Omar's fault. Had a flotilla of gun-boats pushed up the Rhion, and provided the means of crossing, a considerable further advance might have been made."

To the criticisms of this sort, published by the friends of Omar Pasha, especially Colonel Simmons, General Williams makes the following reply:—

"On the arrival of Omar Pasha to the command of the army which was intended to relieve Kars, he wrote to the Muschik Pasha, by the hands of an aide-de-camp, to him that 'if we stood firm for twenty days we would relieve us.' At that moment I was not aware that Lieutenant-colonel Simmons was with the head-quarters of the generalissimo, but had I supposed him to be there, I should naturally have hoped for at least a line from my brother commissioner, more especially as he was an officer of the sister corps of engineers, brought up at the same military college, and could not be ignorant of my position, although I was, from the nature of the service, utterly uninformed of his. It can easily be imagined that we waited anxiously and with much hard during those twenty days in expectation of the succour which Omar Pasha knew he was promising that he could or would not refuse. Selim Pasha played the same game from Trebizond, telling us that he had an army sufficient to relieve us, and that his men were busy preparing for the advance. We therefore held on with hopes inspired by these two generals, until famine had reduced the strength of our detachment of little Turks, and rendered impossible all idea of marching and cutting their way over the mountains; and I will venture to say that as long as a soldier of that garrison survived, the names of those two men will be execrated."

"In speaking of Omar Pasha with respect to Turkey, Lieutenant-colonel Simmons says it 'his adopted country.' I will give him the idea of his patriotic sympathy by informing the reader that, in answer to my despatch to the generalissimo, congratulating his gallantry, as the acknowledged head of the succouring forces, on the glorious victory of the 24th of September, I received a reply simply without comment, acknowledging the receipt of my communication, thus exhibiting the gallant and enduring garrison of Kars the interest felt for them by their generalissimo. On this great occasion, too, I should have hoped for a line from my brother commissioner, but he knows whether or not he was by the hands of Omar Pasha when the generalissimo received this welcome news. I am altogether ignorant on that point."

"It is not worth while discussing the merits of Lieutenant-colonel Simmons how far Omar Pasha could have penetrated towards Kars from Batoum; but I will express my opinion that the moment he ceased to occupy his post as, in my humble opinion, 'a brave and able man' should have done—that is, to have moved on to Kars and the centre of Georgia—our fa-

; and the instant that General Moura- heard he had chosen the remote port of m Kaleh, the Russian general felt him- believed from his disquietude, and made mind to hut his army, and thus insure ture of Kars by famine. This opinion y supported by that of General Moura- himself, expressed to me and to my aide- up with characteristic frankness. The d veteran general laughed, and said— on as I found Omar Pasha at Suchum I had no doubt of the result of the gn;' adding, 'I was much obliged to Pasha for going in that direction.' have not the smallest wish to enter into ld of 'animosity' or 'controversy' with nant-colonel Simmons, but, at the same I cannot pass over without remark his ation about 'that fatal position in which ere placed by the strategy of others'— s of course intended for me. In a work preparing for the press by competent y, the question of the necessity of defend- ars at all will be discussed. In the ime, Lieutenant-colonel Simmons, and who think with him, can cling to their n, that it ought not to have been, and he risk of abandoning that stronghold have been hazarded; I, and those who with me, on the contrary, will hold to ew—namely, that by keeping the Rus- my occupied before Kars, only twenty from their own frontier, till the snows of prevented their taking a single step in e, even after the blunders of Omar and the imbecility of Selim Pasha had at fortress into the possession of the , we had fulfilled a wise purpose, and Asia Minor from being overrun, as also lies from the dire necessity of sending h and French troops from Sebastopol to cue."

Such is the character of the dispute as to the route chosen by Omar for the relief of Kars.

The Turkish army began its march in high spirits, flushed with confidence of victory, and intensely anxious to meet the enemy.

The presence of the Duke of Newcastle caused no small excitement in the expedition- ary army. His grace felt so keenly the public displeasure with his administration at the War-office, that he visited all the coasts of the Black Sea, to investigate personally what had been done amiss, and what might be amended. The duke took several trips into the interior from Suchum Kaleh, led by his active and in- quisitive spirit, his admiration of the incom- parable scenery, and a desire to try "the wild sports of the *East*," which, as the guest of Prince Michael, he for a short time enjoyed.

From the outset of the expedition it was evident that, so far as the officers were con- cerned, everything must depend upon the energy and skill of foreigners, for the Turkish pashas took everything as leisurely as if no important interests depended upon the enter- prise.

The advanced-guard of Omar's army con- sisted of the Rifles, and was commanded by the gallant and intelligent Colonel Ballard, an officer who held inferior rank in the service of the Honourable East India Company.

The property and persons of the country people of Abkhasia and Mingrelia, when that dominion was entered, were scrupulously re- spected, except so far as the vagabond Abkha- sian and Circassian irregular cavalry insubordi- nately violated the commands of the comman- der-in-chief.

The Turkish army arrived at the Ingour without molestation from enemies, or any serious impediment. Its further proceedings we reserve for another chapter.

## CHAPTER CVII.

RAGE AND BATTLE OF THE INGOUR.—SUSPICIOUS DELAYS BY THE TURKISH GENERAL, AND HIS ULTIMATE ADVANCE TO THE SKENISCAL.

"Description cannot suit itself in words  
To demonstrate the life of such a battle."—SHAKSPEARE.

EN the advanced guard reached Ertiscal, is about twenty miles from Shemsheraï, of some time was ordered, and the troops rested and refreshed. This force consisted eteen battalions of infantry, of which vere Rifles, who were considerably in ad- of all the rest of the army. Some irregular sian cavalry were attached to these en battalions. While these troops re- Colonel Simmons and Ballard, with iphant, proceeded to the banks of the

Ingour, and reconnoitred the enemy, who had constructed stockades on the opposite side. The enemy did not become aware that day, nor the ensuing night, of the proximity of the Turkish Rifles. Lieutenant-colonel Ballard having expressed an opinion that Mr. Oliphant could be of service by sketching the enemy's positions, he did so without detection for a considerable part of the next morning; at last Mr. Oliphant and his attendants were dis- covered, but no annoyance was offered. The

description given of the position by this intelligent draughtsman is substantially as follows:—The river was divided into two channels, each about thirty yards broad, by a narrow, rocky island. The opposite bank was densely wooded, and trees had been felled and interlaced with those which were standing, in such a way as to form a most formidable-looking stockade for more than a mile. At one point there was an earthwork, where thirty or forty soldiers were collected together.

While the opposing detachments were surveying one another with mutual curiosity, shots were exchanged at random lower down the river. Colonel Ballard advanced with two companies of his Rifles, and opened a dropping fire, to which the enemy briskly replied. No casualties occurred on the Turkish side, except that a nephew of Prince Michael, a boy ten years of age, was wounded by a musket-ball in the leg. This ended the reconnaissance. The Russian commander made this very small affair the subject of a lying despatch, in which he said his fire compelled the enemy to retreat.

The weather at this juncture favoured the operations of Omar Pasha. It was frosty at night, but the days were lovely—equal in serenity and sunshine to the loveliest English autumn weather. This enabled the Turkish chief to effect his measures without loss of men or horses.

The next day, Oliphant and Ballard were again early engaged in reconnoitring the enemy, who was on the alert, and by his rifle practice made reconnoitring a less pleasant amusement than the day before. The Turkish rifle practice was excellent, and the Russians could be seen carrying away their fallen men. Mr. Oliphant, however, desirous to promote the interests of the army, found his sketching neither safe nor agreeable, but gallantly persevered, like a true Englishman. He rendered a still further service by discovering a ford. Omar Pasha determined to erect two batteries upon points which commanded it; these being opposite the Russian stockade, rendered it necessary to perform the work under cover of darkness. Engineer officers were scarce in the Turkish army, so that Colonel Simmons gave Mr. Oliphant a lecture on the erection of batteries, and sent him to Skender Pasha, better known as Skender Bey, for the men necessary to accomplish the work. Supposing him in the darkness to be an officer, a regiment and two guns were placed at his disposal. He made his battery, and at early dawn was informed that the Russians were approaching the river-bank in force. Mr. Oliphant did not know what orders to issue in such an eventuality, nor how to order them, if his military knowledge had been sufficient, for he did not

understand military terms in the Turkish language. Happily, the supposed Russian rows of piles upon the river's bank, and Colonel Ballard arrived opportunely to terminate the temporary command of the amateur.

Skender Pasha, who led what might be called the fighting division, was an old man and a Pole, who had served in many European armies; he was a brave and skilful soldier, and had received eighteen wounds, most of them in the service of Turkey.

The whole of Omar's army rapidly advanced upon the Ingour; it consisted of thirty battalions of the line, four of rifles, one thousand cavalry, twenty-seven fieldpieces, and ten mountain guns. The whole did not exceed 20,000 men, a force inadequate for a great undertaking, even if no natural obstacle had intruded. Detachments to the amount of 10,000 men were left to protect the depôts at Godova, Shemsheraï, and Suchum. At the same time orders were issued to extinguish all fires, especially camp-fires, from which the Russians concluded that the morrow would witness a struggle on the Ingour.

On the morning (the 6th of November) Sirdar Ekrem (as Omar Pasha was called) appeared at daylight his chiefs of division, and gave the necessary directions. In an hour the whole army, except the division under Skender Pasha, was marching parallel to the river in a westerly direction. Their orders were to occupy the Russian position at Boukhe, and cross the river lower down where a ford had been discovered. The morning was beautiful, clear, and balmy, as August in the sweet south of England; the country was still rich in foliage, the gigantic oak and beech had not yet shed their leaves, although the mountains were already bare, their hoary crowns, as if demanding reverence of the invaders; the valleys echoed with the stirring strains of the bands, or the timely beat of the Turkish drum, and the tramp of marching battalions. Hope and courage gleamed from every countenance. The army has its pomp and beauty; it has also its grandeur, for its records are rich with noble and heroic acts—but death is often busy beneath the unfurled banner, and spares not the noblest or the bravest. Among those buoyant battalions destined to conquer the passage of the Ingour, not a few, ere the shadow of evening fell over the fair landscape, would have been in bloody burial, and one among the gayest and bravest of the host, far away from his home, would be numbered among them.

The advance continued about seven miles when the whole force debouched upon a commanding view of the river for a considerable distance: here the sirdar inspected his army, and a flush of pride and confidence might be seen upon his manly face. The

s issued were to Colonel Ballard, to take battalions and a-half of his Rifles (nearly under his command) and four fieldpieces, make his way across to the island, from which a ford was supposed to conduct to the Russian bank. Several peasants had given services, more or less reluctantly, as was to this intricate manœuvre. Ballard reached the island, which he found thickly wooded, and, throwing out skirmishers, he proceeded by a narrow path in the direction pointed out by his guides. The path lay through the wood for two English miles, and terminated by an open plain; the moment the Rifles emerged from the copse, they were met by a fire of artillery and musketry. The former came from a battery upon the opposite bank, distant about 600 yards; the latter from a wood which skirted the other side of the plain upon which they had emerged. As this Ballard and his Rifles impetuously charged, the enemy fled, and the conquest of the island was made without loss, except from the fire of the battery, which swept the grassy plain over which Ballard and his men had advanced. Dashing through the wood, accompanied by Mr. Longworth,\* the civil commissioner of her Britannic majesty, the colonel did not expect the ford, but he, or rather his horse, had been betrayed—there was no ford.

Ballard then made such dispositions as the nature of the ground allowed for opening his Rifles with his fieldpieces and rifles upon the enemy, which swept with grape the precincts of the river and the copse. Colonel Simmons meanwhile turned in quest of another ford by which the troops in immediate support of the Rifles might avoid the heavy fire of the battery and musketry sweeping the open space between the two thickets: assisted by Mr. Longworth, the colonel was successful. Meantime Osman Pasha brought up the artillery himself, and he posted, under the direction of Colonel Simmons, upon the open space, so as to reply to the Russian battery, which had been partly disabled by the riflemen of Ballard, and whose shots entered the embrasures, dealing death among the men who worked the guns. Active Turkish officers, especially those of the 4th rank, already began to display cowardice, as many men had fallen—100 of the Russian alone had been placed *hors de combat*. Three hours the battle of Rifles and artillery continued engaged on this particular point, and as the loss of life among the enemy was great, as could be seen from the Turkish position. The division of the sharp-shooters beginning to melt, the 4th regiment was sent to their support.

A gentleman was attached to the staff of the Russian general, Guyon, during the Hungarian war of 1848, and he found refuge in Turkey when the Hungarian struggle was oppressed by the combined Austrian and Russian

port, whose colonel, a very old Turk, was as brave as a lion, and led his men rapidly forward, shouting "*Allah! Allah!*" For several hours longer this battle was maintained with evident disadvantage to the enemy, yet the Russian battery was not silenced. Omar Pasha directed a division to cross over to another island; thence to a third, where they were separated from the Russian bank by a very narrow but deep and rapid stream: into this they plunged under a galling fire from the enemy. One hundred and fifty men were lost in the passage. The gallant Turks gained the bank, the defenders of which did not receive the shock of the bayonet, but fled into the woods which skirted their rear. While the Turks were drawing up upon the bank, a loud cheer from the direction of the battery was heard, followed by another and another; the brave fellows left behind on the island had also found their way across, and stormed the formidable redoubt. The passage of the Ingour was effected—the enemy was routed, leaving more than 1200 men dead along the bank of the river and in the contested work, which was choked with the slain, men and horses. It was especially remarkable how large a number of the latter had been destroyed. Osman Pasha, an old Turk, Ferhad Pasha (a German officer named Stein), Isaac Bey, a Circassian chief, Colonels Simmons, Ballard, and Caddell, Mr. Longworth, Mr. Oliphant, had all distinguished themselves, and among all, none more than the aide-de-camp of the British military commissioner, Captain Dymock, who fell mortally wounded, and was buried where, in the hour of victory, he received his death-stroke. His grave was dug between two magnificent trees, and over it the pendent branches of a wild vine clinging to both, formed a natural and beautiful arch.

The way in which the attack upon the battery was conducted was in this manner:—The battalions left behind on the island by Osman Pasha found a ford higher up the river, through the efforts of Colonel Simmons. The ford was deep, and several of the men were carried away in the stream. On gaining the shore, they left a portion of their force in reserve, and to cover their retreat if necessary, while the main body advanced upon the battery unobserved, until within 600 yards. A Russian column then immediately charged them; but this column was received by so heavy a fire that it hesitated, and momentarily fell back. At this instant a second column fell upon the flank of Colonel Simmons' troops. The colonel, ordering Dymock, and his interpreter, Hidaïot, to charge through the first column into the battery, he faced the second column with another portion of his party. Simmons had but few men with him, and the contest was

terrible against an enemy numerically superior. The struggle with the column which opposed Dymock was also fierce; fifty Turks fell dead in a few minutes. Dymock's horse was shot while he was cheering on his men in the most daring and chivalrous manner; as he rose, and was again leading his men on foot, he received a musket-bullet in the breast, and fell back mortally struck. Hidaïot took his place, emulating the valour of the fallen English hero. The interpreter was a Pole, and wore a cap and cloak in Russian style, so that he was scarcely distinguishable from a Russian officer, which for many years he had been. He led on the Turkish soldiers to the battery; but they were outnumbered, hemmed in on all sides, and their case seemed desperate, when Hidaïot, pitching his voice above the clamour of the strife, shouted in Russian—"Fly, my children, you are surrounded; whole regiments of the infidels are coming through the wood." The Russians, either supposing the command to come from one of their own officers, or deeming it a warning from one who was a captive in the hands of the attacking Moslems, took to flight, and the battery was entered, a loud cheer from those who so fortunately profited by the stratagem announcing the capture to the detachments which had crossed elsewhere. Not more than fifty prisoners were made, and these were nearly all Tartars from the Crimea, or volunteers from Abkhasia or Kurdistan. They represented the force opposed to Osman's to have been 15,000, consisting of regular troops, Georgian militia, and Mingrelian and Imeritian volunteers, who were the first to run away.

The medical men, Dr. Edwards and Mr. Gower, showed great courage and humanity, attending to the wounded under the heaviest fire. The Turkish loss did not much exceed 400 men. The battle was one of singular animation, diversified movement, and hard fighting. The chivalrous Hidaïot showed his tenderness as well as heroism; as soon as he entered the battery he touched the guns with his sword, exclaiming, "These are my capture," and then returned upon the track of the attack to find Dymock, whom he raised and supported in his arms, where the brave youth breathed out his life.

The night after the battle was excessively cold, and the wounded Turks and Russians suffered extremely. It was dark before the battle was quite over, and many of the Russians lay in the woods, unable to move, or even call for assistance. Efforts were made to save as many as possible, who were carried to the bivouac-fires of their conquerors, and tended carefully and kindly.

After the battle of the Ingour, the Turkish army remained for forty-eight hours in their en-

campment, a delay advantageous to the enemy. The excuse for this inaction was want of plies in consequence of deficient transport. Omar had 2000 horses, and might easily have laid the country under contribution for labour. Indications seemed already to be given that the delay was in no hurry. During this delay was paid to head-quarters by Mr. Danby, whose publications have made him famous in the political and literary world.

After the second day's delay, Colonels Mansel and Ballard reconnoitred the country previous to an advance. The next important place on the line of route to Kutais was Soudidi, about twelve miles from the camp. A reconnoissance was gallantly made with battalions of Ballard's Rifles, and nearly the whole of the cavalry. From the position the army winding paths, through brush and forest, conducted to the main road, and led from the coast to Sougdidi; this road was in excellent order, broad and smooth, and through extensive plains of clover, carthyme, and fern. Omar could have been no difficulty for food or fodder, and need not on such grounds, have delayed an hour. At this road, and in the by-paths from the main towards it, dead bodies of men and horses showed that the Russian retreat was not attended with disaster, and that the battle inflicted upon them even heavier losses than their opponents had supposed. Some Mingrelian militia fired upon the Turks from the woods, and some even from the fields by the high road; they did not wound a man, several of their numbers paid with the loss of life the penalty of their temerity. Sougdidi was deserted, except by a few militiamen, who were made prisoners. The Russians had fired three hours' march nearer to Kutais, and fixed their head-quarters at a village where the Mingrelian militiamen reported, that stores of provisions were deposited. It is surprising that Omar Pasha did not, by his marches, act upon the intelligence thus given for him by the British officers, and push forward the route of the dispirited enemy, now greatly increased in numbers, and to the capture of valuable stores, for the Russians would have had time or courage at that juncture to have carried them away. No immediate advantage seems to have been taken of the reconnoissance, except to capture a large store of poultry from the cottages and farm-houses, a very acceptable prize.

The English officers, attempting "a cut," lost their way in the darkness of the preceding night, but unexpectedly struck the Turkish camp, which they entered with a challenge—so deficient was the vigilance of the Turkish pashas and beys, and, consequently, of their soldiery. The Turkish

now left Abkhasia, and were fairly in Mingrelia, a province under Russian protection, nominally subject to the Princess Dadian. The province of Lamoursachan, which had just been left, was a disputed territory, that princess the chiefs of Abkhasia alike claiming sovereignty there. The Russians, who never had a treaty-claim, or claim of conquest, but were obliged in to mediate, took possession of the ruins of the province for the czar, and called him as protector.

In the morning of the *third* day of useless criminal delay after the battle of the Kur, the sirdar ordered his troops to advance upon Sougdidi, to the consternation of the country people, whose terror and horror of the Turks could scarcely be exaggerated, while he treated the English, Polish, and German officers with the greatest respect, and as fellow-Christians. There need be no wonder at this towards the Osmanli, who were only known to the inhabitants of these northern parts of Asia Minor as cruel and inexorable bigots and tyrants. Wherever the British officers went on the coast, and in the Turkish part of Abkhasia, they found some Christian slaves, who were treated with brutal oppression. In one place the Poles, who had deserted from the Russians, were entitled, on grounds of policy as well as humanity, to kind treatment, were sold as slaves, subject to a barbarous and unrelenting usage. The liberation of such poor captives was not always so prompt as the British officers desired. Dr. Sandwith relates a touching story of his own liberation of a Polish slave in the neighbourhood of Erzerum, when, as a combatant, Mouravieff permitted the doctor to retire from Kars after its submission.

On the march of Omar to Sougdidi, the vagabond Abkhasian cavalry plundered the people, offered violence of every sort when for a moment out of sight of the regular troops. Arrived at Sougdidi, after a march which demanded no haste, Omar found no opposition, and entered the town in triumph.

Sougdidi is the capital of this fine province, so beautifully situated; all the peculiarities of the scenery in the inland neighbourhoods of the Caucasus, so often referred to in these pages, are here in perfection. The city itself was surrounded by troops and people, so that the Turks had ample quarters. The town consists of a square in the centre, where the Greek church and its dependent buildings appear to advantage. Prince Gregoire, a relative of the English princess, occupied a wooden house, which was large and ornamented, and might have been the traveller of the mansions built by the owners of property in the north of England, on the model of the old wooden houses still to be seen in Lancashire. The chief building in the

square was the palace of the Princess Dadian, a splendid pile, although one wing only was perfect, the rest being more or less advanced towards completion. The princess had fled to a castle in the mountains. The internal grandeur of this palace astonished the British officers and amateurs. Furniture the most costly, upholstery the richest, unique chandeliers, tasteful articles of *vertu*, pictures by eminent artists, ancient and modern, contributed to the elegance and grandeur of the deserted royal abode. The grounds were laid out with care and skill, and at great expense; even at that season flowers of every hue and form decorated profusely the delightful gardens. Orchards, orangeries, greenhouses, surrounded this fairy dwelling. The lawns, parks, and pleasure-grounds, stretched away among gentle undulations and along the sides of bold hills, rent with ravines, which were thickly planted. Fowl of every variety and beauty had their appropriate place, and herds of fine deer adorned the upland and the sward. Omar placed sentries in the palace and grounds, and all entrance was forbidden, even to his officers. By this means plunder was prevented, and the game was not injured, for no shooting was allowed. It was a very fine place, and so Omar seemed to think, for he was in no hurry to leave it. No person could suppose, while day after day he lingered there, that the relief of Kars was the uppermost idea in his mind. Supplies could not have been the object in view; for it was better that the game, and poultry, and cattle of an enemy should minister to the wants of an army, than that Asia Minor should be prostrate at the feet of the czar's lieutenant. But independent of any provisions to be had on the spot, Omar was only four miles farther from his place of support than he had been after the battle of the Ingour, although he had thence to march twelve miles to Sougdidi. Here, however, he dallied for more than a week, when every day was precious to his enterprise, and when every day he tarried added to the exasperation of the people upon whom the brutal Abkhasian cavalry perpetrated every violence. Many a beautiful girl was seized, thrown over the horses of these ruffians, and borne away a captive to Abkhasia, to be transferred thence as an object of barter further south, among the Asiatic or even European Turks. In one week sixty persons were thus kidnapped. Omar had at last to send these wild and scoundrel troopers to their homes. Better far for the Mingrelians to lose every trace of independence, and become subjects of the czar, than be subjected to the mildest forms of Turkish rule; this was their own opinion. They hated Turks and Russians, but they regarded the former with personal loathing and religious horror. The weather continued lovely; Kutais could

have been reached with safety; and had Kutais been occupied, Mouravieff must have fallen back from before Kars. Kars undoubtedly fell because Omar would not advance upon Kutais, nor advance "manfully," as General Williams said, "in any direction." It was desired at Constantinople that the intrusive and incorrupt English pasha, who sought to revolutionise the profitable usages of pashas and other functionaries in Armenia, should be allowed to fail; so that the allies might be led to believe that the native pashas were at least as efficient as foreigners, and that the salvation of Asiatic Turkey did not depend upon the genius of an Englishman. Omar, when he first clamoured for relief to the army of Asia, may have been sincere, or he may have desired both to get away from the restraints and jealousies to which he was exposed in the Crimea, and to achieve something independently upon a more promising field of action. When he landed at Suchum Kaleh, he had no intention to relieve Kars, or he would never have loitered on the conquered field of the Ingour, or dallied in the pleasant quarters of Sougdidi. Mr. Oliphant, a friend of Omar Pasha, and who justifies, when it is possible, all his proceedings, makes this admission—"That every day was of the utmost value was subsequently proved by the fact that, if we had arrived upon the banks of the Skeniscal two days earlier, we should have reached Kutais in twenty-four hours afterwards."

On the 15th, nine days after the battle of the Ingour, the army began its forward march;—its progress since the battle had been at the rate of *an English mile and a quarter per day!* Skender Pasha, at the head of the advanced-guard, led the way, gradually, as he advanced, throwing out Ballard's Rifles, to make sure that no unlooked-for attack should impede his march. The country people refused supplies even for money, and Omar would not allow the troops to make forced purchases at any price, even when hungry; for notwithstanding the delay, *ostensibly* for supplies, the commissariat was still badly provided. To the English and Polish officers the people readily parted with their fruits and dairy produce, requiring a moderate remuneration, or showing a hospitable courtesy. Along the line of march the scenery was such as might be supposed to bless Eden—

"Ere man had fallen, or sin had drawn  
Twixt earth and heaven her curtain yet.

Hill and dale, wood and water, cultivated and wild prospects, in ever-changing variety, welcomed the eyes of the martial wanderers. The rich and wide vale of the Chopi, extending to the base of the Caucasus, brightened by the river, which wended its silvery current amidst its green meadows or yellow stubble-field, lay

stretched beneath the gaze of the wand. On the hill-sides—amidst the rich and tending foliage not yet fallen, but bronzed every tint with which Autumn with his golden and sunny fingers touches the woods and—were little villages nestling beneath, and jutting crags, or extended along undulating slopes. In the distance, as if waving over the fair scene, now pressed by the of sacrilegious invaders, Mount Elbrus, with his hoary brow, white with the snows of numbered ages, and turbaned with the drapery of heaven. What a realm to fight! Who could clank a fetter in that glorious One might well apostrophise it as a poem. Our time apostrophised his country—

"When nature embellished the tint  
Of thy hills and thy valleys so fair,  
Did she ever intend that a tyrant should print  
The footsteps of slavery there?"

The further bank of the Chopi was reached by the advancing Turks, and the banner of crescent and star was planted where the tiges of Christian ruins seemed still sacred, well as venerable, in their decay. Skender Pasha, always brave and adventurous, pressed on "two hours" in advance—a Turkish mile is always computed by hours, not miles, leagues, and many hours are often required to pass over a few leagues. Mustapha pitched his tents in another direction; and cannon was heard by the main body of the army that night, considerable alarm was pressed, as it was not known whether Skender or Mustapha was engaged.

On the 17th the march was renewed. Immediately after leaving Chopi the high road from Redout Kaleh to Kutais and Tiflis was reached. This was an excellent macadam road, smooth as a bowling-green; there were neither enemies nor impediments to prevent rapid march that day; the general confided himself with going a few miles. The direct road was not taken, short as the distance proved actually was. Omar alleged that he must keep as near the sea as possible to be within a day of his supplies, and keep up communications with Redout Kaleh. If it was so important to keep within a day of his supplies, it had been as well for him to stay with them altogether—he would have been still nearer to the coast by encamping within sight of it, and the lives of brave men would have been spared, which were sacrificed in the battle and the retreat. He did not "advance manfully in any direction," not from want of courage or capacity, but from want of will. He was a party to the plot at Constantinople for humbling the English pasha at Kars.

The encampment after the pleasant promenade of the 17th was at Choloni, was, like that of the previous position, excellent.

picturesque; it occupied a hill-side, which commanded the plain of the Rhion, and led towards the snow-clad mountains of the Ziewie. The evening was serene and beautiful; every object could be seen in its low light, far far away over river and plain to the glorious mountains, where the people were singing with David, as expressed in the following paraphrase of Milman,—

For the strength of the hills, we bless thee,  
Our God, our father's God!"

While Omar Pasha enjoyed the *otium cum curâ* above the Rhion, he received intelligence that the Russians were only three miles distant. This was very near for an invader and beaten army to take up its quarters in a country so practicable for pursuit; but the Russians regulated their promenade by that of the army which it would be a great stretch of courtesy to call their pursuers. As the Turks moved on, the Russians strolled off, leaving the Mingrelian militia and irregulars to watch and report them news; while the peasantry were instructed to give such answers to the inquiries of the Turks as would be most likely to mislead them. Only the previous night the Russians had been encamped also upon the banks of the Rhion, at Choloni.

On the 18th the advance was resumed; the object of march was suitable for cavalry, artillery, and baggage, but the river had to be crossed repeatedly at its various windings, the Russians having in their leisurely retreat thrown down all the bridges behind them. The variety of the scenery during this day's march was the frequent recurrence of high, steep hills, grandly wooded, and with monasteries of the Mingrelian Church crowning their summits. These buildings were not of stone, but of brick, and had architectural symmetry, and were of a resque exceedingly. Omar never had an easier or pleasanter march in his campaigns, and no doubt Colonel Simmons found him a most agreeable companion, and his own work light and agreeable; "what sense of responsibility the military commissioner entertained, who was himself and his other self, the sirdar, he will say?"

The troops found a new camping-ground as charming as any they had as yet occupied; it was at Sakharbet, on the banks of the Ziewie. Just under the encampment, at the end of the river, was a cataract, whence the waters took their last bound from the mountains into the plain which they were to fertilise and beautify, until they reached the embrace of the Rhion. The plain was bounded by the Ziewie was very lovely; the low-land and grain fields were surrounded by woods, through which the spires of the Mingrelian churches peeped, as if the forest were the sentinels of religion and liberty,

within whose encircling guardianship the sanctuaries of the fair realm stood calm and safe.

Skender Pasha here vented his anger at the delay in terms of loyal indignation. For this indignation the commander-in-chief allowed the brave Pole plenty of leisure, for the spot was so pleasant, that a couple of days were consumed there, in the military occupation of coffee and pipes, by the grand pashas and their astute but, in this case, faithless chief. While the advanced-guard saw field and forest, rock and hill, and the clear azure heaven reflected in the placid water of the Ziewie, or watched its dancing foam hurrying with joyful leap from the rocks to the calm current below, the main body of the army came straggling along—their pace might have left the impression that they were pilgrims journeying to some shrine of the prophet, if it had not been for all "the pomp and glorious circumstance of war," which clung to them. Seldom had an army such an important mission, and so glorious an opportunity of fulfilling it, Providence favouring them at every step, and never were duty and opportunity more shamefully slighted. Meanwhile the English officers and amateurs rode about the country, and were well received by the inhabitants, who, at the sight of a Turk, either fled with their goods, or prepared for resistance. The impressions concerning the people created by these rambles were exceedingly favourable. They wished to be free from the Turks and Russians, and cherished a vague idea that the English would land and give them liberty. It was evident that the people would have flocked around the standard of Victoria, whose name was a word of reverence and hope.

Skender Pasha continued to go on five miles in advance, while the Turks loitered at the last station, and the brave Pole took post upon the river Techoua, one of those beautiful streams which stretch their silvery network over the green vesture of Mingrelia.

From this place Ferhad Pasha made a reconnaissance as far as the river Skenisical. The Russians had just succeeded in leisurely placing the river between Ferhad and themselves; a few, however, of their Cossacks, lingering on the Turkish side, were killed or captured. Ferhad was a daring soldier, and often incurred great peril in his adventurous reconnaissances.

While the Turks occupied these pleasant quarters, a spy, in the costume of a Mingrelian peasant, was caught, who proved to be a Russian officer, and was accordingly shot. He was a man of family, and aide-de-camp to a Russian general.

Skender employed his troops in constructing bridges over the Ziewie and Techoua, wondering what delayed the sirdar, and burning for the order to proceed. While thus occupied, the rainy season commenced. Omar might

have been at Kutais before a drop of rain had fallen. Now the heavens, so calm and clear during the whole march, began to lour; thick, dense piles of black cloud rolled along the whole horizon; the forest trees rustled with the peculiar sound which presages a storm, as if an unseen spirit passed among their foliage; the rivers flowed darkly by, as if no more in fellowship with the gay soldiers that had wandered on their banks; the scream of the wild birds sounded at once harsh and melancholy, as if anger, fear, and grief disturbed them, and, flying nearer the earth, their wings flapped heavily, and with a distinctness of sound, such as those who have watched birds when pre-luding a storm could not fail to recognise. Occasionally a gush of wind rushed down from the mountains, and swept the valley, as if the wing of a great spirit passed over it, and all was again calm—so calm that a consciousness pervaded the mind that it would soon be terribly interrupted: it was as if Nature felt suspense, and awaited the announcement of the war of elements which was about to break above the war of armies.

These portents did not last long: suddenly as they appeared they were lost in the events they portended; a terrible storm burst forth from the mountains, and—

“The live thunder leapt from crag to crag;”

the whole heaven seemed changed to a mighty sea rolling above the earth, but speedily to break upon it in a deluge, such as, ages past, submerged the world, leaving only those everlasting hills above the surge when the ark rested upon Ararat. After the first big drops fell as a warning, the rain descended in a flood, and smote the earth; the rivers were soon swollen into mighty rushing tides, and the whole country became one vast morass. The bridges built by Skender were at once swept away, the tents of the soldiers were permeated, or thrown down, and the whole army was placed in the most pitiable condition. The sufferings of the soldiery were considerable; springs gushed up in some of the tents, and the men slept and lived in mud; their condition was a counterpart to that of the troops in the Crimea during the memorable winter of 1854. Skender, by indefatigable exertions, constructed another bridge across the Techoua, in advance of the main body of the army, but it was insufficient for either artillery or cavalry. Some pontoons were lashed together, and designed to carry across the guns; it was hoped that the troopers might find a ford. Such was the state of affairs when the rain ceased, and fine weather promised again to set in. Accordingly, after a fortnight's idleness on the banks of the Ziewie, the main body of the army were ordered, on

the 2nd of December, to advance once more. The day's march terminated at the village of town of Sinakia; this was a short measure of progress, although the late rains rendered ground less practicable for an army. The villagers fled at the approach of the Turks, leaving all their doors padlocked, which, of course broken open, and the houses were available for quarters. Scarcely had the detachments reached the village, when a storm broke hoarsely over the country, and the detachment descended with much of its previous force.

On the 3rd, at daylight, the advance resumed. The Techoua was crossed by a bridge and by the pontoons, described before, made by Skender, who was in advance of the army upon the banks of that river. A ford was found, over which the cavalry passed, the guns were let down the steep banks, and ferried across on the pontoons; some of the infantry passed by the ford, but the main body of the foot soldiers went over the frail bridge in single file: had the enemy been posted on the opposite bank, the passage might have been disputed successfully. The sack horse watched the process from the bank, but retreated before a party of Circassian cavalry. It was mid-day before the army was on the march; the day was fine but cold, many of the men had their clothes wet through. That night the army camped amidst fields of Indian-corn and stubble by the side of a river, the soldiers knee-deep in mud, even their tents. The next morning saw the army on their onward way by dawn; nearly a mile there was a river to ford, causing discomfort and at such a season causing the men to be cold and suffering. Health was, however, maintained through the army, and the weather held up. The rivers Abasha and Skender offered formidable barriers to further progress. About two miles from the latter the army encamped, and were in the presence of an enemy, who appeared in force beyond Skeniskal, and seemed doubtful of his strength to resist the passage. The “Sirdar El-Khan” rode along the line of tents, telling the soldiers that on the morrow they should once more be engaged with the enemy. The soldiers answered by shouts of “*Inshallah!*” Omar seemed to rally himself again at the prospect of meeting the enemy, although he appeared by his dilatory progress hitherto as in no haste to find him. That night tidings reached the sirdar that the Russians considered the ground unfavourable to oppose the passage of the river, but two miles further, near the town of Mehmed, there was a position of strength, where they would resist his further progress at the risk of a general battle. It was further reported that Bebutoff had arrived with reinforcements, and that an action as formidable as that of

our was at hand. At this juncture we must leave the sirdar and his army, and in another chapter relate the issue of the campaign. Before doing so, however, by presenting the following extract of a despatch from Colonel Simons to Lord Stratford, the reader will be enabled to judge of the light in which the prospects of the army were regarded at headquarters, or, at all events, the light in which it was desired to place them before the British ambassador. Lord Stratford did not receive a letter until after the fall of Kars:—

I have to inform your lordship that the army broke up from Sougdidi on the 15th inst., which day the communications were opened between the advanced-guard at Chopi and the main body at Kaleh, where Omar Pasha has formed depots for provisioning the troops. The distance from Redout Kaleh to Chopi is about sixteen miles, along a road in a great measure unimproved, and, consequently, the provisioning of the troops will be much facilitated.

The advanced-guard is now at Sinakia, on the Tikhour, the main body being at the village of Aklit (marked Seklami on the map), on the river Sieva. The army is now detained, the provisions are being brought up from the depot at Kaleh, and a depot formed here, the distance from the sea being about thirty miles. Soon as this depot shall be formed, probably within two days, Omar Pasha proposes collecting the army, which is now echeloned along the Tikhour, from the Tikhour to Sougdidi, and then moving on again *en masse*.

The troops have been echeloned in this manner to facilitate their provisioning. In the meantime, a reconnaissance has been pushed on to the Skeniscak, which separates Mingrelia from Imeritia; and it appears that the Russians have entirely evacuated this province. On their retreat they have destroyed all the bridges, and even large culverts on the road; they have abandoned several positions temporarily fortified, and especially the position of the camp, where there is a strong intrenchment, which was thrown up last year, covering a large extent of ground, and naturally of great strength. In it were enclosed temporary barracks and a depot of provisions. Both have been destroyed by fire, as also have a range of temporary barracks at Chopi, and considerable magazines and stores at Cheta, and at Sinakia and the Tikhour. In fact, the further the Turkish army penetrates the country, the more evident is it that the Russians have miscalculated their powers of resistance; and the results of the losses of the 6th inst. become more apparent. The losses on that occasion must have been heavy, and may be moderately estimated at 1600 to 1800 killed and wounded.

“I am happy to inform your lordship that the very strict measures taken by Omar Pasha to prevent pillage have met with very great success. The Abasians, who at first caused so much fear to the inhabitants of Mingrelia, and had commenced committing great havoc among them, stealing even children, have been sent back to their own country, some of them after receiving severe chastisement from the Turkish military authorities. The few Circassians that remain are held in check; and as to the troops themselves, I do not think, although they have generally found the villages deserted, the whole army have plundered to the value of £10, and to that extent only in articles of consumption. The result is, that as the army advances in the country, the villages are less deserted, and I do not despair of the army even deriving some little benefit from the resources of the country. These, however, are not numerous, and will be confined to hay and Indian-corn for the horses, and a small supply of meat, with some few *bât-horses*. The country, however, as the army proceeds to the eastward, improves and becomes more cultivated.

“I have to inform your lordship that, according to reports received, the Russians in retreating have burnt their gun-boat flotilla on the Rhion. In fact, everything appears to indicate now their inability to resist for any length of time on this side of Kutais. It is not improbable, however, that in order to gain time for the removal of their sick and stores, they may oppose the passage of the Skeniscak.

“I would further observe to your lordship that this army, which numbers in all about 40,000 men, will require strong available reinforcements, if they are to maintain their position at or in front of Kutais against the Russian army, after it shall be reinforced by Mouravieff's army from before Kars.

“The Turkish general, as his army is at present disposed, has not much more than 20,000 to meet the enemy in an advanced position. He has been able to make no use of the force of 10,000 men which formed the army of Batoum, under Mustapha Pasha, before the diversion in favour of the army of Kars was in contemplation, that force being very much disorganised by mismanagement and weakened by disease. Some little has been done to re-establish it, and probably 6000 men may be counted upon from it in the spring. The remainder of Omar Pasha's army consists of 15,000 men from before Sebastopol, and 15,000 men from Roumelia, strong detachments of whom it has been necessary to leave to protect the magazines at Suchum Kaleh, and Shemsheraï, to hold Sougdidi, and to maintain the communications of the army, so that when the army reaches Kutais, it will not much exceed 20 000 men.”

## CHAPTER CVIII.

## RETREAT OF OMAR PASHA FROM THE BANKS OF THE SKENISCAL, AND TERMINATION OF THE MINGRELIAN CAMPAIGN.

"His retreat was one of suffering, privation, and fatigue, but he met with no disaster in arms, and in various combats taught the enemy to beware of his sword."—SIR WILLIAM NAPIER.  
*English Battles and Sieges in the Peninsula.*

IN our last chapter we left the sirdar and his army on the banks of the Skeniscal, forming plans for crossing, expecting a general action, and watched by their adversaries. The state of the weather was such that every ditch in the country was filled with water, every stream was increased to a river, and the Skeniscal was a mighty flood, rolling its vast volume impetuously onward to the lower levels. Strenuous efforts were made by Omar and his lieutenants to find a ford, but in vain; while the rain fell fast, and the storm howled morosely over the country which had erst smiled so gaily, and dazzled its conquerors with its beauty. A body of Russian cavalry were not deterred by the inclement weather from crossing a ford higher up, and attempting a surprise upon the left flank of the invaders. The Rifles were on the alert, and punished the enterprising horsemen. The officers suffered severely in seeking a ford, and, in reconnoitring the enemy, especially Skender Pasha and the English, whose activity always brought them into any existing peril. Ballard and his Rifles, while seeking a ford, were fired upon by the Russians from the opposite bank. This fire was not returned, as it would have been a useless expenditure of ammunition, and, if men fell, a useless expenditure of human life. A great issue could not be effected by such a desultory musketade. Finding that their shots were not answered, the Muscovs ceased skirmishing, moved nearer to the river, took off their hats, politely saluted the English officers, and appeared to watch with some curiosity their efforts to discover a ford. The rain continued to pour down, the river and all its tributaries to rise, and the storm now beat upon the flooded country as if it were a tempest-smitten sea. The ducks bought from the country people were swimming around the tents, and found scope for their aquatic amusement even within the marquees of beys and pashas. The condition of the army became intolerable; to advance was impossible, to remain encamped in flooded fields, at a season when every evil which beset the expedition would necessarily become aggravated, would have been to sacrifice the whole army—a retrograde movement became imperative. Omar was *too late*; the weeks which he loitered on the Ziewie, the week he delighted himself with the palaces of the Dadians, and the days spent on the battle-field of the Ingour and elsewhere, now visited him

with retribution; he was encircled with increasing rigours of an advancing winter in the presence of an enemy strongly reinforced, well acquainted with the country, and to which all its supplies were open.

On the morning of the 8th of December the sirdar saw the necessity of giving the order of retreat. The foreign officers and Turkish soldiers received it with chagrin and murmur; the Turkish pashas seemed to receive it as tidings: their hearts were never in the expedition, any more than those of the sirdar the British commissioner. If it were possible to advance, it was extremely difficult to retire: weary marches and bitter hardships were in prospect; the supplies which had been the pretext of so many delays were short; the enemy, fording the river much higher up, would, with their numerous cavalry, hang upon the rear of the dispirited and retreating army. Such were the reasonings and speculations of the men and officers, and no risk could have been proposed to them which they would not have received as an alternative to such a retreat. The depots which, during the delay at Ziewie, had been formed there, were being rapidly swept off by the swelling of the rivers in the rear; the provisions in camp were inadequate, and had added much to the mortification of the army. To know that, had they been able to cross the Skeniscal, they could have had water communication with Redout Kaleh, where boats were waiting with provisions ready to be sent up.

In the evening of the first day's march the army arrived at the fall of Kars. It cannot be said with any candour by the apologists of the sirdar that he begun his retreat because he knew his army was lost, although this has been attempted by some officers whose conduct in the expedition was heroic and useful. Omar was baffled by the rising of the Skeniscal, having by his delays on the march exposed himself to such a chance.

So impeded was the journey that the retreat was conducted at the rate of about a mile an hour; it was very difficult to bring off the artillery. The rascally pashas and beys were generally so far in advance of their men, that the soldiers were in a great measure left to themselves, and confusion necessarily ensued. Had the Russian cavalry shown what is generally called "pluck," they might have captured several of the battalions. The vigilance and bravery of Ballard's Rifles, who composed

guard were such as to leave the enemy no inclination to molest them. On arriving at the banks of Abasha the troops were ordered, Skender Pasha bearing the onus of the order. Soon after the halt he rode to the rear-guard, and asked for two companies of Rifles to reconnoitre under Mehemet Effendi, one of his aides-de-camp. Mehemet had not long disappeared with his companies when a sharp firing was heard, and four companies of Rifles were ordered to his support. Mehemet had been attacked by Georgian militia, numbering three times as many as his Rifles; he fell back firing; the Georgians behaved not cowardly, keeping up a distant and incessant fusillade, and retreating hastily when the troops arrived, but not before twelve of their number were slain. An Arab distinguished himself on this occasion, who was no less a personage than Bou-Maza, the lieutenant of el-Kader, the celebrated Arab chief. Bou-Maza had made his name familiar to men by his heroic achievements against the French in the neighbourhood of Algiers. He afterwards rendered his services to his padishaw, and obtained the rank of bey. He had just arrived, and joined the army of the sirdar, attended by a negro, who, like himself, was splendidly mounted upon an Arab charger; four beautiful Arabian greyhounds were also a part of his retinue. Bou-Maza and his negro galloped up to within a few yards of the Georgians, where calmly but rapidly loaded their long rifles, firing into the scattered ranks of the militia, who in vain concentrated their fire on them. It is probable that most of the Georgians who were hit received their wounds from these two adventurous Africans.

The next morning the passage of the Abasha was to be encountered; the difficulties were great, for the waters rolled in a rapid and mighty torrent. Scarcely had the rear-guard reached the banks, when the Cossack horsemen down to their encampment of the previous day; but they kept timidly out of rifle-range. The march from the banks of the Abasha was no more toilsome and painful than that of the previous day; the rain fell very fast; the horses dropped down dead; the men, haggard and care-looking, lagged in considerable numbers behind; hunger began to pinch the host, and in this plight they arrived in the afternoon at the banks of the Techoua. It was necessary, if possible, to effect the passage; the river was more flooded than when it was crossed so cleverly under the auspices of Skender Pasha in the advance. By dint of labour and perseverance, and profiting by their previous acquaintance with the fords, the opposite bank was reached, before night would have increased the danger, or deferred the enterprise. The encampment was more miserable

than tongue can describe; the Georgian militia hung upon the right flank, and one sentry was shot. The morning dawned upon a wretched-looking army as ever suffered the horrors of an ill-timed retreat. Omar Pasha was deeply dejected; the intrigue to which he had lent his great influence was now retributively telling upon himself; ague and rheumatism were preying upon all ranks of the army, and it seemed as if nothing short of a miracle could save them. They sadly answered the description given by the great poet:—

“ Desperate of their bones,  
Ill-favouredly become the morning field.  
Big Mars seems bankrupt in their beggared host,  
And faintly through a rusty beaver peeps.”

In fact, the army was fit for nothing but battle; like the English, the common Turkish soldiery, when they have confidence in their officers, will turn and meet an enemy with spirit, enthusiasm, and success, even in the most disastrous retreat, and when retreat itself seems beyond their strength. A divine anger kindles in their spirits when they believe their cause is just, and the enemy comes on even at the greatest advantage; they can snatch victory from a powerful foe in the hour of famine or most disastrous strategical retreat. At Sinakia the Circassian horse encountered the Georgian militia; a skirmish ensued, a man on each side fell, the Rifles entered the street of the village, and the militia ran away. Before they fled they captured a corporal, whom they murdered, and left his head before the door of one of the principal houses in the place.

The retreating army reached the banks of the Ziewie, where Omar had allowed them to amuse themselves for a fortnight, when the hill-sides were sunny and covered with wild flowers, which also dotted the plains, and caressed the limpid river as it glided by the banks which they adorned. How changed now!—the river was a torrent, and the flooded fields presented a wide-preed prospect of dreariness and desolation. During the night spent upon the Ziewie the Georgians and Cossacks moved stealthily upon the right flank of the army, and endeavoured to pick off the sentries—they had simply their trouble, and a long night's exposure to the inclement weather, as their reward; but as day dawned they were more successful—two sentries were shot within forty yards of the doctor's tents. The supplies at this period were rice and biscuit; there was plenty of water to drink, but nothing else. The irregular cavalry of the enemy closed up within range of the rear-guard, and skirmished, cutting off foragers, and constituting almost a pursuit. The commissary horses were nearly starved; half of them had perished already. A little bad tea, and a very little tobacco, con-

stituted the luxuries of the superior officers. Thus woe-worn and weary the army arrived at Choloni, where the sirdar resolved to take up his winter-quarters, for which he considered that the formation of the country and other circumstances offered advantages. He took up his own quarters on a hill beneath that on which was situated the monastery; from this point he had a commanding view, while so gentle was the eminence, and so well sheltered by a greater elevation, that he found some protection against the wintry winds. Sickness now prevailed extensively; the biting rheum, wasting ague, and fever, made serious inroads upon the health and the efficiency of the army; hardly a man but was reduced so much in strength that he was not fully competent for military duty, and might with propriety be classed as an invalid. Scarcely had the retreat terminated upon Choloni than the rain ceased, and the sun gleamed out fitfully but cheerfully. The army was encouraged by seeing the valley of the Rhion smiling in sunshine once again. The bands of the regiments were brought into requisition, and that of the sirdar, which was a good one (more than could be said for any connected with the regiments), turned out in front of head-quarters, and performed many pleasant pieces. The sun did not bestow constant favours at Choloni; these gleams of light and warmth were followed by a rapid fall of rain, and storm rattled upon the hill-top above the sirdar's quarters, lashed the Rhion, and swept the plain with its previous fierceness. The soldiers' tents became literally knee-deep in water, which, when the rain for any time intermitted, subsided into mud. In this state the camp continued during the rainy season.

On the 16th Mr. Longworth, the English civil commissioner, and Mr. Oliphant, left Choloni for Redout Kaleh. As they left the camp the first object that met their eye was a soldier who had sunk into a ditch with hunger, and was drowned. Others perished on that and the succeeding days from cold and famine, although supplies now began to reach the army tolerably fast. Death was busy in the hospitals; in fact, the whole encampment was an hospital. Along the road from Choloni to Chorga Mr. Longworth saw the draught-bullocks lying dead in numbers, and their drivers, from Bulgaria, emaciated, and ready to sink by the way-side. Horses also lay in numbers, dying or dead, and the soldiery engaged in the transport service were so wretched and ill that they would have bid death welcome. When Mr. Longworth and his companion arrived at Chorga they could obtain no refuge until they dispossessed some pigs of their shelter; and her Britannic majesty's commissioner in civil matters, attending the

Turkish army in Mingrelia, took up his abode with his companion in a sty. The next day these gentlemen went on horseback to Redout Kaleh; part of the road lay between the river and a morass, and here the Russians, thrown up earthworks to obstruct the advance of Omar Pasha, had he invaded Mingrelia, way of Redout Kaleh; these works could not have been stormed one after another, but could have been turned, unless a flotilla of gun-boats ascended the river. It is but justice to Omar to say that he had heard of these works before he determined on abandoning Redout Kaleh as a base of operation, and was partly influenced in doing so by this circumstance. Whether these obstructions, taken into connection with the disadvantages of the position of Redout Kaleh, were sufficient reasons for choosing Suchum Kaleh, and the so much more circuitous route from it, is an open question among military men; but Omar's delays in the route he did take admit of no apology.

On the 17th Colonel Simmons, the British military commissioner, left the camp and went out for Redout Kaleh, *en route* for England attended by his aide-de-camp, Captain McIntyre. Colonel Hinde soon followed him, ample, so did Colonel Caddell and others, and Colonel Ballard was the only British officer determined to weather the winter with his troops. He stayed with his brave Rifles, who had so well followed him in march, and survived the mishap, and battle.

While the troops remained at Choloni, an affair disgraceful to the Dadian family occurred at Sougdidi. One hundred and eighty Turkish invalids were left there. Prince Gregor, brother of the Princess Dadian, gathered Georgian and Imeritian militia together, and forced all the peasantry of the neighbourhood to take up arms, under the threat of burning their homesteads. He entered the town at night at the head of this incongruous body of assailants, and attacked the little garrison of sick men. Before any alarm reached the suspicious Turks, four of their number were killed to death, and thirty-two made prisoners in their sick-beds. The remainder fled to the square and assembling on the square before the palace of the princess, repelled the attack, charging their assailants with the bayonet, and drove them out of the square. The enemy retreated through the narrow streets; from their numbers they were so massed that the Turks were enabled to pour in upon them a deadly fire, killing sixty, among whom were eight beys: the wounded were twice as many, but most of them contrived to escape. The gallant liege Turks then barricaded the approaches to the square, and sent a peasant friendly to the English to Omar Pasha for relief, but offered bravely to defend the post to the last man.

goire, unable to dislodge the Turks, attacked a bey who had joined the invading army; the chieftain had many retainers, and armed men in a strong castle, where he fortified himself and defied the prince, but at the same time word to Omar that his situation was one of danger. Skender Pasha, ever on the alert for fighting, undertook the relief of the bey, of the little garrison at Sougdidi; taking with him a regiment of cavalry and a battalion of Ballard's Rifles, which the colonel accompanied, being, like Skender himself, always ready for a gallant adventure. The enemy was within a few miles of the camp, Skender, placing Ballard and his Rifles in ambush, advanced with his cavalry against the prince. The prince, despising so small a force, charged Skender, whose horsemen simultaneously, until they had decoyed the enemy into the ambush; a volley of rifle-balls smote the pursuers, 100 fell, and many horses; the prince fled panic-struck, and dispersed. Skender rode to Sougdidi, and arranged matters in accordance with his instructions.

The protection which had been previously afforded to the palace and property of the princess Dadian, who acted in Mingrelia as a regent for her son, was removed after the heroic attack of Prince Gregoire, which, alleged, her only other brother countenanced. The princess played a double game: she sent a lady of her suite to negotiate with the sirdar when he was a conqueror; she consented to the attack upon the invalid Turks when the sirdar had retreated, and the star of the prince was in the ascendant. Her brothers had never dared to arm the peasantry, and the Mingrelia militia without her permission, however they might as civil or military officers of the czar have felt themselves worthy to lead Georgian militia or regular troops. Accordingly, the sirdar withdrew his artillery, and the furniture, pictures, and valuables of the princess were carried off, and, it is alleged, appropriated to Omar for his own use. However this may be, the Russian negotiators at the close of the war, claiming many other impudent things done by the sirdar, claimed compensation for the injury inflicted on the property of this princess, alleging that the sirdar upon the advance of his army despoiled the princess of her valuable property.

The Russians found various anonymous letters in England to take their side on this every other question. Perhaps the most potent living witness upon the subject is Captain M'Intyre, and his statement of the matter is as follows:—"I believe that, with one other exception, I am the only English officer now in the country who was present at the occupation of Sougdidi, and I myself was in posting the guards to protect the

property of the princess. Subsequent to the greatly-to-be-lamented death of Captain Dymock, at the passage of the Ingour, I had the honour of serving till the close of the campaign as aide-de-camp to her majesty's commissioner, Colonel Simmons, I had, consequently, an opportunity of hearing the orders of his highness Omar Pasha (for in the Turkish army orders are not usually given in writing), and seeing how those orders were carried out. I will not trespass further on your space than by saying that the conduct of the Turkish army was most exemplary, even during their retreat; and it is a well-known fact that a retreat is much more trying to discipline than an advance. The Russians stated that the damage and removal took place during the advance of the Turkish army, and therefore claimed compensation. Such was not the case. I myself am a witness of the strictness with which the palace grounds and whole town of Sougdidi were guarded, and soldiers were even punished for helping themselves to the tempting fruit in the deserted orchards close to their camp. Guards were left by Omar Pasha for the protection of the princess's property from her plundering neighbours, the Abkhassians; and this protection was given till her own relatives led a treacherous and murderous night attack on the small detachment left for that purpose: This conduct on their part justified any amount of retaliation. The right or wrong of the question depends entirely on dates. What would have been wrong and quite contrary to the wishes and orders of his highness Omar Pasha previous to the above-named outrage was perfectly justifiable, if not even necessary, as a lesson to those who had proved themselves incapable of appreciating the kind protection afforded them and their property."

Colonel Caddell, who, as before shown, commanded Omar Pasha's artillery, confirmed the representations made by Captain M'Intyre. Whoever may be right as to the time when the princess was deprived of her paintings and works of *virtu*, and whoever became the possessor, there can be no doubt that the palace was utterly sacked some time after the advance, and that the double-dealing of the princess merited from the sirdar a severe chastisement.

Skender Pasha repeatedly proposed to his commander, while at winter-quarters, the desirableness of harassing the enemy by cavalry expeditions, and he urged upon the general the policy of permitting him to carry out the following plan: that he should take the whole of the cavalry, each man to carry seven days' provisions and no tents, and if any of his men were wounded, they should be left where they fell; no prisoners were to be taken—which looks very like a proposal to give no quarter. Neither this nor any other of the many pro-

posals of Skender for active operations against the enemy was sanctioned by the sirdar. It was in vain that the restless Pole showed that the enemy might be annoyed and harassed greatly, and made to suffer much loss by a judicious employment of the cavalry force, supported occasionally by light infantry and light field-guns. At last, the camp itself was threatened by the Russian cavalry and native militia, and it was necessary for Omar to request the aid of the active and daring Pole. Accordingly, on the morning of the 23rd of December, Skender issued forth to reconnoitre, and he seldom reconnoitred without meeting with the enemy, attacking him, and crossing swords with some of his horsemen. On this occasion he found four battalions of militia and a number of mountain guns, posted so as to command the rear of the Turkish army. They occupied a village, and the country on either side was thickly wooded. Skender, having found that he could not efficiently operate with his cavalry, and although by no means as cautious as he was brave, sent for reinforcements of infantry; they arrived—a skirmishing fire of Minié musketry was opened upon the militia, who found it more hot than agreeable, and prepared to retire, drawing off their guns. Just at this juncture Skender ordered a bayonet charge; a flock of geese appearing on the scene, the hungry Turks charged them instead, and Skender was left to dash in alone, sword in hand, among the enemy, and cut his way out as he best could. His soldiers were equally successful; they secured large numbers of the geese. Skender was liberal of blows and curses for this offence; but the gallant Ottoman Rifles despised the militia, and thought them likely to run away without a charge, which the geese were not so inclined to do, whose capture at the same time was in their opinion more important than that of a whole army of militia. The Rifles were greatly astonished that the intrepid Skender did not see things from the same practical point of view as themselves. However, they had no objection to charge the militia also, and lowered bayonets for that purpose, some of them having geese dangling from their firelocks, while many had tied them to their belts. Amidst the cackle of such geese as had not expired, and the laughter of their victors, the charge upon the militia began. The militia, to do them justice, retired in order, and the Rifles were commanded to pour in a close volley; but hunger and contempt for their enemies again interfered with duty, for the militia had a large flock of sheep quietly feeding by the village, no doubt driven there by the people for security,—the Turks directed the volley at the sheep, and with loud cheers rushed upon the flock. The Turks were right—the sheep were killed and carried away,

or driven into camp; the volley that slaughtered the sheep frightened the militia, who fled in all directions, and the soldiers set fire to the village, to save any further trouble in the way of dislodging the garrison. Skender was very severe, but the Rifles returned, boasting of their achievement; they had conquered geese and sheep, while the militia were driven away without the trouble of shooting many of their little stronghold also was reduced to ashes. Skender, who was very serious in everything, especially in the matter of fighting, was amazed to find that his complaints only excited the amusement of the victors, and that the Rifles told the story themselves without compunction, or incurring any disapprobation; they understood the quality of their adventures, and acted accordingly.

December closed in great severity; the snow gave place to snow; the cold earth was the resting-place of the poor Turks, except when they collected the wet leaves (not yet decomposed) to make of them miserable beds. However, were the sufferings of this army, which were more increased as the new year opened with severity of weather intensified by frost. Omar did his best with his means to shelter, feed, and tend his brave Turks, but his supplies were miserably defective, for which the authorities at Constantinople were responsible.

Early in January the sirdar moved his headquarters to the neighbourhood of Redout Kiosk, which, after all the objections previously made to it, became his place of support.

Tidings having arrived that there was a road between Sougdidi and Kutais, which was in excellent condition, and lay through for which had concealed it from the army in advance, Skender Pasha was sent with his cavalry and several battalions of infantry to reconnoitre. Notwithstanding the intense cold and the snow, Skender pushed his way. Sougdidi, reconnoitred the surrounding country, punished partisans, fell upon unsuspecting militia, burnt their houses, and returned in triumph.

Nothing more was accomplished worthy of record. The unfortunate expedition failed in producing any general effect, except to reveal more fully the corruption and intrigue at Constantinople, and the dangers of a divided command in allied armies. It had some personal consequences that were important, for it closed more thoroughly to western Europe the character of Omar Pasha, both as a man and a general, and vindicated the military general while it indirectly exalted the personal character, of Sir William Williams. Omar promised himself to be a general—such as a gentleman who served with him both on the Danube and in Mingrelia described him in conversation with the author—"capable of laying down

cellent plan of campaign, but of indifferent capacity for working it out." On the Danube was seconded by officers, Turkish and British, of great talent, especially by General Gordon (Behram Pasha), a memoir of whom appears on another page. Omar had the fortune to regard all competitors for military glory with jealousy. If a lieutenant of his own served him well, executing the plans of the commander-in-chief with more ability than the commander himself could have carried out, Omar never rested (if he had the power) until that officer was got rid of from the army. In this manner his irrepressible energy operated to the disadvantage of his command. Nor did he regard the exigencies of the sultan's service, in his efforts to get away from his armies all whom he supposed might earn a rival's share in the glory of their achievements. Sir William Williams was indeed to be the victim of this irrepressible energy, therefore Omar never marched upon Kars, and therefore Kmetz found it his interest, apart from the desire to please the British English ambassador, to run down all talented Englishmen who served in Kars. His evidence defeated alike the envious obstructions of the Turkish generalissimo and the British plenipotentiary, for only by famine could the heroes of Kars subdued, and that might have been averted if the English ambassador had done his duty, or the clique of advisers, whom Omar and his powerful friends protected, had not intrigued to bring it about; but at the fall of Kars and the captivity of the British officers enhanced their glory—that became all their own which Omar and Selim and their treacherous confraternity might have shared. Had Omar "operated manfully in the direction" when he landed on the eastern shores of the Black Sea, Russia would have agreed upon negotiations for peace under far more favourable circumstances than ultimately the case; she would have found herself deprived of territory in Asia as well as Europe at the juncture of negotiations. Other terms might have been wrung from her more favourable to the future. We should have seen Asia settled for years, probably for ages—perhaps for ever. As matters were left, we believe it will yet be necessary that the Sepoy and the Cossack meet in the deadly rivalry of England and Russia for oriental influence. We fully believe this, notwithstanding the argu-

ments of learned and the sneers of witty men, who know the difficulties of the regions to be traversed by the armies of the rivals. Before the recent war broke out, the author of this History ventured to predict to an eminent minister of the czar, that before long the two empires would be engaged in conflict. The minister laughingly and half-angrily replied, "But where will their forces meet?" Our opinion then was that they would meet on both the European and Asiatic confines of Turkey; and whether or not they again meet in conflict upon the same theatres of action, they are surely destined to fierce and protracted warfare in another direction. By way of Persia and Central Asia events will bring the forces of the two empires nearer and nearer, until the moment arrives for the collision which will shake the Eastern world. All the "impossibilities" that have been urged have received from us a careful consideration; and we stand not alone in the above opinion, but are supported by men of experience and intellectual power. Nor will the day be very distant; new material agencies will be brought into play by both empires, which will hasten the hour of concussion beyond all present calculations; still, as a distinguished English statesman remarked when addressing a Russian ambassador who suggested the possibility of what is here assumed as certain, "Whenever it occurs I have no fear for the result." Among the agencies which Providence uses to upheave the stagnant mind of nations, and force them into circumstances compelling mental activity, is the rivalry of great empires. That the oriental world will be permitted to sleep on as it does, for ever, we do not believe; and that the jealous efforts of those two vast, powerful, and ambitious empires are intended to bring rapid civilisation and advancement through all Asia, from Peking to Teheran, from Teheran to the Caspian and the Caucasus, there are many indications which thinking and observing men can hardly overlook. That the time should soon come, all must desire, even although the preliminaries of a peaceful civilisation should be made by the dread accessories of war. However it may please God to bring it about, or permit the policy of European governments to promote it, it becomes all dutifully and hopefully to say,—

"Haste, happy day, which we so long to see,  
When every son of Adam shall be free."

## CHAPTER CIX.

FINAL OPERATIONS IN THE BALTIC.—GREAT DESTRUCTION OF RUSSIAN PROPERTY, AND CAPTURE OF RUSSIAN SHIPS.—RETURN HOME OF THE FLEET.

"Home! there's a storm in the whistling blast,  
Home! the sun is sinking fast;  
The wild bird is rocking in his nest;  
Sinks on the moss the deer to rest.  
Now for the fireside's cheerful blaze,  
Songs of mirth, and tales of days,

Home, home!"—SIR HENRY R. BISHOP.

THE bombardment of Sweaborg, the history of which was given in a previous chapter, was the great feat of the naval campaign in the Baltic of 1855; yet it is possible that more injury was inflicted upon the enemy by the destruction of ships, boats, stores, and houses in the desultory operations of the fleet. During the latter part of July, and the beginning of August, Captain Otter of the *Firefly* was very useful in the Gulf of Bothnia. He hovered about Brandon, the seaport of Wasa, doing mischief to the enemy's property wherever opportunity was presented. The reader will see a good engraving of the *Firefly* struck by infernal machines among our illustrations. On the 1st of August Captain Otter destroyed the telegraph, while being used for making signals. He then captured the *Fides*, off Wasklött, laden with 228 barrels of tar. The vessel was a fine barque of 300 tons burthen.

The port of Brandon was much used for ship-building; and on an island, separated from the mainland by a very narrow channel, there were barracks, a custom-house, and extensive magazines. Captain Otter manned his boats, and sent them to the island, under the command of Lieutenant Ward. He found some of the magazines empty, but they were generally filled with naval stores—such as salt fish, biscuit, pitch, tar, resin, coal, spars, masts, anchors, cordage, sails, cables, boats, hawsers, hemp, tow, and a vast quantity of deal planks for ship purposes. While Lieutenant Ward was taking possession of these stores a deputation from the inhabitants of the town arrived upon the island, requesting that the town and all private property might be spared. They were informed that certain naval appliances, especially sails, must be surrendered, and they at once communicated with Mr. Wolf, a merchant of Wasa, whose property they were alleged to be. That gentleman refused to make any surrender, preferring to risk the destruction of the town, and many of the inhabitants, to foregoing his own claims for compensation upon the Russian government in case the property was destroyed. Captain Otter determined to fire the magazines; but as they were of very combustible material, and the wind blew on shore, the citizens apprehended a conflagration of the town, and begged delay

until a change of wind would afford them security against such a catastrophe. The captain consented, and the citizens were grateful for his humanity. The captain also permitted them to remove all their property from the island, unless such as the government might use for military or naval purposes. On the 3rd of August, Lieutenant Burstall captured a schooner, and reported the discovery of two brigs and two barques in a creek less than five miles off. The captured schooner was brought to close in, and sailors were employed to board her with tar, spars, and planking. In the evening a fire of musketry was opened from the shore upon the sailors at work upon the island, upon the schooner, and upon the *Firefly*. The time conceded by Captain Otter had been employed in sending for some militia in the neighbourhood, and preparing for an attack. Thus all acts of clemency were paid by treachery—the Russians, like the Asiatics, never kept a compact longer than suited their convenience, and never understood the clemency of an enemy, regarding it only as a proof of weakness of resources, or irresolution of mind. The Finns were faithful and grateful, but the authorities were Russian, and acted as Russians always did throughout the war—perfidiously. The *Firefly* replied to the musketry of the town by shot and shell, which swept down houses, destroying combatants and non-combatants together. Of this circumstance the government of St. Petersburg afterwards made use, in order to represent the English as making barbarous war, suppressing the fact that the guns of the *Firefly* replied to the musketry of the town, and that a compact had been made with the inhabitants of mutual abstinence from all hostility, excepting the destruction of the stores. For two hours musketade was kept up from the town, although it must have been obvious to the authorities that its only result could be the loss of a few Englishmen, while a retaliation, terrible and effective would be provoked. A man and a boy were wounded on board the *Firefly* by spent balls, twenty-five of the inhabitants or militia engaged were killed, and nearly as many wounded. During the night the Russians in the town were reinforced by a strong body of riflemen, and batteries were

Next day one of these batteries of guns was silenced, and the magazines and fired. This was done under showers of balls, and shot and shell from a battery busily masked by trees. For more minute details of the occurrence the reader is referred to Captain Otter's report. The whole action exemplified the necessity of discretion in all operations against the Russians, of entering into no negotiations involving, however dictated by humane considerations. Captain Otter should have proceeded at once to the destruction of all the stores on the island, and have effected it by his landing-party, before the enemy could place additional guns or send for troops. The simple circumstance of Wolf, the merchant, having refused to give up the sails, should have awakened suspicion of the captain; for whatever his interests might be, that person would surely have set them against the lives and property of a whole community; it might have been supposed, by a less sagacious commander, that the refusal indicated the expectation of a success. Had the inhabitants not sought delay for the ulterior purpose ultimately evinced, they would not have waited to consult Mr. Wolf, but have surrendered his property, and indemnified him either as a community or through the government. Whatever talent our officers in the late campaigns, both of 1854-5, may have possessed, the faculty of being easily imposed upon, and induced to adopt dilatory measures, was very conspicuous. A list of the captures effected by Captain Otter will be found appended to his report.

The despatch of Admiral Dundas concerning the exploits was dated off Nargen, on the 1st of August, on board the *Duke of Wellington*, and does justice to the ability and zeal of Captain Otter and the other officers concerned:—

I have the honour to transmit, for the consideration of the lords commissioners of the Treasury, a letter from Captain Warden, of her majesty's ship *Ajax*, enclosing a report of the proceedings of Captain Henry C. Warden, in her majesty's ship *Firefly*, before the seaport of Wasa, in the Gulf of Bothnia, which are highly creditable to that officer, and to the officers and crew under his command; and I beg leave to recommend to your favourable notice of their lordships the conduct of Lieutenants Edward Burstall and John Ward, as well as that of Mr. John A. Salter, second master, and Mr. James W. Salter, purser, on the occasion."

The following is Captain Warden's report to the Admiralty, from on board the *Ajax*, in Fogle Bay, August 22:—

"I have the honour to lay before you the accompanying report of Captain Otter, of the *Firefly*, of his proceedings between the 27th of July and the 11th inst., at Brandon, in the neighbourhood of Wasa, while temporarily occupying that part of the station, together with a list of vessels taken and property and vessels otherwise destroyed; and I desire to draw your favourable notice to this report, as it bears witness to the zeal and energy of Captain Otter in the performance of this service."

On the 11th of August Captain Otter made his very luminous report to his senior, Captain Warden, off Korsoren Beacon:—

"I beg to acquaint you that after leaving Fogle Fiord, on the 27th ult., I communicated with her majesty's ship *Harrier*, and his imperial majesty's corvette *D'Assas*, on their stations, and on the evening of the 31st dispatched her majesty's ship *Driver* to you from Noorskas Light. At 10 a.m., on the 1st of August, I anchored her majesty's ship *Firefly* half a mile outside of Korsoren Beacon, and with the two paddlebox-boats and the gig, accompanied by Lieutenant Ward and Mr. Bull, pushed on to the south-east; on our way we got information of a large bark at anchor to the eastward of Wasklöt, and also that there was a military force in the neighbourhood. On arriving within two miles from Brandon a telegraph was observed on a small island in Korsoren Fiord, signalling with three large balls, and on pulling in towards it two men in a boat pushed off from the land with a flag of truce; fortunately I did not fire, for the flag was so large I mistook it for the boat's mainsail, and concluded they were trying to escape. This very improper opportunity of using a flag of truce could not be recognised, and I ordered the telegraph to be cut down, but released the men and their boat. No time was now to be lost, as the signal had been answered from the main; I therefore pushed on with all expedition, and on rounding the east point of Wasklöt observed the object of our search in the mud, which, with little difficulty was got off, and towed out of range of any guns that could be brought to bear. The prize proved to be the *Fides*, of 300 tons, with from 200 to 300 casks of tar on board. At midnight two Russian deserters came on board, and stated that the troops had moved off to Wasa on seeing the boats approaching, thinking an attack was contemplated on that place. At 8.30 a.m., on the 2nd of August I returned to the *Firefly*, and immediately got under weigh for Korsoren Fiord, but the navigation was so difficult that it was not until 5.30 p.m. I came alongside the prize. At 8.30 p.m. I weighed and proceeded towards Brandon, the sea-port of Wasa, and a great ship-building place; it had immense magazines

on an island, separated by a very narrow deep-water channel from the town, with a custom-house and barracks. At midnight I anchored within 400 yards of the town, and sprang the broadside to enfilade the channel and protect the boats which were sent under Lieutenant Ward to examine the magazines. Some of them were opened, and found to be empty; others contained coal, tar, resin, salt, spars, anchors and cables, boats, salt fish, hawsers, and numerous piles of 3-inch deals, but no sails or rigging, as we were led to expect. On a few of the principal inhabitants joining us on the island they were told that the sails of the bark must be given up, and they immediately sent to Wasa to Mr. Wolf, a wealthy merchant and shipowner, but he refused. I therefore determined to burn the magazines; but, as the wind was blowing directly on the town, I agreed to wait a reasonable time until a change took place, and gave the inhabitants notice that they were at liberty to remove anything from the island that belonged to them, except ship's stores. For this forbearance they expressed themselves very grateful. Towards the afternoon Lieutenant Burstal brought in a schooner, and reported having discovered two fine barks and two brigs in a creek a mile and a half distant. As the wind was still on the shore, and the destruction of the town inevitable had the magazines been fired, I directed the schooner to be hauled close into the island, and a working-party to put some casks of tar and deals into her. Everything had the appearance of security; ladies were walking about the beach, parties of pleasure sailing round the ship, and the people employed taking their property from the island. At 8 p.m. I landed to communicate with the first lieutenant, and had just visited the sentry placed on a building platform when a heavy fire of musketry from different parts of the town was opened upon the working-party and the ship, and was immediately replied to by the latter with shot and shell, which appear to have done great execution. The deck of the schooner was so enfiladed that it was impossible to get on board for the arms, and, had it been practicable to do so, not a man could be seen from her to fire at. Providentially, all escaped on board uninjured, and Mr. Bull having returned in the paddle-box-boats, with a fine bark in tow, a fire from the four guns and rifles was kept up so hotly that in about an hour and a half the fusillade from the shore nearly ceased. At midnight I moved the ship into a better position for sinking the schooner, and the bows being nearly driven in by the shot, I proceeded to the destruction of the bark and two brigs before the enemy could rescue them. This was successfully performed with the assistance of the second master, Mr. Bull and Mr. Salter, gunner. It was

ascertained afterwards, from two different sources, that the enemy had twenty-five killed and from four to eighteen wounded; the island appears to have been inflicted chiefly by the first three shots, while the troops were drawn up abreast of the ship. On our side I am thankful to report that no more serious casualties occurred than a man and a boy struck with spent balls. During the 6th and 7th the weather was so wet and boisterous that it was impossible to act against the enemy, but I ascertained during the night that the reinforcements had arrived to the amount of 300 sharp-shooters and Cossacks, with several guns. On the morning of the 8th, the weather being moderate, I took up a position 1500 yards from the magazine, and the same distance from a battery of four guns, and opened fire on the latter, which, not being returned, I commenced firing red-hot shot at the magazine. At 2.30 p.m. smoke began to issue from the houses, and Lieutenant Ward, having volunteered to try and cut out the schooner, put in with the paddle-box-boat, and with gallantry drove the soldiers three times into the woods, but ultimately was obliged to retire before an overwhelming force secreted in the custom-house; the boat was struck in several places, but I am thankful to say not a man was hurt. At 8 p.m., the principal magazine being all in a blaze, and their destruction inevitable, I closed the battery to 1000 yards, but still receiving no return (though both boats and soldiers could be seen), and the ammunition being nearly expended, I was backing when suddenly several heavy guns, from an elevated position masked by trees, opened chiefly with shells, and at the same time the whole force of riflemen—and the power of their weapons may be imagined when I mention a ball cut through a spar on the bridge, 1½ inches thick, at a distance of 1500 yards—is with the greatest pleasure I have to speak of the coolness of the officers and men at this trying juncture; the narrowness of the channel and shoalness of the water (at the most 10 fathoms) rendered it injudicious to attempt firing the *Firefly* round, and she was slowly backed to 1½ mile before she was out of range. The evolution which, from the lightness of the vessel, was not performed under forty minutes. I do not conclude without mentioning how much I am indebted to the first lieutenant, Mr. Edw. Burstal, who so materially assisted in inflicting this serious blow on the enemy's property.

The following is a list of vessels and property belonging to the enemy taken or destroyed by her majesty's ship *Firefly*, from the 1st to the 11th of August, 1855:—

“The *Fides*, bark, 300 tons; cargo, 100 barrels of tar; cut out of Wasklöt, near I

The *Precioso*, bark, 420 tons; cargo, cut out of Wasklöt, near Brandon. A 300 tons; cargo, none; burnt in a creek Brandon; pierced for twenty guns; not finished. A brig, 230 (?) tons; cargo, burnt as above. A schooner 230 (?) cargo, none; burnt as above. A flat, ns; cargo, firewood. A boat, 10 tons; salt. A sloop, 20 tons; cargo, 8 tons of and 5 bales of cotton. The Island Smölar near Brandon, having 50 to 60 magazines, mining coals, tar, resin, salt, spars, boats,

the 8th of August there were several enterprises conducted subsidiary to the operations before Sweaborg. The following lists of officers to the rear-admiral will amply explain. They are both written by Captain Wellesley, of the *Cornwallis*, on board that ship off Stora Miolo. The first is August 9th:—

I have the honour to acquaint you that, in compliance with your memorandum of the instant, on observing the mortar-vessels firing this morning, I immediately weighed in majesty's ship under my command, in company with the *Hastings* and *Amphion*, and proceeded to attack the forts at the south-east of Sandhamn. Our attack was more particularly directed against the battery on the eastern entrance, and another on Storbut, on arriving within long range, a general fire was opened from the whole of the batteries on the south side of Sandhamn. A brisk and extremely well-directed fire kept up from the ships, which did considerable damage to one of the batteries on Sandhamn, and one or two of the guns were rendered for a short period, but no permanent damage was produced. At 10.50, therefore, concluding that the object contemplated in your memorandum had been attained, I made signal to continue the engagement, and anchored the ships in the positions they left this morning. I deem it my duty to represent to you the effective co-operation I received from Captain Caffin and Key, as well as the steadiness and activity of the officers and crews of the engaged. I beg to enclose a list of names."

The second of these "reports" was dated 10th:—

I have the honour to inform you that, in compliance with your order of the 8th, I dispatched last night after dark, in the direction of Lieutenant Tatttnall, of the *Cornwallis*, the barges and pinnaces of the ship, the *Hastings*, and the *Amphion*, armed with rockets, to endeavour with all possible, to set fire to a frigate moored

head and stern in Kung's Sound. Moored as she was down under the land, with only her lower masts in, she was quite invisible; but the boats maintained a very well-directed fire in her direction, which, although not effecting the object of setting her on fire, drew the attention of the enemy, whose batteries, as well as the frigate, opened fire on the boats, without, I am happy to say, any casualty to them. I regret, however, to add that in the pinnace of the *Hastings* two men were wounded—one severely—by a rocket bursting in the tube. I beg to inclose a list of the officers employed on this occasion, and to express to you how much pleased I was with the manner in which Lieutenant Tatttnall carried out my orders, and with the zeal and activity of the other officers and men employed."

Captain Wellesley represented, in a postscript to his report, that the bursting of the rocket was occasioned by its inferior construction—another instance of the way in which our men were sacrificed by the peculation or incompetency of the officers at home.

At Björneborg, in the Gulf of Bothnia, a very daring feat was accomplished in the middle of August, by the *Cuckoo*, *Harrier*, *Tartar*, and the French steamer *D'Assas*. Björneborg is situated upon an arm of the sea twenty miles inland. It was well protected by earthworks and about 2000 troops. The boats of the little squadron had to pass certain shallows under fire of the batteries; this was effected, and they neared the town. The burgomaster rowed out to meet them, and offered to deliver up the shipping if the town were spared. This condition was acceded to, with the proviso that a certain steamer, of the existence of which there was information, should also be given up. The burgomaster affected not to know anything of such a steamer; but, finding the allies inexorable in their demand, admitted that it was up beyond the town, and he pledged his honour that if they retired without inflicting damage on the place, the steamer should be speedily sent after them. This was also agreed to; the boats' crews then boarded seventeen craft of various sizes, and, after removing from them a few useful articles, they were burned. Soon after the allies retired, the steamer followed; she was a beautiful vessel of 130 tons burden; she was delivered over to the allies, who retained her. In this way damage was done to the enemy along all his coasts upon the Baltic, to such an extent as would take many years of industry to repair.

The following notice of the return home of the *Cuckoo*, and her services, and those of the *Harrier*, appeared in a Portsmouth paper at the latter end of the following November:—"The *Cuckoo* gun-boat, Lieutenant-commander

Augustus G. E. Murray, arrived at Sheerness from the Baltic at 1 p.m. on Friday. She put into Hull in consequence of meeting with heavy gales from the south-west, and being in want of coals. She left at Elsinore on the 1st instant, the day of her departure, the *Basilisk*, 6, paddlewheel steam-sloop, commander Robert Jenner. During a gale of wind, when the *Cuckoo* was in the Gulf of Bothnia, she lost all her anchors and cables a few days previous to her leaving for England. She succeeded in procuring a steam anchor and chain cable from the *Pembroke*, 60, screw steamship, Captain George H. Seymour. Commander Murray reports that the winter season had set in very severely, and quite three weeks sooner than it did last season. The *Cuckoo* has taken and destroyed twenty-seven sail of merchant vessels and transports of the enemy, each vessel averaging 200 tons. These vessels were destroyed in consequence of there not being a sufficient number of seamen or officers to put on board to send them to England. The *Harrier*, 17, screw steam-sloop, Commander A. Storey, has taken and destroyed a still greater number of the enemy's vessels of a similar class. The machinery and hull of the *Cuckoo* are reported to be in a very defective state from continual service for the last seven months, she having run over more than 30,000 nautical miles. She is to be taken into dry dock No. 5 for survey and repairs. She was the first vessel fitted as a gun-boat on the breaking out of the war."

Up to the middle of August Admiral Baynes blockaded Cronstadt, while Admiral Seymour cruised in the Gulf of Bothnia. After that date Seymour was relieved by Baynes, who continued to harass the enemy while the weather permitted. These two officers, during their commands in that gulf, destroyed 80,000 tons of the enemy's shipping. When Admiral Baynes left Cronstadt the large vessels were removed from the blockade, in consequence of the uncertainty of the weather. The *Royal George*, *Orion*, *James Watt*, *Colossus*, *Cæsar*, *Cressy*, *Majestic*, *Hogue*, *Blenheim*, *Nile*, *Centaur*, *Impérieuse*, removed to a safer anchorage off the island of Leskar, lower down the gulf. A light squadron remained in front of Cronstadt to watch it. The Russians were somewhat emboldened by the departure of the ships of deep draught, and sent out their gun-boats, in the hope of enticing the allies to follow them into shallow water or within range of the batteries; shots were constantly exchanged, but at too great a distance for mutual injury. The enemy were enabled to send out their light craft with impunity, as the fleet of gun-boats were, except in a few cases, no longer serviceable. Their construction was defective, and the severe test to which they had been

subjected during the bombardment of Sweaborg had exhausted their efficiency. During the month many telegraphs were destroyed along the coasts, rendering rapid communication between the capital and the seaboard of provinces more difficult.

After the bombardment of Sweaborg, Denmark and Peneda established their head-quarters at Nargen, where they continued during the remainder of the campaign.

In September very little was effected, the weather became increasingly menacing, thunder-storms were frequent, and the cold night became intense. All the ships were moved from before Cronstadt, except the *Colossus* and *Impérieuse*.

The *Nile* and the *Bulldog*, under the command of Captains Mundy and Gordon, covered seventeen schooners, in a creek at Biörkö Sound, which they sunk, while a fire was directed upon them from the shore. Off the island of Oesel, Captain Gordon's ship or sunk, in one day, twenty-one small coast craft, which were employed in bringing cargoes of salt from Sweden; the prisoners were liberated; their account of the sufferings to which the activity of the fleet, and the closeness of the blockade, had inflicted upon the people of the coasts was heart-touching, and this was the more to be regretted as the Finns were friendly to Great Britain. During the latter part of September the block-ships returned home. On the 20th, an unfortunate accident happened to the *Hastings*, 60, screw-ship, which got on shore at the mouth of the Gulf of Finland. This arose from the force of the currents not having been accurately calculated, but no blame was incurred by the officers. On the 8th of October the gun-boats were ordered home. Between the 13th and 18th, a reconnaissance was made in the Gulf of Peneda during which several more barques were destroyed, and a fire opened upon the batteries of Gamla Karleby, by which some little loss of men and material injury were visited upon the enemy. Admiral Dundas visited Bomarsund and directed the ruins to be dug up, in order to bring away certain guns which it was believed the Russians had buried there; few of them were of any service; one was "a mortar," but no longer available for war. The *Eden* transport was sent home with 83 brass guns dug out of these ruins.

From information received by Captain Mundy of the *Blenheim*, he was led to suspect that when the enemy blew up (in 1854) the Hango forts off Hango Head, certain valuable guns were cast into the sea. Making an experiment, he discovered that such was the case, and he succeeded in recovering twenty; some of these weighed seventy cwt. They were coated with paint to pre-

so that, upon the retirement of the allies, might be taken up. The general state of in October was indicated accurately in following letter from a resident at Kiel:—have at this moment in port no ship of the allied fleets. The 60-gun ship was the last we saw on her return to land. The French frigate *Perseverance*, we expected here with 400 prisoners to land at Libau, proceeded directly by the to Elsinore, without calling at Kiel. The weather this year greatly favours the long stay of the fleet in the Gulf of Finland. In 1854, at this period, the squadron commanded by Admiral Napier was compelled to leave the gulf, in order to avoid the strong winds which prevail there in September and October, and consequently render its navigation dangerous. The allies have not had this opportunity to deplore the loss of a single vessel, and is every reason to hope that before the autumn the fleet will have retired without incurring any casualty. A few vessels laden with coal, and coming from England, entered the gulf some days ago. There exists here no want of provisions for the fleet, which is regularly supplied with them from Elsinore. Coal lately forwarded from England is for the use of the ships on their return from the

beginning of this month Cronstadt, and other important positions of the enemy, were reconquered by Admiral Dundas and his officers. Seven-four ships of war were counted at Cronstadt, which would have sallied out had the blockade been withdrawn or relaxed. The autumn opened coldly and boisterously, but the weather was finer than it usually is on these waters. Snow-storms were very frequent, and compelled the admirals to make new arrangements for the location of the ships. Many vessels laden with goods remained in German ports, ready to start on a voyage to the ports of the enemy when the blockade should retire. The plans of the allies were so laid that many of these ships were captured when their commanders supposed there was no enemy to apprehend. Admirals Seymour, and Penaud prepared to break through the blockade with unremitting vigour to the latest moment the weather allowed. He chose Faro Sound and Elfsund in the waters of Sweden, as his chief anchorage, because of the comparative security and shelter afforded. His squadron was well adapted to its work, being composed of excellent frigates and light draught.

A letter from Nargen, dated the 10th, describes the state of affairs as the month advanced.—“Since my letter of the 6th the weather has been most beautiful, and still

promises to be fine. No movement has been made towards leaving this anchorage, but I think it most likely that the commander-in-chief, with a part of the fleet, will start for Kiel this evening or to-morrow morning. Admiral Baynes will remain behind, with twenty-three frigates and small vessels to continue the blockade up to the last moment. Early on Thursday morning, the *Euryalus* and *Magicienne* went on a trip of observation up the gulf as far as Hogland, and returned on Friday without meeting or seeing a single boat’s-sail, so completely are the waters forsaken. The *Falcon* has arrived from the Gulf of Bothnia, and the *Driver* has been sent to supply the ships cruising near Hango with fresh provisions. The *Locust* leaves to-day for Dantzic, whence she will carry next week’s mail to Kiel.”

After the date of the letter just quoted the fleets began to return, and made Kiel their rendezvous. A letter written from that place on the 15th describes the bustle in the harbour, and the increasing number of the returning ships:—“The *Duke of Wellington*, bearing the flag of the commander-in-chief of the Baltic fleet, arrived here at 5 P.M., yesterday, and saluted the Danish flag this morning at nine o’clock with twenty-one guns, which was returned. She left Nargen on Sunday morning at eight, in company with the *Majestic* and *Firefly*, leaving behind her Admiral Baynes and his squadron, and the French ships *Tourville* and *Duquesne*. This morning the *Firefly* made her appearance, and at noon the *Majestic* steamed into the harbour, followed at 1 P.M. by the *Tourville*, carrying the flag of Admiral Penaud, and the *Duquesne*. It is reported that the *Royal George* will sail for England this evening, but at this time (2 P.M.) she has made no movement.”

The admirals were, however, checked in their homeward career by telegraphs from their governments. A letter from Hamburgh to the *Independence Belge*, written on the 22nd, thus accounts for the delay:—“All the English and French ships of war which have arrived at Kiel from the Baltic were still lying at that port on the 22nd ult. The two admirals, it appears, have been instructed to remain at that anchorage by their respective governments until further orders, in consequence, it is generally believed, of a negotiation still pending between the Western powers and the two northern courts to obtain leave for a considerable portion of the allied squadron to winter in one of the neutral ports of the Baltic. Should the cold, however, continue as rigorous as it is at present in the north, the navigation must soon be interrupted in the narrow arms of the sea which the fleets have to traverse before entering the North Sea, large masses of

ice floating already in the Belt. The naval force stationed at Kiel mounts nearly a thousand guns, and has still on board an immense quantity of war material, projectiles, and Congreve rockets, which were not used during the last campaign. The fleet is supplied with provisions by contractors residing at Kiel, who daily furnish 10,568 rations. This will give an idea of the number of sailors and marines on board the squadron."

Before the close of November, however, the chief admirals left Kiel for England and France. Admiral Baynés remained until near Christmas; but as he could not cruise in frozen seas, his squadron also returned. Thus ended the Baltic expedition of 1855. It did not give satisfaction to the country, and yet it was felt most keenly by the enemy. One of his principal strongholds and naval depots had been subjected to a terrible conflagration, while many of his sailors and troops were slain and wounded in its defence. A vast tonnage of mercantile shipping had been destroyed, and naval stores, the full value of which can hardly be estimated. Loss and humiliation had been inflicted upon Russia, and the blockade of her ports had been so effectual as to destroy her direct commerce during the whole season. She was indebted to Prussia for whatever trade she could conduct in the Baltic, and that power acted in 1855 as in 1854, selfishly as to her own interests, and perfidiously and unjustly to the allies. Under the guise of neutrality she was the partisan of the foe, and was treated too leniently by the Western governments.

Certain important lessons were taught by the two successive failures in the Baltic, as the English public persisted in regarding them, whatever injury the enemy might have suffered. It was made obvious that, to produce any effect beyond blockade and the destruction of coasting-ships, gun and mortar-vessels must to a great extent be employed. The impolicy of dilatory proceedings, on the ground of humanity, became apparent. To strike at once whenever an opportunity offered, and not to allow any pretext for delay which Russian commanders or citizens might resort to, was shown to be the only effectual way to make war upon Russia. The danger of relying upon the good faith of the Russian officials, military or civil, had been exemplified whenever they were trusted. Prompt, energetic, active, vigilant warfare was alone suitable; the Russian character, national and military, rendered any other on the part of the allies absurd. Whatever the merits of the two admirals by whom our great Baltic fleets were commanded, and they were many, neither were fit for so large a command. Napier had proved himself a skilful and daring officer in a limited command, but although badly used by the Admiralty, and especially by Sir

James Graham, he was evidently not sufficiently informed of the nature of the task he undertook, nor did he prove himself equal to its magnitude. The command of naval expeditions of such great importance should have been given to men who had proved themselves not only efficient in limited commands, or individually brave, but whose experience in commanding large fleets had been such as to justify their selection. Whatever other lessons the country had learned, it had observed with painful certainty that the Board of Admiralty was not constituted so as to secure the honour and safety of the country. Its proceedings had been slow, vacillating, and by no means free from influences calculated to impede the just discharge of its duty. The preparations during 1855 to sustain and increase naval power had, however, been very good, proving that even under a bad system of management, and when personal favouritism was allowed to prevail, where merit only was to be considered, our naval resources were enormous, and capable of being rapidly developed when force was required to be put forth.

An analysis of the official *Navy List* at the beginning of 1856 presented these results. The British fleet consisted of 456 ships, comprising steam-yachts not armed with cannon, 1-gun mortar-boats, and every other description of vessel, to the line-of-battle ship of 110 guns. There were on the 1st of January 1856, 301 vessels in commission, nearly all steamers, the large sailing-ships being rapidly set aside. The following was the staff of the fleet on the 1st of January, 1856:—

Flag officers (22 in commission) .....	30
Captains (active) .....	30
Captains (retired) .....	1
Captains on reserved list .....	1
Captains of Greenwich .....	5
Commanders .....	2
Ditto, reserved list .....	3
Ditto, retired list .....	3
Lieutenants of Greenwich, and Naval Knights of Windsor .....	11
Lieutenants .....	7
Ditto, on reserved list .....	4
Marine officers .....	3
Masters .....	1
Ditto, reserved list .....	1
Inspectors of machinery .....	1
Chief engineers .....	1
Mates .....	1
Second masters .....	1
Chaplains .....	1
Naval instructors .....	1
Medical officers .....	1
Ditto, retired .....	1
Paymasters .....	1
Assistant ditto .....	1

The following ships and vessels were added to the fleet, or their construction was commenced during the year 1855:—

STEAM LINE-OF-BATTLE SHIPS.		
	Guns.	Horses.
Donegal .....	101	
Victor Emanuel .....	90	

STEAM-FRIGATES AND CORVETTES.

	Guns.	Horse-power
Bacchante .....	51	600
Ariadne .....	31	300
Diadem .....	30	800
Doris .....	32	800
Pelorus .....	20	300

STEAM GUN-VESSELS.

	Guns.	Horse-power.		Guns.	Horse-power.
ving	6	200	Margaret	2	60
rod	6	350	Manly	2	60
uck	6	350	Mastiff	2	60
or.	6	350	Mayflower	2	60
er.	6	160	Mistletoe	2	60
uit	6	160	Nightingale	2	60
city	4	200	Opossum	2	60
rance	4	200	Parthian	2	60
orant	4	200	Partridge	2	60
mandel	4	200	Peacock	2	60
ey	4	200	Pheasant	2	60
rd	4	200	Pickle	2	60
dove	4	200	Plover	2	60
rowhawk	4	200	Porpoise	2	60
rise	4	200	Primrose	2	60
ant	4	200	Procis	2	60
derer	4	200	Prompt	2	60
one	2	60	Quail	2	60
ia	2	60	Rainbow	2	60
	2	60	Raven.	2	60
erer	2	60	Redbreast	2	60
on	2	60	Ripple	2	60
er	2	60	Rocket	2	60
r.	2	60	Rose	2	60
cer	2	60	Sandfly	2	60
	2	60	Savage	2	60
n	2	60	Seagull	2	60
lo	2	60	Sepoy	2	60
nch	2	60	Shamrock	2	60
rog	2	60	Sheldrake	2	60
rd	2	60	Skipjack	2	60
l.	2	60	Spanker	2	60
tion	2	60	Spey	2	60
ine	2	60	Spider	2	60
	2	60	Staunch	2	60
hafer	2	60	Surly	2	60
under	2	60	Swan	2	60
s	2	60	Thrasher	2	60
at	2	60	Tickler	2	60
	2	60	Tilbury	2	60
st	2	60	Violet	2	60
	2	60	Wave	2	60
	2	60	Whiting	2	60
at	2	60	Wolf	2	60
	2	60	Angler	2	20
	2	60	Ant	2	20
er	2	60	Blossom	2	20
rd	2	60	Cheerful	2	20
ach	2	60	Chub	2	20
	2	60	Daisy	2	20
er	2	60	Decoy	2	20
	2	60	Dwarf.	2	20
ty	2	60	Fidget	2	20
	2	60	Flirt	2	20
g	2	60	Gaddy	2	20
under	2	60	Garland	2	20
i	2	60	Gnat	2	20
at	2	60	Midge	2	20
	2	60	Nettle	2	20
	2	60	Onyx	2	20
t	2	60	Pert	2	20
	2	60	Pet	2	20
	2	60	Rambler.	2	20
el	2	60	Tiny	2	20

Abundance, screw steam-vessel (flour-mill).  
 Bruiser, iron screw steam-vessel (flour-mill).  
 Bustler, paddlewheel steam tug-vessel, 100 horse-power.  
 Chasseur, screw steam smithy.  
 Culnare, surveying tender.

The Hearty, paddlewheel steam tug-vessel, 100 horse-power.  
 The Helen Faucit, paddlewheel steam-vessel.  
 The Hesper, screw steam store-ship, 120 horse-power.  
 The Indian, surveying vessel.  
 The Landrail, paddlewheel steam tug-vesse..  
 The Mullet, paddlewheel steam tug-vessel.  
 The Nimble, paddlewheel steam tug-vessel.  
 The Pera, iron screw steam lighter.  
 The Redpole, paddlewheel steam tug-vessel.  
 The Steady, paddlewheel steam tug-vessel.  
 The Sultana, paddlewheel steam tug-vessel.  
 The Wallace, iron paddlewheel steam tug-vessel, 100 horse-power.  
 The Wye, screw steam tank-vessel, 100 horse-power.

The above were placed upon the *Navy List* during 1855; but the preparations for 1856 added prodigiously to the power thus held by the Admiralty. Naval authorities represented that had the war continued, as many more ships would have been added to the *Navy List* during 1856—vessels the construction of which had been commenced before 1855. Certain new arrangements for the general efficiency of ships were promulgated—such as that 50-gun frigates were to have commanders added to their staff, and that all gun-boats were to be commissioned as independent commands, and not to be mere tenders to other ships, as in 1855; while for their general effectiveness, each was to consist of a crew of 36 men and officers.

The especial preparations for a renewed naval expedition in the Baltic, in the spring of 1856, began as soon as the fleet of 1855 had returned.

The following list may be taken as an accurate representation of the power which, had the war continued, would have been employed against Russia on her Baltic coasts. It was the determination of the authorities to attack Sweaborg and Cronstadt, if any prospect of success should exist, when all possible appliances of war were prepared. This list is exclusive of gun and mortar-boats, the number of which had not been determined:—

	Guns.
Wellington .....	131
Royal George .....	102
Conqueror .....	101
Nile .....	91
Exmouth .....	91
James Watt .....	91
Cæsar .....	91
Orion .....	91
Algiers .....	91
London .....	90
Rodney .....	90
Cressy .....	80
Centurion .....	80
Majestic .....	80
Colossus .....	80
Brunswick .....	80
Sanspareil .....	71
Blenheim .....	60
Hogue .....	60
Edinburgh .....	60
Ajax .....	60
Russell .....	60
Hawk .....	60
Hastings .....	60

FRIGATES, &c.			
	Guns.		Guns.
Impérieuse .....	51	Cruiser .....	17
Euryalus .....	51	Harrier .....	17
Arrogant .....	47	Falcon .....	16
Amphion .....	34	Magicienne.....	16
Retribution .....	22	Archer.....	14
Pearl .....	20	Eurobas .....	12
Tartar .....	20	Seahorse.....	12
Pylades.....	20	Rattler.....	11
Cossack .....	20	Forth .....	12
Esk .....	21		
			433
24 sail of the line .....	1951		
19 frigates, &c. ....	433		
Total	2384 guns.		

Happily, there was no occasion for vast armament—negotiations for peace were opened in time to prevent its employment; if Cronstadt were not absolutely impregnable, with the vast flotilla of vessels adapted to shallow waters which would have been sent out, there was every likelihood of its destruction. At all events, another season would not have closed in the Baltic without a struggle of a most sanguinary character, and which, humanly speaking, Russia must have chiefly suffered.

## CHAPTER CX.

### OPERATIONS ON THE SHORES AND WATERS OF THE SEA OF AZOFF DURING THE AUTUMN AND WINTER OF 1855.

“Wherever vessel spreads a sail  
We rule the stormy sea.”

*Norse Sea-song.*

THE proceedings of the allies in the Sea of Azoff during July, however honourable to those engaged, and however detrimental to Russia, did not accomplish the object intended, except temporarily. It had been hoped that the supply of food from those regions for the garrison of Sebastopol would have been entirely cut off, but this was not the case; fish and corn were still transmitted by the road along “the spit,” and by another route inland. It was determined early in September to renew with vigour the attacks along those shores, and if possible annihilate the resources of Russia there. Admiral Lyons had obtained correct information that new stores were being rapidly collected, and would, as opportunities offered, be sent on to Sebastopol; he resolved, therefore, to place the means at Captain Osborn’s disposal for the destruction of those supplies.

On the 1st of September a rumour prevailed at Balaklava that the Russians were preparing for a grand attack upon the garrisons at Kertch and Yenikale, so that the *Himalaya*, which had only just come round from Kazatch, was watered from the other ships in the harbour, and sent to Kertch and Yenikale with succours of various kinds. It was afterwards discovered that the rumour was groundless. The Russian cavalry were, however, busy in attempting to drive away the flocks from these neighbourhoods, and the troops brought by the *Himalaya* were usefully employed in protecting them.

On the 21st a cavalry combat took place at two villages called Koss-Serai Min and Seit Ali, about fifteen miles from Kertch. The Cossacks were collecting the arabas in the neighbourhood for the transport service of the Russian army, but a detachment of the 10th Hussars and the French Chasseurs d’Afrique disturbed their

proceedings. The affair on the side of allies was mismanaged, so that one troop of 10th Hussars was left unsupported, and exposed to a most unequal combat, losing half men. The malarrangement seems to have been wholly chargeable upon the officer in command of the French Chasseurs, who did not carry his own plans, which were strictly observed by the British. The following extract of a spatch from General Simpson sufficiently explains the transaction:—

“I have received a letter from Lieutenant-colonel Ready, 71st regiment, commanding majesty’s troops at Yenikale, reporting proceedings of a trifling affair, in which detachment of the 10th Hussars, in company with the Chasseurs d’Afrique, were engaged on the 21st inst. with the Cossacks. Colonel d’Osmond, commanding the French troops at Kertch, received information that the Cossacks were collecting and driving away all the arabas from the neighbourhood, and as he determined to endeavour to prevent this, he invited assistance of the English cavalry to co-operate with the Chasseurs d’Afrique. For this service Lieutenant-colonel Ready ordered two troops commanded by Captains the Hon. F. F. Clarence and Clarke, of the 10th Hussars. The Cossacks were supposed to have assembled the arabas at two villages, named Koss-Serai Min and Seit Ali, equidistant from Kertch about ten miles, and from one another 6½. Captain F. F. Clarence’s troop was ordered to the first village and Captain Clarke’s to the latter. At each of these villages they were to join a troop of Chasseurs d’Afrique, who had preceded them. On arriving at Koss-Serai Min Captain F. F. Clarence found both troops of the French Chasseurs, and immediately sent off an order

tain Clarke to join him that night; the vessel was unfortunately not delivered until the following morning. In complying with this order Captain Clarke, whose troop consisted of 34 men, fell in with a body of about 50 Cossacks, which he immediately charged and routed; but, as they were soon reinforced by upwards of 300, he was forced to retire upon the village with a loss of his sergeant-major, a lieutenant, and 13 men taken prisoners. Captain Clarke's troop, with the Chasseurs, the whole under the command of the officer commanding the French troops, having seen a large body of the enemy, skirmished with them at a distance, and moved in the direction of the village of Serai Min, where, after having joined Captain Clarke's troop, the whole force commenced their march upon Kertch. At a distance of half a mile from the village they were attacked by a large body of Cossacks, who were, however, beaten back by repeated charges. The loss of the 10th Hussars consisted of—2 privates, supposed to have been killed; 1 wounded; 1 troop sergeant-major, 1 lieutenant, 13 men, 15 horses missing. From information that has since been received the Cossacks were supported, within a quarter of an hour's march, by eight squadrons of Hussars armed with eight guns. Colonel Ready informs me that nothing could exceed the coolness and bravery of the troops in the presence of such overwhelming numbers of the enemy, who were only kept at bay by their steady movements."

On the 24th of September an expedition was undertaken against Taman (on the opposite side of the strait of Kertch). The object of it was partly to harass the Russians, partly to destroy any stores or materials of war which might exist there, and also to procure timber, and wood for fuel and huts, which were supposed to be stored up there. The principal portion of the enterprise consisted of the vessels *Lynx*, *Snake*, *Arrow*, and *Harpy*, with three French gun-boats. The English vessels were under the command of Captain Hall, of the *Miranda*; the French gun-boats were commanded by Captain Bonet, of the *Pomone*. There were 300 British of the 71st Highlanders, under Major Hunter, and 600 French troops under Captain Dall, of that service. About noon the troops effected a landing at Phanagoria, situated upon an inner bend of the Black Sea shore. Cossacks in great force were in the neighbourhood, but the fire of the gun-boats repulsed the landing. Phanagoria was evacuated, and the troops took possession. Sixty muskets and four mortars, which were spiked, and a considerable store of medicine, were the result of the capture. Taman speedily fell into the possession of the invaders, where eleven

unserviceable guns, a store of fire-wood, and a store of drugs constituted the booty. The allies removed a large quantity of wood for fuel, planks for building, the medicines, the old guns, and a few other valuable things, and then consigned whatever was inflammable to the fire, both at Phanagoria and Taman.

The day previous to that on which these operations were performed Captain Osborn conducted a separate enterprise, intended to facilitate them. He proceeded towards Temriouk, the only other fortified place on the Taman peninsula, having under his command the *Vesuvius*, *Curlew*, *Ardent*, *Wrangler*, *Beagle*, *Fancy*, *Grinder*, and *Cracker*. At daybreak on the 24th he was before Temriouk, and was joined by the French captain, De Cintré, with the three steamers *Milan*, *Caton*, and *Fulton*. The shallowness of the water prevented even the boats from reaching the place, and the Russians kept up an incessant cannonade from the shore, where they were strongly posted—artillery, infantry, and Cossack horse. Osborn, foiled by natural obstacles, could not destroy the defences nor disperse the troops, but was able to accomplish the important object of cutting off the communication between Temriouk and Taman, thereby preventing any succour from the garrison of the former to those of the latter. The line of communication was by a bridge which spanned a channel connecting Lake Temriouk with the Sea of Azoff. This bridge Osborn destroyed, otherwise 2000 soldiers would have been dispatched to frustrate the operations of the allies on the other points where they were successful. Two tricolour flags were found at Taman, which it was supposed the Russians had made some time early in the year, to effect an occasional *ruse* by hoisting false colours, when they had hopes of navigating these waters.

The following despatch of Rear-admiral Lyons shows his appreciation of those services:—

"I transmit, to be laid before the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, the copy of a letter from Captain Robert Hall, of the *Miranda*, senior officer in the Straits of Kertch, detailing the proceedings of an Anglo-French naval and military expedition to Taman and Phanagoria on the 24th ult., for the purpose of depriving the enemy of his means of sheltering troops in the ensuing winter, and in order to procure materials for housing our troops at Cape St. Paul and Yenikale.

"I also inclose, for their lordship's information, a copy of a letter from Captain Osborn, of the *Vesuvius*, detailing the proceedings of an Anglo-French attack on Temriouk, which, by previous arrangement, was made simultaneously with that on Taman and Phanagoria.

"Both expeditions were conducted in a most satisfactory manner, and were accomplished with the loss of only one man wounded. Three of the 71st regiment and three of the (French) infantry of the marine were taken prisoners, in consequence of their own imprudence."

The inclosure from Captain Hall was as follows:—

"I have the honour to report that, according to your directions of the 25th of August, I put myself in communication with Captain Bonet, of his imperial majesty's ship *Pomone*, commanding the French naval station here, relative to an expedition to destroy the Russian establishments at Phanagoria and Taman, and also arranged with Captain Osborn that a simultaneous attack should be made on Temriouk by the Azoff squadron.

"On the 24th ult., at daylight, the military part of the expedition, under command of Major Hunter (71st), embarked, consisting of 300 of the 71st Highland Light Infantry, carried by the *Sulina*, and 600 French, of the Infantry of the Marine, placed on board six gun-boats of that nation, and at 8.30 the flotilla proceeded.

"Arriving at Taman at noon, swarms of cavalry were seen near it and Phanagoria, and a strong body marched into the powerful earthwork at the latter place.

"The gun-boats appointed to cover the landing immediately opened fire, and in a short time forced the enemy to retire, leaving the troops to land without opposition at the spot previously agreed upon, about a mile east of Phanagoria.

"By 4 P.M. we were completely established in the fort, in which the fieldpiece of this ship and four light mountain howitzers from the *Pomone* were placed in position. A large body of cavalry, numbering at least 600, continuing drawn up in front of Phanagoria, were dispersed by some Lancaster shells, beautifully thrown from the *Lynx* and *Arrow*.

"During the night a small body of the enemy fired upon our sentries, and wounded a seaman of the *Miranda*.

"The buildings within the earthwork were found to be much more extensive than was anticipated, consisting of a large hospital, some storehouses, and two very large powder-magazines, in perfect order, but quite empty, composing, with the houses of the *employés*, a very considerable establishment: sixty-six guns, chiefly of 6, 9, and 12-pounders, and four cohorn mortars, were lying disabled within the work.

"The storehouses were all empty except one, which contained some hospital necessities, and the dispensary, which contained some

medicines, which have been preserved for use of the squadron.

"Taman was found to be completely deserted and the houses quite empty. A large magazine of flour and another of corn were fired the Russians before they retired, and eleven iron guns, 30 and 36-pounders, which were found buried at Taman, and were said to have been a present from the Empress Catherine have been destroyed by us. Considerable bodies of the enemy's cavalry hovered around during the time of our being occupied in taking down and removing the materials of the building, but did not approach within gunshot.

"I regret to have to report that they succeeded in cutting off three stragglers of the 71st and three of Infantry of Marines.

"I have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the zeal and activity of the officers and of the squadron, especially of Lieutenant Aynsley, commanding the *Lynx*, who, during my absence, superintended the duties of the squadron afloat; and of Lieutenant Fitzroy, of the *Miranda*, who had the direction of the embarkation, &c., of the troops, as well as the shipment of the wood, &c., for removal to Yenikale. Nothing could exceed the feeling and cordiality existing between the officers and men of our allies and our own.

"On the morning of the 31st, every building at Phanagoria and Taman which could show an enemy having been destroyed, and large quantities of the material removed to Yenikale and St. Paul's, the troops re-embarked, and returned to their quarters at Kertch and St. Paul's."

The report of Captain Osborn was to the following effect:—

"I have the honour to report that, in pursuance of arrangements made with Captain Hall, her majesty's ship *Miranda*, I proceeded on the 23rd of September, to harass and in check the enemy's troops at Temriouk while the allied squadron at Kertch attacked Phanagoria and Taman.

"On the 24th of September, at daylight we arrived off Temriouk Lake, and were then joined by the French steamers *Milan*, *Claude*, and *Fulton*.

"We failed in reaching the town within the boats, the lake proving too shallow for those of the lightest description. Up to noon, however, we kept a large body of horse, and artillery in the town, the latter opening sharp but harmless fire at us to prevent the construction of a fine brig which was secreted inside the lake's entrance. Weighing anchor thence, the squadron, accompanied by the four gallant allies, under Capitaine de frégate Cintré, proceeded to cut off the communication between Temriouk and Taman by the nar-

of land lying north of the lakes. In this perfectly succeeded; for at 1 p.m. a heavy column of troops, with nine field-guns, were covered on the march, proceeding towards Temriouk. Opening fire on them at 2500 yards, they stopped their march; and after suffering severely, as it appeared to us, they retreated to Temriouk, the *Wrangler*, with her Lan- cer guns, keeping up an effective fire upon them to an extraordinary distance. Some of the enemy's riflemen, who with much gallantry tirelessly endeavoured to keep the beach, and a quantity of forage, must have lost a number of men by the admirable shell-practice of the French squadron. While this was doing detached the *Ardent*, *Beagle*, and *Cracker* to reach another favourable part of the neck of land. Lieutenant Campion was fortunate enough to discover that the road lay over a fine wooden bridge, which spanned a channel connecting the Sea of Azoff with Lower Temriouk.

The bridge was 180 feet long, and thirty feet wide, composed of strong wooden piles, sleepers at each end, and four pontoons in the centre, the whole well planked over, and apparently much used. It was evidently the centre of communication between Temriouk and Taman, except by the very circuitous round of the extensive lakes. The burning of this bridge effectually stopped the garrison of Temriouk, who could not be under 2000 men, and their ten or twelve guns, arriving in time to assist the landing at Taman.

I therefore weighed, as the weather was threatening, and have since driven in and destroyed the Cossack post which had been established in this neighbourhood, and to watch our position at Yenikale.

Two French flags (tricolors) were found by Lieutenant Strode at one of these posts, the Russians having left them, as well as some of their arms, in making a hasty retreat. I am unable to say under what circumstances they had got into the enemy's possession.

Throughout these operations I have received the greatest assistance from Commander Rowley Lambert, of her majesty's ship *Curlew*, by the zealous exertions of the officers and crew of the squadron generally.

The *Recruit* has been left to watch the forts of Genitschi, and Lieutenant Day, her commander, alone, on the nights of the 18th and 21st of September, passed the enemy's vessels there, and waded up to their gun-batteries and guards in the channel. His reconnaissance confirms my opinion of their perfect inability to resist an attack in that direction. I am sorry to say the exposure and excessive labour have caused Lieutenant Day to be laid up with a severe attack of illness.

The two Russian fishermen taken at the

mouth of the Don having quite recovered from the effects of their wounds, I caused Commander Rowley Lambert to proceed with them on the 23rd inst. to Arabat Fort, under a flag of truce, for the purpose of offering to land them there, if General Wrangel wished. The offer was accepted, and the prisoners landed.

"The squadron is now proceeding to Genitschi to complete ammunition from the *Durham*; and I am in hopes that the weather, which may be shortly expected by general account, will enable us to do more service in the coming month than that of the present one."

The military report was made to Sir Richard Airey, the quartermaster-general, by Lieutenant-colonel Ready, who, although not in the action, as lieutenant-colonel of the 71st regiment, was the official organ of communication:—

"I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of his Excellency General Simpson, that three companies of the 71st regiment, under the command of Major Hunter, 71st regiment, embarked at Kertch on Monday last, the 24th inst., on board her majesty's ship *Minna*, at an early hour in the morning, and proceeded, in company with her majesty's gun-boats *Lynx*, *Snake*, *Arrow*, and *Harpy*, together with about nine French gun-boats, conveying six companies of French infantry, to the opposite coast, and arrived about 11 A.M. opposite Taman, the line of gun-boats extending a short distance to the eastward of Phanagoria. The landing commenced shortly afterwards to the eastward of Phanagoria, covered by the fire from the gun-boats. There was no resistance offered, and the place had been evidently but lately evacuated. A few mounted Cossacks and infantry were the only people we had seen up to the time of landing, and who were driven from Phanagoria and Taman by the well-directed fire from the gun-boats. When the disembarkation was completed (which was effected without accident), the force moved upon Phanagoria, and took quiet possession of the fort and buildings, and established itself there. A few stores were found still in the place, but (with the exception of an hydraulic press and some medicines) of no particular value, consisting principally of hospital bedding and some clothing and accoutrements. There were, however, upwards of sixty-two pieces of artillery (9 and 12-pounders apparently) and four mortars, all rendered unserviceable. As the force entered Phanagoria a strong party of Cossacks appeared on the hill-side, about one and a half or two miles from the town, increased from time to time until their force appeared to amount to about 600. The gun-boats *Lynx*, *Arrow*, and *Snake*,

immediately opened a fire upon them, as did also some of the French boats. The practice from these boats was most admirable, and the Cossacks immediately withdrew beyond the crest of the hills, leaving only a few videttes on the neighbouring ridges. Early on the following morning the men were employed in collecting wood for fuel and hutting, the night having passed quietly, with one exception, the enemy having taken advantage of the darkness to approach our lines, and opened fire upon our sentries; our troops were instantly on the alert, and the Cossacks retired. One man, an English sailor, serving at a fieldpiece in the works, was slightly wounded in the heel. The quantity of wood for fuel and for hutting is something considerable, but the exact amount can scarcely be arrived at yet, but I hope to have the whole embarked by Saturday."

While the allies were thus engaged, it appears that a demonstration was made in their favour in another direction, or else the Russian authorities, for some purpose of their own, invented the following story. We have not found any authentication of it, but it is so circumstantially told, and, as there is no apparent motive for a fabrication, it is here recorded as it appeared in a Russian journal, under the head of "Caucasian Demonstration:"—"Major-general Filipson, the ataman of the Tschernomora Cossacks, gives the following additional particulars of the expedition of the allies to Taman and Phanagoria:—"Simultaneously with the appearance of the allies, a numerous body of mountaineers assembled at Gastogaja. On the 1st of October, at four o'clock in the morning, they advanced against the Dschiginski Battery. The enemy, among whom there were two columns of regular troops (probably Turks), took possession of the bank of the Cuban at the spot where the ferry is, and opened a violent fire of small arms. On the bank of the Cuban and Dschigi, which lies somewhat higher, the mountaineers stationed two pieces of artillery, with which they commanded the Dschiginski Battery. The action lasted two hours, until at length the enemy relinquished his purpose of forcing a passage over the river, and withdrew to Gastogaja. We hear that Sefer Bey, pasha of Anapa, was the leader of the mountaineers in this action, in which about 4000 men, cavalry and infantry, with two guns, each drawn by six horses, took part. At four o'clock in the afternoon of the same day smaller troops of mountaineers showed themselves near Fort Warenikoff. Single horsemen approached the fort, and examined it with their glasses. Towards evening, however, they all retired in the direction of the river Psebebs, where their watchfires reddened the sky the whole night long. On the following

day about 3000 mountaineers approached the fort again, and fired upon it, without their being returned by the Russians. It was till the 3rd of October, when the mountaineers repeated the same manœuvre, that they received with grape and canister, which induced them to withdraw out of range. The detachment is said to be under the command of the son of the pasha of Anapa, Karabekir Sonoko."

With these exploits the month of September terminated. October opened upon the renewed activity of Captain Osborn's squadron, for the weather was favourable. In command of the *Vesuvius*, *Curlew*, *Recruit*, and *Ardent*, he steamed to Biéloserai Spit, and found that the Russians had constructed earthworks, planted batteries, dug rifle-pits, and erected bomb works. The *Recruit* was ordered to dislodge the riflemen from the pits, but was unsuccessful, while they kept up a steady and dangerous fire. Nevertheless, the little steamer succeeded in destroying seven boats and fishing stations. During this service her crew were menaced by a large force of infantry and cavalry. Lieutenant Day, one of the most enterprising and daring officers of the service, greatly distinguished himself, as did the second master, Mr. William Parker. Unfortunately an 8-inch gun exploded on board the *Recruit*, by which Lieutenant Day was injured in the foot. The unexpected explosion of guns, shells, and rockets, the imperfection of fuses, of small arms, and even of the small weapons supplied to the men of both services were very frequent; these dangerous misadventures arose from official carelessness or corruption at home, for which there was no remedy but the direct action of the nation, through the legislature, upon the public offices, and the chiefs of departments.

On the 20th of October the *Ardent*, sailing further east to Krivaia, or Crooked Spit, found the shores lined with infantry and cavalry ready to dispute any landing; she, nevertheless, destroyed three boats. The destruction of boats along these shores was necessary, for the vessels in distress took shelter under the lee of the enemy had plenty of troops to bombard them; the destruction of the boats deprived him of the means of doing so.

On the 24th of October, the weather particularly favouring, Osborn resolved to bombard in the *Vesuvius* so close to Biéloserai that she could dislodge the riflemen from their positions. The marines and "small-arm men" of the ship effected a landing; they were commanded by Lieutenant Chetham H. Strode, Mr. R. Armstrong, mate, and Mr. Farquharson, first shipman. The enemy would probably have been cut off, but for his superior knowledge of the paths through the swamps, where it was

been hazardous and useless to have pursued. The British destroyed all the posts erected for the shelter of soldiers, which had just been reconstructed—they had been previously destroyed by Captain Osborn. Near town of Alti there was a very large fishing establishment, which, and the material found in it, were committed to the flames. Eleven large boats were destroyed. At the same time the *Recruit*, and her spirited commander, Lieutenant Day, were busy at Mariopol, where they consumed two large establishments for curing fish. There were several fine launches, mounted on land-carriages, so constructed that they could be brought inland or along the coast; these were broken up. The efforts of the Russian government to maintain the fisheries on these coasts proved that they were deemed important for the supply of their garrisons, especially at Sebastopol.

During these proceedings on the northern coast, Lieutenant Commerell accomplished in the Putrid Sea one of the most daring feats of the war. The lieutenant was cruising in command of the gun-boat *Weser*, when he learned from some fishermen that near the mean shore of the Putrid Sea, on the bank of a river, a large amount of corn and forage was stacked, ready to be removed for the use of the garrison of Sebastopol. To cross the strait of Arabat in the day time was impossible, to have crossed it in force by night would have risked the success of the undertaking. Accordingly the lieutenant and four men engaged a small boat, which they had previously taken as a prize, across the centre of the Spit of Arabat into the Putrid Sea, crossed and arriving at the river's bank, he left one of his party in the boat, while, attended by the other two, a petty officer and a seaman, he ascended the river, passed along its bank two miles and a half, and discovered the stacks of wheat, barley, and hay. They set fire to them in so many places as to leave no chance of escape, and the whole were eventually consumed, amounting to more than 400 tons. As the stacks were ignited the Cossacks were alarmed, and both infantry and cavalry began a pursuit. Not less than thirty mounted men pressed upon the fugitives, who would have been certainly captured, but that the way lay through deep mud for the last few yards, whither the cavalry were not disposed to follow, especially as the retreat was covered by the two men in the boat, who kept up a determined rifle-fire. While crossing the mud bank the seaman sank exhausted, and the petty officer, William Rickard, rescued him, and bore him along, though himself nearly exhausted. The fugitive fellows reached the boat, re-crossed the strait, escaped over the Arabat Spit, and

regained the *Weser* without injury, although the pursuers kept up a fire of carbines and musketry, and the men of the signal-station and guard-house on the spit sallied out also in quest of the mysterious enemy. Lieutenant Commerell was promoted to be commander, and Rickard, the quartermaster, was rewarded with a medal for distinguished service, and a gratuity of £15 a year; promotion also was promised him as soon as he was able, by a course of suitable preparation, to claim it. There is no duty from which our gallant soldiers and sailors ever shrunk, and if judicious and just rewards were always thus conferred, the tone of the service would be raised still higher, and a boundless spirit of chivalry and enterprise encouraged. There would be no difficulty in procuring volunteers for the army and navy in the most perilous wars, if the men felt that their courage and warlike aptitudes would be appreciated, and that in wounds and sickness they would not be uncared for. The following despatch of Admiral Lyons was occasioned by these transactions:—

"The accompanying copy of a letter from Captain Sherard Osborn, of the *Vesuvius*, with its several inclosures, will place the lords commissioners of the Admiralty in possession of a detailed account of the active and energetic proceedings of the squadron in the Sea of Azoff, under the command of that valuable officer.

"The enterprise which was undertaken and so successfully carried out by Commander J. E. Commerell, of the *Weser*, in crossing the isthmus of Arabat, and in destroying a large quantity of forage on the Crimean shore of the Sivash, reflects great credit on that officer, and adds still further proofs of his having deserved that promotion which their lordships have lately been pleased to confer upon him. The gallantry of William Rickard, quartermaster of the *Weser*, deserves to be particularly mentioned; and I beg leave to recommend him to their lordship's favourable consideration for the medal and gratuity for distinguished service.

"Lieutenant George F. Day, commanding the *Recruit*, has also displayed his usual activity and zeal in harassing the enemy on the north-east coast of the Sea of Azoff; and I regret to find that his foot has been severely injured by the recoil of a gun."

Captain Osborn's letter, referred to in the above despatch, was as follows:—

"I am now returning westward towards Genitschi, having been employed with her majesty's ships, *Curllew*, *Recruit*, and *Ardent*, since the 9th of October, 1855, along the north coast of this sea as far as Taganrog.

"On Crooked Spit, as well as Biéloserai, or

White House Spit, the enemy had established a large force in the remains of the old fishing establishments, and constructed a series of rifle-pits and breastworks, from which they opened fire upon any of our vessels taking shelter under those points; and as the enemy had a number of boats with them, with which they could easily board a vessel in distress, I thought it right to destroy the latter and dislodge the men. The *Recruit*, Lieutenant George F. Day, came in collision with them on the 15th instant, and, although he could not dislodge the riflemen, he succeeded in destroying seven launches and five large fisheries, in spite of the enemy's cavalry and infantry. Lieutenant Day, I am sorry to say, received a severe injury of the foot by the accidental explosion of an 8-inch gun; but he speaks in high terms of the satisfactory manner in which Mr. William Parker, second master of the *Recruit*, executed the service entrusted to him.

"On the 20th of October the *Ardent*, Lieutenant Hubert Campion, drove in a large force of cavalry which attempted to prevent him approaching Crooked or Krivaia Spit, and he likewise destroyed three boats.

"On the 24th of October the weather was sufficiently favourable to enable me to get the *Vesuvius* close enough to force the enemy from their rifle-pits upon the Biéloserai Spit. At 1 p.m. the small-arm men and marines of this ship landed, under Lieutenant Chetham H. Strode, Mr. R. R. Armstrong, mate, and Mr. H. D. R. Farquharson, midshipman, supported by the ship and boats. Directly the enemy saw their escape threatened they beat a rapid retreat, although fully 150 in number, and effected their escape by a superior knowledge of the paths through the swamps. Lieutenant Strode then destroyed their posts, which had been recently reconstructed; they were eight in number, and calculated to house 200 men; besides these, eleven fine boats and an extensive fishery were set fire to near the town of Alti.

"The *Recruit*, Lieutenant Day, at the same time destroyed, in the neighbourhood of Mariopol, two large fisheries, and some fine launches, mounted on regular travelling land-carriages, and in the evening we were complete masters of the only portion of the coast the enemy have attempted to re-establish themselves upon; and, as the frosts have already set in, I am in hopes that they will not be able to recover their ground before next spring. The extraordinary efforts made by the enemy to prosecute their fisheries upon this coast are the best proof of their importance. They sometimes move down 200 or 300 soldiers, who escort large launches placed upon carriages and arabas drawn by oxen laden with nets and gear, as well as fishermen to work

them. The fish, directly they are caught carted off into the interior; and when remembered that we have destroyed several hundred and odd launches upon one spit alone, some idea can be formed of the immense quantity of fish consumed on this coast; in proof of its being a large item in the maintenance of Russian soldiers, I would remind you that hundreds of tons of salted and dried fish were found and destroyed by us in the first destruction of the military depôts at Genitschi in May last.

"This report is closed at Genitschi, where I had the satisfaction of learning, as the inclosed letter from Lieutenant Commerell will show, that he had succeeded in destroying a large collection of forage and corn at the entrance of the Salghir or Kara-Su Rivers. The boldness and enterprise displayed by Lieutenant Commerell on this occasion, as well as when any service has to be performed, are most conspicuous; and his judgment in seizing the good opportunity that has occurred for some time to cross Arabat Spit and traverse the Putrid Sea, deserves to be particularly called to your notice. The quartermaster, William Rickard, praised so highly by Lieutenant Commerell, was one of my boat's crew. I fully concur in the high character given of him."

Lieutenant (commander) Commerell sends the following report to Captain Osborn:—

"I have the honour to inform you that on the evening of the 10th instant I determined in obedience to your discretionary orders, to launch a boat across the Spit of Arabat, and destroy large quantities of corn and forage stored on the banks of Kara-Su and Salghir Rivers, on the Crimean shore of the Sivash; the proximity of a guard-house and signal-station, also at a distance the corn lay from the beach, rendered anything but a night surprise impracticable. Having left the *Weser* in charge of Mr. F. H. Well, second master, and, accompanied by Lillingston, mate, a quartermaster, and several seamen, assisted by a party, we hauled a prize-boat across the spit, embarked in it, and at half-past 4 a.m. reached the opposite side. Landing with the petty officer and man, I forded the above-mentioned rivers, at a distance of about two miles and a half from the boat arrived at the corn and forage, we were in search of, stacked on the bank of the Salghir River, evidently for transmission by water, as the river was perfectly navigable for barges, the sides being cut, and towed up paths on either bank. In a short time the forage and corn, amounting to about 400 tons, were totally destroyed, not, however, without alarming the guard, and from twenty to thirty mounted Cossacks, who were encamped in the village close at hand. On our retreating,

re so hard pressed by them, that, but for circumstance of the last 200 yards being d, and the cover of rifles from Mr. Lil- yston and a man who remained in the boat, could hardly have escaped capture. Having crossed the spit, we returned to the *Weser* & A.M.

"I must bring to your notice the excellent avior of the small party who accompanied more especially that of William Rickard, rtermaster, who, though much fatigued self, remained to assist the other seaman, o, from exhaustion, had fallen in the mud, was unable to extricate himself, notwithstanding the enemy were keeping up a heavy on us, at the distance of thirty or forty ds, as we crossed the mud."

Lieutenant Day made his report to Captain orn in these terms:—

"I have the honour to forward you a report of proceedings since leaving her majesty's ship *Leu* at this place on the 15th. According y orders, I steered for my cruising-ground veen the Dolga Bank and Whitehouse Spit. en off the latter place, observing a number en and boats engaged in fishing, and also many large fishing storehouses had been t since my last visit here on the 14th of month, I hauled close in to the shore, horing the *Recruit* about 700 yards off, the intention of landing with my boats, destroying all I could, as soon as I had en back the troops, who were coming down reat numbers, both cavalry and infantry, on us. The former we soon disposed but the latter, scattering themselves about vos and threes, threw themselves on the nd, creeping along so that we could not hem to stop their advance with our shells the ship. I therefore resolved to land nce, in hopes, by the quickness of our ements, to get our work over before they d possibly close on us. Unfortunately for I regret to say, that whilst directing the ing of an 8-inch gun to where I believed of these riflemen to be (just as I was on point of going into the boat to land), the t from some unaccountable cause, went off, in recoiling, the whole weight of both and carriage came down on my left foot, ing it very severely, and breaking several es, which, I fear, will lay me up for some . I was thus rendered incapable of land- so sent Mr. Parker, second master of this on shore, in charge of the boats and ng-party, who succeeded in carrying out nstructions as to the destruction of all the e there (seven in number), many new g-nets of great length, five large new g-establishments, full of quantities of g-tackle and other gear. This service he

performed in a most gallant manner, and much to my satisfaction, as they were the whole time exposed to a very smart and annoying fire from the enemy's concealed infantry (at a very short distance), who, in spite of our fire from the ship, had managed to creep down close to them, favoured by the inequality of the ground and the long grass, so that our party had to make a long *détour* (covered by a hot fire of rifles from the *Recruit*), to prevent them being cut off, and to get to their boats. The Russians kept up a constant fire of rifles from the lighthouse, in which they had succeeded in lodging themselves, upon the boats, and then upon the ship, which we returned with rifles only, and I think to some purpose, until we weighed and shifted further out. Not a man was hit, though the ship and boat were many times. As I did not wish to injure the lighthouse, I did not attempt to fire, so as to dislodge them with shot or shell from the guns.

"The 17th I stood along the spit to see if any more boats or nets could be found along the shore where I could destroy them, as also to drive away a number of troops I saw hidden behind some banks, and at the same time to try and set fire with carcasses to a number of new stores built on the broad part of the spit, high up, but too far off for me with my small force to attempt to land and destroy. I could see no more boats; but their perseverance in thus rebuilding these houses, boats, and nets, with the fact of so many troops being there to protect them, tells its own tale, that they must be much in want of provisions."

Some dissatisfaction had been expressed in England that the fort of Arabat had not been taken by Captain Lyons, when he so successfully performed the earlier operations in the waters of Azoff; as had the enemy been completely mastered at both ends of the spit, and garrisons appointed, the communications of the enemy would have been more effectually interrupted, and as much strategically effected as by the wide-spread losses entailed by subsequent and desultory operations. It is but just to the gallant Lyons, who so early met a glorious death, to record Captain Osborn's opinion, which is contained in the following letter:—"I will trespass no further upon your space than to express my regret that your correspondents—much more British officers—should have lent themselves to further the propagation of Russian fictions, by asserting that the squadron under the late Captain Lyons did little or no damage to Arabat Fort. It was, as far as my memory serves me, silenced, the magazine blown up, and had not the allied squadron more important work to do at Genitschi or Taganrog, the place would have been sum-

moned; and I believe it had but to be summoned to surrender. Although, having no men to spare, General Wrangel's 12,000 men would have forced us to have been rapid in our movements, and perhaps given the enemy a better victory than that of Arabat: all we can pray is that they may never win a better one."

The month of November began with finer weather in this sea than is usually known. Admiral Lyons sent orders to Captain Osborn to attempt the destruction of vast stores of corn, the harvest of the surrounding country, which were collected at Glofira and Gheisk, to be conveyed over the frozen snow and ice during the winter to Sebastopol, and along the great military roads, to supply the army of Asia. A number of gun-boats, which had served at Kinburn,\* having returned to the admiral's head-quarters, he dispatched them as reinforcements to Captain Osborn, who proceeded to attempt the extensive task assigned to him. On the night of the 3rd, he anchored his squadron off the Liman, and made his arrangements for the action he resolved to commence on the morrow. As the captain was enabled to observe a very large force of the enemy, it was necessary so to plan his attack as to distract the attention of the assailed, and render it difficult for them to use the advantage of their greatly superior numbers. The plans of the commander were skilfully laid with this object in view, and as skilfully executed by the officers to whom he committed their execution. At daylight on the 4th, the flotilla, towed by the gun-boats, moved on to the appointed work. At half-past six o'clock they were off Vodina, within three miles of Glofira. Along the shore at Vodina there were immense ranges of corn-stacks, and nearly as many stacks of dry billets to be sent for fuel to the army at Sebastopol. These were strongly guarded by Cossacks. Shots from the gun-vessels dispersed them, and Commander Kennedy (the second in command of the squadron) was sent in with the ships' boats containing landing-parties, who fired the dry corn and stacks of wood, the flames ascending from which soon spread the alarm along the shores of the Liman, and a large force of Cossacks galloped up from Lazalnite, just as Commander Kennedy and his men re-embarked. The promptitude of the British at once destroyed the property of the enemy, and enabled them to escape a charge of cavalry most opportunely. The next object of the assailants was the corn and fuel stacked at Glofira. When the flotilla arrived there, the officers were perfectly astounded at the vast stores of harvesting—food, forage, and fuel—

\* The operations of the Kinburn expedition will be related in a future chapter.

which lined the shores. To the south and of the town, for two miles, the stacks arranged near the water's-edge ready for immediate transport. Between the houses ranges of stacks were also visible. The destruction of the property here could not be effected by a surprise, as at Vodina, nor with severe combat, for the enemy was intrenched and commanded the spit with rifles and musketry. Dismounted Cossacks and Hussars on the cliffs, carbine in hand, prepared to offer it appeared a stout resistance; and regular infantry and militia took up advantageous positions among the houses of the town. Measures were adopted to sweep the flames from the intrenchment, and to throw into it shells and shrapnel-shell; attacks on various points were concocted and well timed, so that the enemy did not know where to concentrate his defence. Carcasses were thrown against the stacks, these missiles were so badly constructed they did not produce the effect expected. Still, although this description of combat was not if properly made, would have been peculiarly suitable for the occasion. Accordingly, Captain Osborn played upon them with shell and rocket, and the ranges of stacks were soon in conflagration. Lieutenant Campion, with a company of marines, charged at the head of the trenchment with slaughter; at first, the numbers of their antagonists offered a formidable obstruction; but Lieutenant Day, and his company of jackets came on in support of Campion, the trench was gallantly won and a small gun captured. The enemy, however, refused to fight, placing themselves behind ricks, stores, and wherever they could find cover, keeping up a constant fire of musketry upon the British. These, pursuing their advantage, charged with bayonet and cutlass, driving the foe from one defence to another, and firing the stacks and stores successively, as the enemy were driven beyond them. The Russians were badly armed, and were inexpert in the use of musketry, or our men must have suffered severely—only one man reported himself wounded. While the action raged on these points, Commander Kennedy reached the portion of the attack assigned to him; finding it impossible to climb the cliffs, he threw rockets, shells, carcasses, and soon set fire to everything on the shore. One government building of large size, situated in the rear, was beyond the range; but a landing-party must have scaled the cliffs under a fire of musketry, must have received the charge of a very large body of Cossack horse, who were on their road to Gheisk, but kept in check by the guns of Lieutenant Ross, of the *Weser*, who threw fire across their path. The amount of prop-

by Mr. Kennedy was enormous; the stores were seen blazing all night, dominating sea and shore, and making the sea seem as if sailing on a sea of fire. For an extent of more than two miles along shore conflagrations raged fiercely, and could be seen from vast distances by the Russian troops and people.

For many hours the men of the squadron were constantly engaged working the boats, fighting the ricks, or combating with the enemy; many of them wading to and fro in the water, the temperature of which was intensely cold; all manifested the utmost alacrity to do their duty, and the greatest ardour to meet the enemy.

On the afternoon of the 6th the squadron moved on, and steamed up the Liman until they reached Gheisk. Here the scene that was presented excited the unbounded astonishment of the crews. Vast as were the stores at Glofira, these were small compared with those at Gheisk in its neighbourhood. Along the steppe, for miles, the stacks were ranged in some four deep, and in some six; these stacks consisted of wheat, rye, barley, straw partly cut, hay, logs of wood, billets, planks, &c. the skirt of the steppe, and on the spit of the town, were timber-yards, boat-houses, manufactories, and fish-stores, of immense dimensions.

The arrangements of the attack were similar in character to those which had proved so successful at Glofira. Parties landed in different places, considerably apart, and not exactly simultaneous, the gun-boats securely covering the landing. The same officers who had distinguished themselves in all the other operations under Captain Osborn, here also showed their worth, and the captain himself was conspicuous for skill and courage. As soon as the detachments landed, at considerable distances from one another, they literally placed themselves behind a curtain of smoke and fire, so that the enemy could not detect the progress of operations, and were hurrying to and fro discharging musketry into volumes of smoke, behind which there were no assailants. In every direction, the Cossacks charged about, always arriving at particular points of action in time to see the burning progress, but too late to catch the apparently ubiquitous tars, who were at those moments settling to other combustible material in some other direction. From the water the movements of friends and enemies could be distinctly seen, and measures to defeat every movement of the latter easily taken.

By 2 P.M. the stores of Gheisk were nearly destroyed, and the crews all re-embarked. Captain Osborn did not act as our commanders in the White Sea or in the Pacific,

or as, to some extent, they acted in the Baltic, especially in 1854. He immediately proceeded to accomplish what remained to be done. He took part of his squadron down to Glofira the same afternoon, to effect the destruction of the large store which had escaped him on the preceding day. There he found that by great exertions the troops and people had extinguished many of the fires. The half-consumed ricks were again ignited, and the large store-house was also destroyed. The troops had all hurried off to Gheisk, where they remained, not expecting that another visit would be paid so soon, nor supposing that the work of destruction would be renewed with such promptitude. More minute details of these actions, and the opinions of the commanders as to their importance and consequence, will be seen in the despatches which are here appended. Admiral Lyons wrote thus to the lords of the Admiralty:—

“Their lordships are aware that when the small gun-boats were no longer required at Kinburn, I sent them back to Captain Osborn, to afford him the means of destroying at the latest period of the season the harvest of this year, which I understood to be collecting in the neighbourhood of Gheisk-Liman for the purpose of being transported, in the winter months, partly to the enemy’s army in the Crimea, over the frozen Gulf of Azoff, and partly to his army in the Caucasus, by the military road.

“The enclosed copy of a letter from Captain Osborn will show their lordships that in this, as on many former occasions, he has fully justified the confidence I have placed in him. The skilfulness of the arrangements made by him, and the admirable manner in which they were executed by himself, by Commander Kennedy, of the *Curlew*, and by the officers and men under their orders, completely frustrated the efforts of the large force that was brought against them in defence of the stores, which the enemy appears to have considered safe from any naval attack, in consequence of the shallowness of the water.

“The effects of this brilliant enterprise, in the destruction of so much corn and forage at the commencement of winter, cannot fail to be severely felt by the Russian armies both in the Crimea and the Caucasus.

“Commander Kennedy, in reporting his large share in the proceedings of the day in the command of the *Curlew*, states to Captain Osborn that at one place alone the rows of stacks were six deep, and extended two miles, and it appears that, for economy in transport and storage, the straw was cut near to the ears of the corn. As the ice is now forming on the shores of the Sea of Azoff, and the squadron is with-

drawn, I feel it to be due to Captain Osborn to record that, under circumstances of great difficulty, occasioned by unusually tempestuous weather, he has most ably continued through the summer, and brought to a successful close in the autumn, operations novel in their nature and extremely detrimental to the enemy, which commenced auspiciously in the spring under the direction of the late Captain Lyons, of the *Miranda*; nor is it too much to say that both commanding officers were supported throughout by as dashing and as intelligent a band of young officers, seamen, and marines, as ever shone in the British navy."

Captain Osborn thus reported to the commander-in-chief:—

"After dark, on the evening of the 3rd inst., the squadron under my command was assembled, and anchored in sixteen feet water off Gheisk-Liman, and I made arrangements for the morrow to operate against the extensive collection of corn, forage, and fuel belonging to the enemy, stacked along its shores, so as to distract the attention of the large force which, from previous observation, I knew to be in the neighbourhood.

"Under Lieutenant Ross, of the *Weser*, I placed the *Curlew* in the temporary charge of Lieutenant Miall, and the *Ardent* in charge of Mr. Tilly, second-master, each vessel having sufficient men left in her to weigh an anchor or fight a gun, and man a few boats, giving orders to Lieutenant Ross to close in on the northern side of Gheisk, and to be prepared to co-operate with me inside the Liman. The *Vesuvius* I left in the offing, denuded of every available person; and embarking officers and men, as in the annexed list, from the *Vesuvius*, the *Curlew*, the *Weser*, and the *Ardent*, with their boats, we left at daylight, towed by her majesty's gunboats—the *Recruit*, Lieutenant G. Day; the *Boxer*, Lieutenant S. P. Townsend; the *Cracker*, Lieutenant J. H. Marryat; the *Clinker*, Lieutenant J. S. Hudson.

"By 6.30 A.M. the flotilla was off Vodina, three miles north of Glofira. Here long tiers of corn-stacks and much fuel were stored along the coast, with a Cossack guard for its protection. I immediately detached Commander Kennedy with the boats, covering him with the gun-vessels, and in a short time all was in flames, and the party cleverly re-embarked at the moment that a large body of Cossacks rode up from Lazalnite.

"The town of Glofira became the next point of attack. It was greatly changed in appearance since visited by Captain Rowley Lambert in July last. Corn-stacks, for some miles in extent, might now be seen along its southern and eastern face, placed close to the water's edge ready for transport, and between the rows of

houses tier on tier were to be seen. A trenchment had been cut along the edge of the cliff commanding the spit; large bodies of mounted cavalry were seen lining it, and a men showed in the rear of every house, endeavour to flank the defences, as we destroy the corn-stacks stored on a high east of Glofira, I dispatched Commander Kennedy, with the boats of her majesty's *Curlew*, a paddlebox-boat and cutter of the *Vesuvius*, the whole towed by the *Cl* Lieutenant Hudson, with orders to turn spit end, and then attack in that direction after giving a certain time to allow the enemy's attention to be divided by the other at the gun-boats *Recruit*, *Grinder*, *Boxer*, *Cracker*, opening fire on the intrenchment with Shrapnell-shell, and on the corn-ricks and carcasses. As the enemy could only be lodged from the extreme west, and the carcasses did not answer well, and, moreover, endangered the whole town, I dispatched Lieutenants Day and Campion with the strongest force of marines available, a howitzer boat, two rocket-boats, to aid more effectually in carrying out my object. Lieutenant Campion, with Mr. Verrey, gunner, charging at the head of the marines, supported by Lieutenant Ross and the seamen, all being under a sharp fire of musketry, succeeded in driving the enemy with considerable loss, out of their trenchwork, and captured a small brass piece, then steadily forced them back, with loss, store to store, until the whole of the vast quantity of corn, stacked ready for thrashing and transport, was in flames.

"The gallant manner in which Lieutenant Campion led the marines deserves to be brought under your notice. Seeing the enemy collecting a number of men, ready to charge our boats if they advanced beyond a ravine on the eastern face of the town, I recalled my force, and the satisfaction of seeing all embarked, and only one man wounded.

"The vessels off Gheisk were now seen to be engaged, Lieutenant Ross, of the *Weser*, having placed them in capital positions; and the enemy moved down large bodies of troops, especially cavalry, to resist his landing, opened fire on him, he very unwillingly ceased to fire on the town to dislodge them. The proceedings of Lieutenant Ross were ably executed, and he fully succeeded in keeping the enemy's check a heavy body of cavalry, which must have much incommoded the small force under Commander Kennedy, who, by the most strenuous exertions, had reached his position, finding the cliff too steep to scale in the face of a large number of troops, who were firing on him from its crest, he very judiciously executed the duty I had entrusted to him with the *Curlew* and the carcass rockets of the ships' boats.

ing every store in flames, except one large government building considerably in the rear. Commander Kennedy speaks in the highest praise of his party, for the shallowness of the water obliged the crews of the boats to be rowing and wading through the water from noon till midnight, the season, too, being now very hot. Throughout the night the stores were burning fiercely, a sheet of flame extending for two miles; but the town of Glofira, except where the troops had used the houses for shelter, remained untouched.

At an early hour on the 6th of November we weighed and proceeded into the Liman, steering towards Gheisk. The valuable services of Mr. George Perry, acting-master of the *Vesuvius*, and Mr. Parker, second-master of the *Recruit*, came here into play; and at an early period I had the satisfaction of seeing all the gun-boats anchored just in their own depth of water, within long gun-shot of the extreme of Gheisk and the neighbouring cape, along the edge of which, for four miles, corn and hay were stacked in quantities far beyond what I had conceived to be possible, at the base of the steppe, as well as that of the spit commanded by the town, the wharves, fish-stores, boats, &c., in numbers were accumulated.

To attack upon as many points as possible I thought, the only way to foil the troops who had now had thirty-six hours to prepare for us; the gun-boats *Grinder*, *Boxer*, *Cracker*, and *Clinker* were left to cover the landing. To Lieutenant Ross, of the *Weser*, I ordered to prepare to land, and divided the force in the Liman into three bodies: the left, under Lieutenants Day and Townsend, consisted of boats and men of *Recruit* and *Boxer*; the centre I intrusted to Commander Kennedy, with under him Lieutenants Hamilton, Marryat, and Mayne, with all the boats of the *Curlew*, *Ardent*, *Grinder*, and *Cracker*, and port rocket and gun-boats of the *Vesuvius*, in charge of the officers named in the list; the right division, under Lieutenant William Strobe and Lieutenant Hudson, consisted of the starboard gun-boats of the *Vesuvius* and those of the *Clinker*, together with the marines, Mr. R. Farquharson, midshipman in charge of the latter. Lieutenant Ross, on the west side of Gheisk Spit, had the boats of the small-arm men of the *Weser*, with a small party from the *Curlew* and the *Ardent*, under Lieutenant Miall and Mr. Tilley, second-master, in readiness to co-operate. The different parties pulled in and effected a landing at several places, fully a mile apart; the Russian troops, within light breastworks, attempted to prevent them, but failed, and in a few moments Mr. Armstrong, mate; Mr. Scott, gunner; Mr. Verey,

ments a screen of flame and smoke, rolling from our men towards the enemy, prevented the latter seeing where or how to manoeuvre in order to cut off any of our small detachments. On the right and centre the enemy mustered strongest, and at one time observing a column of some 1500 Cossacks moving rapidly off the left, I directed Commander Kennedy, who by that time had connected his fires with those of Lieutenant Day, to re-embark all but the marines, and with them to proceed to his right, and I reinforced him with the marines of the *Recruit* and the *Weser*, under Lieutenant Campion. This answered perfectly; the enemy arrived too late to save anything on the left, while our men steadily worked towards the right division, under Lieutenants Strobe and Ross, who, in spite of a heavy but badly-directed fire from the houses on the heights, steadily held their ground, and effectually destroyed a great accumulation of materials for boats and ship-building, fish-stores, cavalry camp-gear, and granaries. When everything but the town of Gheisk was destroyed, I ordered the embarkation to take place, and detached some boats to cover Lieutenant Ross, between whom and his boat the enemy were throwing a body of men, whom, by their uniform, I believed to be regular infantry.

"By 2 P.M. everything was finished, and all the parties safely re-embarked on board their respective gun-boats, the casualties amounting to only six men wounded in all, one of them dangerously, and another severely. Nothing further being left within our reach in Gheisk-Liman, except the store of corn which escaped on the previous day at Glofira, I therefore ordered Commander Kennedy, with the moiety of the boats, to return to their respective ships, and remained with the *Recruit*, *Ardent*, *Boxer*, and *Cracker's* boats to finish what had escaped east of Glofira. On the 6th the weather, which had favoured us most providentially, changed, fogs and strong breezes came on; but directly I was able, the rocket-boats and carcasses were again employed upon Glofira, until the fires extinguished yesterday were relighted, and another extensive accumulation of corn in flames; I then weighed, and returned to the *Vesuvius*, reaching her the same afternoon.

"I despair of being able to convey to you any idea of the extraordinary quantity of corn, rye, hay, wood, and other supplies so necessary for the existence of Russian armies both in the Caucasus and the Crimea, which it has been our good fortune to destroy. That these vast stores should have been collected here, so close to the sea, while we were still in the neighbourhood, is only to be accounted for by their supposing that they could not be reached by us, and judging by the position the squadron, under the late Captain Edmund Lyons,

took up in May last, the Russians had established a camp and fortified their town only to meet a similar attack.

"During these proceedings we never had more than 200 men engaged; the enemy had, from the concurrent testimony of Lieutenants Ross and Strode, and from my own observation, from 3000 to 4000 men in Gheisk alone. Where every officer exerted himself to the utmost, and did all, and more than I expected of them, it would be invidious for me to mention one more than another; it was their coolness, zeal, and example, that rendered steady many of the younger men who for the first time were under fire; and, but for their general intelligence and zeal, the enemy would have easily frustrated our operations. The zeal, good conduct, and gallantry of the men were deserving of every praise.

"Commander Kennedy, my second in command, gave me the most valuable co-operation, and from him, as well as the reports of the other officers, I feel justified in placing before you the names of the following warrant-officers and men who, under fire, behaved remarkably well, viz.:—Mr. Richard Verey, acting gunner of H.M.S. *Ardent*; Thomas Kerr, gunner, Royal Marine Artillery, H.M.S. *Vesuvius*; Peter Hanlan, A.B., H.M.S. *Curlew*; David Barry, A.B., H.M.S. *Cracker*.

"The inclosed plan, illustrative of our operations, by Mr. George Perry, acting-master of the *Vesuvius*, will, I trust, be of use, and I beg you will allow me to call your attention to the unvarying zeal of that officer."

After these transactions, rumours were circulated in the fleets and armies on the waters and shores of the Euxine and the Sea of Azoff that a great enterprise was about to be undertaken somewhere on the coasts of Azoff, or that on several points operations of magnitude were to be attempted. Frequent correspondence and telegraphic despatches upon this subject passed between Sebastopol, Paris, London, Constantinople, Eupatoria, Kertch, and Yenikale; but nothing was determined. While these discussions were proceeding, dense fogs gathered over the Azoff; storms swept it from its northern shores to the straits. The estuary of the Don was frozen, and it became no longer possible for Osborn to keep his squadron on service there. Nevertheless, in very bad weather his light steamers made their way through the buffeting winds, snow, and sleet, looking into every port, and making sure that the commerce of the enemy was stopped, and that his transport arrangements had been rendered abortive. The gallant captain retired to Kertch, and placed himself once more under the personal superintendence of the commander-in-chief. The termination of his

separate command was announced to the admiral in terms of manly modesty, in unison with his actions. The document was submitted to the lords commissioners by Admiral Lyons, with a suitable encomium from him. These official papers appropriately close the narrative of the naval operations in the Sea of Azoff. The despatch of the admiral was written from the *Royal Albert*, Kazatch Bay, December the 1st:—

"I request that you will lay before the lords commissioners of the Admiralty the closed copy of a letter from Captain Osborn, of the *Vesuvius*, dated the 24th of November, informing me that, as the formation of ice commenced in the Sea of Azoff, and as he had been informed by both M. Gopcevitich, an Austrian merchant charged with the shipment of corn in Austrian vessels, and by the Russian authorities at Mariopol, that all chance of neutral vessels obtaining cargoes this year at an end, he had withdrawn to Kertch, and the squadron under his orders, after assuring himself that no merchant vessels remained in that sea.

"I have so frequently had occasion to lay before the lords commissioners of the Admiralty the merits of Captain Osborn under the notice of the lords, that it is perhaps unnecessary on the present occasion that I should say more than that he has maintained his high character up to the close of the service upon which he was employed for six months, and he has done so under my favourable notice the gallant and zealous support he has received from first to last from the officers and men under his orders."

The letter in which Captain Osborn resigned his command of the squadron of the *Vesuvius* in the Sea of Azoff was as follows:—

"Being now, in accordance with your instructions, on my road to rejoin your fleet, I have the honour to report the close of operations in the Sea of Azoff, and the proceedings of the squadron in that sea subsequent to my last letter, dated off Gheisk, 7th of November 1855. On the 7th I received your instructions, with notices relative to neutrals quit the Sea of Azoff on the 20th of November 1855. The weather became most severe, I could only succeed in serving the neutral shipping upon the authorities on shore at Mariopol. But on the 8th of November the ships anchored off Mariopol were duly warned, and on the 9th those of Taganrog likewise. A display of extreme violence from the eastward continued continually from that date until the 18th of November. I then immediately served notice upon the neutral shipping in Berdia. There, from M. Gopcevitich, as well as previously at Taganrog and Mariopol, we learned

the Russian authorities had kept the rals in quarantine ever since their arrival, that the likelihood of cargoes being prod was almost at an end. A Russian officer Mariopol laughed at the idea of the neu-believing they would get wheat this year, told Commander Kennedy, whom I sent ere with a flag of truce, that the neutrals stay the winter.

Under these circumstances, looking to your es and instructions upon the subject, it me a cause of great anxiety for me, lest, he sudden commencement of winter, or tionally, the neutral vessels should fail to the sea on the 20th of November. I fore, as the ice had begun to make, and temperature to fall rapidly after the 13th, tched all the squadron to Kertch, except *Ardent*, *Snake*, and *Clinker*, and with them eeded up the Gulf of Azoff. We arrived Mariopol on the 19th, and found all rals had sailed for Kertch; and on the I sighted Taganrog, and found the roads y, all the vessels that were there having rise left. The ice already extended on r hand some miles from the shore, the appeared to be frozen, and every indica- of winter having set in in that neighbour- was apparent. At Mariopol the river bour was frozen, and much ice lined the as far down as Biéloserai Lighthouse, the ature at mid-day as low as 29° Fahren- From thence I separated the squadron, to examine the whole coast, from Canitchi enikale Lighthouse, most minutely, and single boat of the smallest description o be seen.

n surrendering into your hands the pro- at position in which you have been pleased ploy me for the last five months—that of officer of a detached squadron—allow r, to express, most respectfully, my deep of the honour you conferred upon me, e grateful recollection of the unvarying ess, confidence, and consideration I have enced at your hands; without it I feel I should, as I trust I have, succeeded in ng out your views and instructions.

ext to that, let me again remind you ny anxiety to execute your plans has een an easy task, supported, as I have een, by the gallant and zealous exertions ery officer and man serving in this on; I know not how sufficiently to s my approbation of their conduct. And ot the less pleasing part of my duty to you of the kindly co-operation I have

ever received from the officers of the French navy serving in the Sea of Azoff. Among those more especially known to me, I feel justified in mentioning Lieutenant Cloné, commanding the *Brandon*, Lieutenant La Juchette, of the *Fulton*, and Lieutenant Vidal, of the *Caton*."

During the remainder of the winter the troops occupying Kertch and Yenikale found no occupation. The way in which the houses had been dismantled, through the wantonness of the French soldiers, and the neglect of their officers, caused much inconvenience to the garrison, especially at Kertch. Drunkenness became very general, to the great injury of the men, and perplexity of the officers, who found every plan for its suppression inadequate. The French gradually departed, and the three garrisons, Kertch, Yenikale, and Fort Paul, were occupied by the British-Turkish contingent, and some of the sultan's army. The regular English regiments also departed. These garrisons were well defended, the Turkish contingent being in a high state of discipline, so that the apprehensions were not shared there which were felt elsewhere,—that the Russians would cross the frozen Sea of Azoff in such numbers as to recapture these places. The sea was not for any great length of time so frozen as that large bodies of men could pass over; and if it had been, the Russians were not in a condition to make such an attempt. The garrisons of the three fortresses numbered 20,000 men, and the straits of Kertch were generally sufficiently open for ships to enter and bring supplies. The grand error of the naval and military campaigns of the Sea of Azoff during the season seems to have been, that the Spit of Arabat was left in possession of the enemy. Arabat and Kaffa should have been occupied. For the omission the commanders, naval or military, in the straits and within the Sea of Azoff, were not responsible—they performed their mission; the neglect lay with the chief authorities in the Crimea. The Russians took advantage of this want of foresight, and, notwithstanding all the destruction with which their coasts were visited, they still had hoarded grain inaccessible, overlooked by their enemies; and along the Spit of Arabat, throughout December and the early months of 1856, these stores were perseveringly conveyed to the army at Sebastopol. Negotiations prolonged the armistice which winter began, until peace terminated the struggle.

## CHAPTER CXI.

EUPATORIA DURING THE AUTUMN AND CONCLUDING WINTER MONTHS OF 1855, AND TO THE TERMINATION OF THE WAR.—MEMOIR OF BEHRAM PASHA (LIEUTENANT-GENERAL CANNON)

"I wonder much, being men of such great leading as you are,  
That you foresee not what impediments  
Drag back our expedition."

SHAKSPERE. *Henry IV.*

ALTHOUGH an account of Eupatoria, and a circumstantial record of events there to the summer of 1855, have been already given, it will be desirable to insert here a brief sketch given to the author by a Turkish gentleman who was acquainted with that place and the course of the war there. This is one advantage of serial publications—that additional information concerning events previously related can be supplied at various intervals, without impairing the consecutiveness of the narrative.

Eupatoria is a town of 14,000 or 15,000 inhabitants, composed of Tartars, Greeks, and Russians. It has a considerable export trade in grain, onions, hides, wool, dried meat, and tallow, &c. The town is irregularly built, but it contains some good houses and public offices. Up to the arrival of the allied armies in the Crimea, in September, 1854, no fortifications whatever existed. On the approach of the fleets conveying the troops, Eupatoria was at once evacuated by nearly the whole of the population, and occupied without resistance by small detachments from the three forces, English, French, and Turkish, whilst the main armies took a southerly direction, and landed at Old Fort in September. The Russian armies found themselves so fully occupied before Sebastopol, that they had no time to molest the small garrison left at Eupatoria; and it was decided upon that the Turkish army under the command of Omar Pasha, then in the principalities and along the Danube, should occupy that place, with the view of creating a diversion upon Simpheropol in favour of the allied armies before Sebastopol. The first body of these troops, under Behram Pasha (General Cannon), were landed at Eupatoria early in December, 1854, and before the month of March had expired, 60,000 Turkish soldiers, 6000 horses, cannon, carts, &c., had marched through Bulgaria to the coast in the depth of winter, took shipping, crossed the Black Sea, and were safely landed at Eupatoria; scarcely an accident happened during the whole of these arduous operations, although executed in these stormy regions at that inclement season. No sooner, however, did the Russians see the object of the allied commanders in thus occupying Eupatoria by the Turks, than they commenced assembling their forces in the immediate vicinity. Active preparations were

taken by the Turkish commanders to throw field-works to meet the threatened attack, which was made on the 17th of February, 1855, when Omar Pasha commanded in person. The onslaught took place early in the morning, and was chiefly directed against a battery constructed under the direction of Behram Pasha, but not completed, and from the battery at the right of the town. This battery successfully resisted the attack of the enemy, whose forces amounted to 40,000 men, armed with 100 guns, and, as Colonel Simons states, amongst them some 32-pounders.

No movement was made from Eupatoria till early in April, when Omar Pasha with him 15,000 men to join the allies at Sebastopol. It will be remembered that the bombardment was commenced on the 9th of this month, and uninterruptedly kept up for ten days. During this attack, it was expected that the Russian reserves would attack the allies on their right flank, by crossing the Tchernaya; had this happened, the Turkish troops were to have opposed them. The success of the allies on Sebastopol proved fruitless, and Omar Pasha returned with his troops to Eupatoria; but he could not be induced to make a movement against the enemy, as the convoys of provisions were almost daily passing within a few miles of the town. In June a brigade of cavalry, under the command of General d'Allonville, composed of two regiments of English dragoons, and two of French, were sent to Eupatoria. That gallant general soon made a demonstration against the enemy and captured a convoy of provisions. The Russians kept him at a distance afterwards.

Omar Pasha again returned to the camps before Sebastopol, taking with him nearly 20,000 men; but neither there nor at Eupatoria did the Turkish troops afterwards take an active part in the combat in the Crimea.

Achmet Pasha remained in command at Eupatoria until the conclusion of the war, his troops suffering much from starvation and neglect—the money of the Turkish Government being too late in coming after the fall of Sebastopol. Omar Pasha carried with him 20,000 men to Mingrelia from the Crimea, where he commenced his fruitless campaign in favour of the besieged garrison of Kars.

The above outline of events at Eupatoria and connected with the army of Eupatoria

it was fruitlessly sent from one place to the other, only requires filling up in its latter portions, to put our readers in possession of the remaining history of the war in that part of the Crimea.

During the summer, the neglect of the army at Eupatoria, by the Turkish and allied authorities, was unfortunate. The conduct of Omar Pasha was most reprehensible. He had not urged by the commanders of the Western army to operate so as to obstruct the Russian movements; he pleaded want of cavalry at one time—want of forage another—then want of transport; and to these excuses was added the allegation that the country was so destitute of fodder, he could not move ten miles into the interior. Yet the Russian army found fodder and water, although they had not, like Omar, the sea behind them, with ships of war and transports to convey whatever was required.

When the autumn set in, and the contest between the Russian and the Turkish armies at Sebastopol became closer, the importance of Eupatoria as a base of operations became more pressing upon the consideration of the conflicting powers, and after the fall of Sebastopol, still more so than ever. Omar has been represented as the "stone of stumbling" to operations hitherto; but when he attracted his attention to the Mingrelian expedition, and another Turkish general held the reins of the garrison, matters were not much improved, no well concerted and well planned plan of operations against the enemy was brought into action. The general relations of the contending forces in the Crimea, and the position which the army at Eupatoria had to maintain in relations when Sebastopol fell, were placed before the public in the following light by Colonel A. de Camille, in an article published by him in the *Revue des Débats*:—"It is known that the Russian army occupies a circle of steep heights on the right bank of the Tchernaya, the centre of which is M'Kenzie's Farm, situated on the road to Simpheropol by Bagtché Serai, their right wing at the ruins of Inker-towards the northern forts, and their left above Tchorgoum towards the Valley of the Tchernaya. It is known also that the principal positions of their line are guarded by intrenchments and redoubts. During the siege, a division of that of General d'Allonville, composed principally of cavalry, occupied the Valley of the Tchernaya, the extreme right of the French army. It is represented as a corps of 30,000 men, which was driven from the heights of Ourkussa, and has since taken up its position three leagues to the north-east of the village of Kamli. Our corps of 30,000 can thus arrive at Tchouliou, above Tchorgoum, where the Montenapoleons are, and menace in the rear

the line of the Russians. It appears to result from these facts that the French generals wish to constrain the enemy to evacuate their positions, either by manœuvres, or by an attack on the front whilst the turning corps attacks them on the flank or the rear. At the same time the corps of Eupatoria, reinforced by 20,000 men, who may make it an army, can menace by the flank the communications of the Russians between Simpheropol and Perekop. So it is that the results of the taking of Sebastopol are developing themselves. The corps of occupation of Eupatoria, which was 35,000 strong during the siege, is now of imposing force, and can henceforth assume the offensive. A new despatch of the Russian general-in-chief of the 26th (September) states that already 33,000 men of that army have taken the field, menacing the right flank of the Russians. According to some German journals, the Russians, fearing to see themselves cut off from Perekop, or constrained to accept a battle under disadvantageous conditions, are on the point of evacuating all the Crimea, regarding it as henceforth lost to them. These papers even informed us yesterday that already large convoys of evacuation encumbered the roads of the interior. At Sebastopol the forts and batteries of the north, fire shot and shell daily on the town; but the French side has established batteries in the two forts which remained intact (that of Nicholas and the Quarantine), and on the ruins of other forts, from which we command, in our turn, those of the opposite side. If the Russians were to evacuate the Crimea, either voluntarily or by force, all the northern forts would probably be abandoned and destroyed. They are useful to them as long as their army is stationed in presence of the allies; but from the moment they leave their line of M'Kenzie to concentrate themselves on Bagtché Serai and Simpheropol, their forts would remain completely isolated at the south-west angle of the Crimea, far from the theatre of subsequent operations, and without being able to give any support to the Russian army. On the whole, the information we possess on the military movements in the Crimea causes us to suppose that the allied army has determined on an active plan of campaign during the two months of good weather which still remain, and that they will vigorously pursue the consequences which the great victory of Sebastopol is calculated to produce."

It will throw further light upon this subject if we quote an English authority, as well as that of Colonel St. Auge. Mr. Russell, under date of September 25th, describes Admiral Stewart and a naval squadron as having proceeded along the coast with great display, in order to draw off the forces of the enemy from Sebastopol, under the idea that a descent

was contemplated by the allies somewhere on the coast—an object which was not attended with success. The squadron went as far as Eupatoria, and Mr. Russell obtained the following information and opinions from the officers on board:—"At Eupatoria they found no less than 31,000 Turkish infantry in a fine state of discipline, and in perfect readiness for any military service. These soldiers were all reviewed and inspected on the occasion, and officers of rank, English and French, were alike gratified by the disciplined alertness and efficiency of these neglected and almost useless infantry."

Mr. Russell then proceeded to express his own opinions on the result of what he had learned from the officers of the fleet:—"It is difficult to imagine that these Turks could not aid us materially in driving the enemy from Sebastopol if strengthened by an English division and two French divisions, which could be easily spared from this army at present. Moreover, they might be aided by all our cavalry, which are now in very excellent condition, and are, nevertheless, of no earthly service at Kadikoi or Baidar. Between French, English, and Sardinians we could send a force of at least 5500 sabres to the north side of the Alma, which certainly would have nothing to fear from any Russian cavalry in the Crimea. Colonel M'Murdo has collected more than 10,000 horses and mules for the service of the land-transport corps, and it would be very strange indeed if he could not spare enough of them to supply and carry food for an expeditionary column during a week or ten days, nor is there any reason why we should not be able to aid the French *intendance* in the field, should they require our assistance. The allied fleet could embark and land the whole force in forty-eight hours, or, at all events, in sixty hours, at any point between Balaklava, or Kamiesch and Eupatoria. In the recent short cruise to and from Eupatoria the fleet could not discern any traces of the Russians north of the Alma. They could not make out a convoy, or even a single tent, all along the coast and the adjacent country, which can be swept by the telescope for several miles inland. It would seem, indeed, as if the Russians did not use the Perekop Road to any great extent, or that their convoys made a *détour* towards the east in order to avoid meeting with any flying column from Eupatoria. Possibly they send most of their supplies down by the Tchongar Road, and there is every reason to believe that the Russians have established another route between Perekop and Tchongar for the purpose of advance or retreat. I have heard that some time back Captain Sherard Osborn, with one man, passed up the Straits of Genitschi in a punt, and pushed along through the rushes in the pestilential salt marshes up to Tchongar Bridge, which he

observed minutely, and that he saw enough to satisfy him that an immense proportion of Russian supplies were conveyed into the Crimea by that route. Perekop is quite safe from sea-side. The *Spitfire*, surveying vessel, Captain Spratt, made several attempts, but was not able to get very near the land. He believed that, to make assurance doubly sure, the enemy take the road south between Staroe and Crasnoe Lakes, instead of going between the sea-coast and Staroe. The road becomes, however, a matter of indifference to us, as we are not to make any offensive movement, and although some people hug the hope that the czar will not be able to feed his army during the winter, the quantity of stores piled up on the north side is, to my mind, a guarantee for their disappointment."

The attention of military circles all over the Continent was directed at this juncture to the peculiar relations of the opposing armies in Crimea, and the importance of an advance on the part of the allies from Eupatoria in reference to the general situation. As an instance of the views in which foreign speculations and opinions were indulged concerning this matter, the following passage, from an article in the *Military Gazette* of Vienna at the end of September, is quoted:—"The demonstration—so often declared as so often denied—of the allies from Eupatoria appears, after all, to be really about to be made. Prince Gortschakoff reports on the 23rd that nearly 30,000 men are concentrated at this spot, that his left wing is repeatedly alarmed, and that on the 22nd there was a collision with the Russian infantry, after which the allies withdrew to Urkusti, descended, however, the plateau again on the 23rd, and repaired a road. Since Urkusti, or Riukasta, lies to the north-east of the right bank of the Tchernaya, the Russian detachments stood before the 8th of September near Biuk Miskamia, on the right bank of the Tchernaya, it results from the above despatch that the district of the Tchernaya is in the hands of the allies, and that the Russians have stationed their left wing near Tchoulia and Kandi, their centre near Man-Kaleh and M'Kenzie's Farm, and their right wing beyond Inkerman as far as the reinforcements, while the bulk of their army is at Bagt-Serai. The attack on the Russian left wing near Tchoulia, if repeated and successfully followed up, may be intended to produce the evacuation of the positions mentioned above, and thus force the Russians to fall back on their main body. The difficulties of the ground are, nevertheless, of such a description, that the practicable route for cannon only exists along the regular route beyond the Tchernaya, near Kam Most Farm, through Khutor M'Kenzie, then across the Belbek, near Khutor. The possession of this road must first be secured before

for further offensive operations can be carried on."

Circumstances seemed to favour the speculations of the foreign military journalists, for a letter from the St. Petersburg correspondent of the Edinburgh paper, under date of September 13th, thus wrote:—"Under date the 23rd instant, Prince Gortschakoff reports that the Russians had landed 20,000 men at Eupatoria, and that they now had a force of 30,000 men on their flank. On the 22nd they attacked the Russian infantry, who retreated to the heights near Rusta."

Under date of the 28th, Prince Gortschakoff reported:—"Yesterday the enemy landed at Eupatoria, to the number of 33,000 men, and occupied different villages in the neighbourhood, from which they withdrew towards evening, near upon our left flank. Nothing of importance, has, however, occurred. Our Cossacks have had an encounter with a French reconnoitering-party near Kertch, and made twenty prisoners."

On the 9th of October a telegraphic despatch from the prince gave the following communication:—"The enemy has advanced from Eupatoria, threatening Perekop, but retired on meeting our advanced posts. On our left flank the enemy has detached sixteen battalions from Rusta to Janisla."

Later in October the prince sent a despatch to the Russian minister of war, in which he notified the allies at Eupatoria, but also at Kertch and Theodosia. As the proceedings of the allies at these places will not require a separate chapter, the despatch of the Muscovite minister in reference to all these places is given here:—

The movement of the enemy's vessels between Eupatoria continues. On October 15th, 16th, and 17th, they disembarked cavalry and infantry; and on the 18th the disembarkment of troops was very considerable. Towards evening there were thirteen vessels, eight transports, and forty-six transports in the roads. Lieutenant-general Baron Wrangel, in command of the command of the troops in the southern part of the Crimea, reports that having received notice of the arrival at Kertch of the enemy's troops, to the number of 30,000, he, to assure himself, effected a reconnoissance in the direction of Kamich-Bourno and Kazaimine. Our Cossacks arrived at these places without encountering obstacles on the part of the adversary, who retired before them at several points. It was ascertained that the camp of the allies near the Jewish cemetery had not been fully established, and that five steamers were anchored in the Bay of Kertch, three at Yenikale, and one at Kamich-Bourno. At Theodosia two of the enemy's steamers have

entered the road and attempted to approach the city, but the fire of one of our batteries compelled them to take again to sea."

On the 27th General Simpson wrote to Lord Panmure as follows:—

"The force from Eupatoria, under the command of General d'Allonville, made a reconnaissance on the 22nd instant. They fell in with a large force of the enemy, and offered them battle. The Russians, however, retreated before them, after the exchange of a few rounds with the horse-artillery.

"I beg to inclose a copy of the report of Brigadier-general Lord George Paget, in command of the English cavalry at that place.

"I have the honour to report the departure of all the Turkish force that were here for Asia, with the exception of some artillery, which has been transferred to the contingent.

"The weather continues magnificent, and the health of the troops all that can be desired."

The inclosure referred to by General Simpson was dated the 26th, and was as follows:—

"I have the honour to report that the allied troops stationed here, under the command of general of division, d'Allonville, marched from Eupatoria on Monday morning, the 22nd instant. The force advanced in two columns, the details of which are in the margin\* the one taking a northerly direction, and skirting towards the east of the lake Sasik Guiloie, until it arrived at the village of Karagurt; the other proceeding by the strip of land between that lake and the sea to the town of Saki. The light cavalry brigade and troop of horse-artillery under my command formed part of the first-mentioned column, which was commanded by General d'Allonville himself. We marched at daybreak, and arrived at Karagurt (18 miles) about 4 p.m., when we bivouaced for the night, and which, before leaving, we destroyed. When we had advanced within about three miles of this village we came in presence of a force of about twenty squadrons of Russian cavalry, who retired before us, after some shots from the French horse-artillery, which told with some effect.

"On the morning of the 23rd we proceeded, at daybreak, in a southerly direction, passing close to the village of Temesch, where we came in sight of a body of Russian cavalry, considerably superior in numbers to that we had seen the evening before, a strong force of guns, and,

\* "1st column—Six Ottoman battalions, eight French battalions (de Faily), half the Bashi-bazouks, four Ottoman squadrons, one Ottoman battery (*montée*), two French batteries (*montées*), 'ambulance active' for eighty wounded, under the orders of Muschir Achmet Pasha. 2nd column—Four Ottoman battalions, two French battalions, half the Bashi-bazouks, twelve Ottoman squadrons, twelve French squadrons, ten British squadrons, six pieces of horse-artillery of each nation, and 'ambulance active' for eighty wounded, under the orders of the general commander-in-chief (*supérieur*)."

I believe, some battalions of infantry. This body also retired before us, at a considerable distance, while we continued our advance to the village of Tuzla, on a rising ground, to the left of which village General d'Allonville took up a position and offered battle, Captain Thomas's troop of horse-artillery firing several rounds with precision, which were answered by the enemy without effect. After waiting here for two hours, and seeing that the enemy were effecting a further retreat, General d'Allonville formed a junction with the column under Muschir Achmet Pasha, at the town of Saki, where he bivouaced, destroying the town and considerable Russian cantonments.

"On the 4th instant (yesterday) we returned to Eupatoria by the sea-coast road. On the first day's march the French cavalry were in front—the English cavalry in support—the Turkish cavalry on our left flank. On the second day the cavalry under my command were in advance, supported by the French cavalry—the Turkish cavalry on our left flank.

"I have great satisfaction in stating that General d'Allonville expressed to me his approval of the manner in which the cavalry I have the honour to command manœuvred in the field, as, likewise, of the good practice of our horse-artillery; and I may perhaps be permitted to express my acknowledgments of the courtesy evinced towards me and the troops under my command, by the general during the time we were in the field, and since we landed at Eupatoria. I beg to inclose a return of casualties, caused by exhaustion, from the want of water, of which there was a very great scarcity everywhere.

"Captain Hamilton, Royal Navy, has requested me to inform you that the French brig of war *Alouette*, and her majesty's ship *Diamond*, co-operated with the troops on this occasion; but that he, finding a sailing vessel unhandy on this service, placed the guns and men of the *Diamond* on board the steam transport *Oneida*, from which he fired on the flanks, and on some advanced pickets of the enemy."

On the 27th, 28th, and 29th, the united French and British undertook fresh reconnaissances, and were sharply opposed by the enemy. The Royal Horse-artillery attached to the brigade of Lord Paget were very efficient, and Captain Thompson, in command of that arm of the force, distinguished himself by his skill and courage. Lord Paget showed a spirit and ability worthy of the name he bears, and of which the British army is so proud, as associated with the glorious recollections of the Peninsula and Waterloo. The following report of the brigadier-general to the commander-in-chief in the Crimea was dated October the 30th:—

"I have the honour to report that the allied

forces stationed here, disposed as per march, marched on the small town of Saki, on morning of the 27th instant, under the command of General of Division d'Allonville.

"At the further extremity of the strait that divides the sea from the Lake of Saki, the column marched by the route of Guiloie (by which route the column marched, the ground rises to the level of the steppe that universally prevails. On reaching this point the allied cavalry and horse-artillery made a rapid advance to the front for about five miles, in an easterly direction, passing to the left of Saki. We there found the enemy in much the same position in which we left them on the 23rd instant, though they had, to a certain extent, intrenched themselves. General d'Allonville from this position opened a fire with much effect, which continued for nearly an hour, and which warmly responded to by the enemy. Captain Thomas's troop of horse-artillery being supported by the 12th Lancers, the Carabiniers, 4th and 13th Light Dragoons being in second line in reserve. The loss to the allies on this occasion was thirty killed and wounded; English artillerymen having been slightly wounded, two horses killed and three wounded. We then withdrew to the town of Saki, where we bivouaced for the night.

"At daybreak on the 28th instant the cavalry and horse-artillery made another advance, in rather a more northerly direction to the south of the village of Temesch, in endeavour to turn the right of the enemy to draw him into action, which, however, appeared to show no disposition to respond to, and we consequently returned to our bivouac at Saki, in front of which the infantry remained to secure our rear. On the second night there was a total want of water, consequence of the drain upon the wells the night before, and there was an absence of water for a circumference of many miles to the front. The column, therefore, returned to Eupatoria yesterday, the 29th instant.

"I beg to report that I have attached to my command the Honourable Charles Keith, 4th Light Dragoons, to General d'Allonville, during the time the troops are in the field; and the Honourable Captain Clifton, 12th Lancers, on board her majesty's ship *Diamond*, to assist Captain Hamilton, R.N., in his operations."

\* "First column, under the command of Muschir Achmet Pasha:—Division of Turkish and Egyptian infantry, each with a battery of artillery; one brigade of Turkish cavalry, with a troop of horse-artillery.

"Second column, under the command of General Division de Failly:—A section of French engineers, battalions of French infantry, two battalions of artillery.

"Third column, under the command of General Division d'Allonville, Commander-in-chief:—A brigade of Turkish cavalry (Ali Pasha); division of French cavalry, with its troop of horse-artillery (General P. Hazy); brigade of British cavalry, with its troop of horse-artillery (Brigadier-general Lord George Paget)."

In reference to the same transactions, General Gortschakoff sent the following despatch to his government :—

"On the 15th (27th) of October, the allies in left Eupatoria, with from twenty to thirty squadrons, and three batteries, followed six battalions of infantry, and marched on to the spit of land.

Our advanced-guard fell back upon the Tchébotar position, where the whole of General Schabelsky's cavalry had been ordered to concentrate. The enemy, who had massed their troops to the left, in the direction of the Tchébotar telegraph, continued their movement as far as the ravine which runs from Temesch in the direction of Tchébotar, where they were opposed by the fire of our battery in position, which they replied by a round from their artillery placed near the ravine. However, on the morning of the reinforcements coming up from the sides of our advanced-post, our adversaries fell back on Saki, and, at nightfall, withdrew to the ground situate between that village and the Guiloie, where they bivouaced.

Our troops remained in the position they occupied; Lieutenant-general Prince Radziwill, who had arrived with his detachment at six o'clock in the evening, halted near Djamine.

On the 16th (28th) the enemy repeated their offensive movements in two detachments, one against Tchébotar, the other, to the left, against Djamine.

Our advanced-guard remained, as on the previous evening, in its position; and Lieutenant-general Prince Radziwill's detachment moved itself further to the right, with two squadrons of Lancers thrown forward *en échelon*. On the enemy's left column, which was moving slowly on Djamine, had passed the Temesch lighthouse, General Schabelsky ordered up a regiment of Dragoons of the reserve to the right of the Lancers. Perceiving this movement, the enemy immediately fell back and rejoined the right column, which had been lined in front of Saki.

In the night between the 16th and 17th (28th and 29th) the enemy set fire to the village of Touzly, and, under cover of the fire of our steamers, returned to Eupatoria by the spit of land. Our cavalry resumed its former positions."

Nothing occurred in October to vary the monotony of the operations of the troops under Generals d'Allonville and Paget. During the first part of November, these reconnaissances and consultative actions were continued, but did not materially influence the fortunes of the war. On the 2nd of November, the Turkish Lieutenant-general, Ali Pasha, and Lieutenant-colonel Tottenham, of the British army, were

engaged in a small exploit which was accomplished satisfactorily, and was thus reported by Lord Paget to his excellency the commander-in-chief :—

"I have the honour to report that a portion of the allied troops stationed here, under the command of General of Brigade Ali Pasha, strength as per margin,\* were sent yesterday to the village of Tchotai, fifteen miles to the north of Eupatoria, in consequence of information of some stores of hay, live-stock, &c., having been collected there by the enemy.

"The two squadrons of the 12th Lancers were commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Tottenham, of that regiment, whose report I have the honour to enclose, and by which it will be gratifying to observe that this operation met with the most complete success. The remainder of the allied forces here made at the same time a demonstration to the right of this village, for the purpose of drawing off the attention of the enemy; the English brigade of cavalry advancing as far as Yultschuk, the French on their right.

"Colonel Pole, 12th Lancers, was in command, an attack of fever having for some days confined me to my bed, and he reports that no enemy made its appearance in any force."

The report of Colonel Tottenham to Lord Paget was as follows :—

"I have the honour to report that, agreeably to brigade orders of the 1st inst., I proceeded at 4 A.M. yesterday, in command of two squadrons of the 12th Royal Lancers, to join the force under Ali Pasha, ordered to assemble in front of the Turkish cavalry camp.

"At daylight we marched through Alchir to Tchotai, a village about fifteen miles from this. The Turkish cavalry were in advance, supported by the English and French squadrons. We arrived at Tchotai about half-past eleven o'clock, and captured 1 Russian commissariat officer (as it is supposed), 1 Cossack, about 40 arabas, and about 3000 head of horses, camels, oxen, and sheep; 3 Russian carriages were brought in, and a considerable number of the inhabitants of the village. We started on our return at half-past one o'clock, and destroyed 30 large ricks of hay. We arrived in camp about half-past eight: no resistance was offered by the enemy."

Under date of the 6th (18th) of November, Aide-de-camp General Prince Gortschakoff sent to his government the following representation of the state of things in the Crimea, especially at Eupatoria :—

\* "Under the orders of General of Brigade Ali Pasha :—Bashi-bazouks, two regiments of Turkish cavalry, two French squadrons (Hussars), two English squadrons (Lancers)."

"Nothing remarkable has taken place in the Crimea. According to information deserving of credit, only a small portion of the Turks have left Eupatoria. The European troops have remained there, and on every point the enemy generally is occupied in making great preparations for the winter. The number of the enemy's ships of war in Kamiesch Bay and in Sebastopol roads is very small."

The remainder of the month of November passed away without anything having been achieved by the allies, except exercising their cavalry in petty reconnaissances. Even these terminated with the month of November; and the winter and early spring, until peace put an end to all expectation of future action, were spent in a way dreary and monotonous. Seldom had a garrison so little to encourage enterprise or afford amusement. Thus Eupatoria, strategically a place of great importance if in the hands of generals who knew how to use it, was occupied by a large army for many months,—fed at great expense from beyond sea, and causing the costly employment of a large amount of transport in conveying the appliances of war, and bringing troops backward and forward, as the policy or the caprice of the generals-in-chief changed,—and yet the only advantage which resulted was the detention of a considerable body of the enemy's troops as a corps of observation.

In another page it was noticed that the first Turkish division which landed at Eupatoria, when the allies determined upon occupying the place in force, under Omar Pasha, was commanded by Behram Pasha, so much better known as the English general, Cannon. This officer took a prominent part in the war on the Danube, and at Silistria and Giurgevo crowned himself with immortal honour by his valour and skill. His conduct in relieving Silistria was at once talented and daring, to a degree not often met with in the annals of war. He saved Silistria, and inflicted upon the Russians the most profound humiliation which they had experienced during the whole war. No other defeat, except that sustained in the battle of Kars, so thoroughly humiliated the Muscovite arms. The present seems an appropriate place in which to introduce the memoir of a man so eminent, not only for personal heroism, but as a general.

Lieutenant-general Cannon (Behram Pasha) was born at Murroes, in Forfarshire. At an early age he went to India, and joined the Madras army. His first experience in active service was gained in the Coorg war, in which his regiment (the 40th N. I.) bore a distinguished part. Not expecting that the rajah's troops were capable of making a serious resistance, some other regiments had advanced against them, and were nearly cut up. Another

part of the force, including the 40th, after sustaining a fierce opposition from the enemy who was strongly posted within a stool, pushed on so vigorously that the war was brought to a close by the occupation of the country. On the conclusion of this war returned to Britain on sick certificate, at home, the civil war in Spain was raging, "the legion," under Sir de Lacy Evans, being raised. Anxious to see more service entered that corps as captain, and, after recruiting a considerable body of men in south of England, embarked, in the summer 1835, for the north coast of Spain, holding that time the rank of major. At this time he was the place most pressed by the Carlists. The legion and a body of Spanish troops were then sent to relieve it. Major Cannon's striking for the battle-field and military adventure, which amounted to a passion, was strikingly illustrated while he was employed with the force at this place. One day he went on board an English gentleman's yacht which was then in the river. Towards evening firing commenced. Major Cannon requested to be put on shore. Mr. H—, the owner of the yacht, declined to risk the safety of his boat and crew, on account of the boisterous state of the water. After some motive urged by Major Cannon to induce him to give him a passage had failed, the major declared that he would swim on shore. This threat, which was made with the intention of being carried out, induced H— to incur the danger of losing his yacht rather than permit Major Cannon to undergo such a hazardous experiment as he meditated in order to join his regiment and to take part in the battle.

In all the fighting that occurred, there was as during the time the legion served in Spain he took part. It was not till the 5th of July 1836, that the more serious part of the struggle, as far as the legion was concerned, took place. St. Sebastian was the scene where the British troops first gave the Carlists a signal defeat. They stormed and took the Carlist lines, entirely relieved the town, which was really fall into the enemy's hands. In this action Major Cannon, who led one of the regiments during part of the day, was severely wounded. A few weeks, however, rendered him fit to resume the command of a regiment to which he was now been appointed. In repulsing the attacks of the Carlists to regain their lines he again distinguished himself, and was honourably noticed in the despatches. His health, however, failing, advice of his medical man he made a short return to Great Britain. Nothing important occurred during his absence. On his return he resumed command of the 9th regiment. He was just time to be present at one of the bloodiest

most hard-contested actions of the campaign; this was the attack, on the 1st of October, of the British lines by the Carlist army. The enemy, being driven back with great slaughter, seemed to have given up the idea of resuming offensive operations for the season. In the meantime, however, they intrenched themselves most strongly on the heights in front. The legion being strengthened, General Evans took the earliest opportunity that spring afforded of marching against the enemy. The Orimendi, which was the stronghold of the Carlist works, was attacked on the 15th of March. The British and Spanish regiments which General Evans had selected for this operation were again and again repulsed. At the close of the day the general came up to Colonel Cannon, and asked him if he thought that he could take the Orimendi; he replied that he thought he could do so without firing a shot; he added, however, that he would only undertake the task on one condition, viz., that the general should pledge his word that his men should have their knapsacks before nightfall. This being given, he, having cautioned his men against waiting to fire, made a rush upon them upon the Orimendi, their bayonets fixed, and in ten minutes the place, which he held out the whole day against vastly superior bodies of troops, was cleared, and in possession of the British. General Evans immediately rode up to him, and in thanksgiving for this most valuable piece of service, said, in a jocular manner, "But you did not shoot!" The colonel's reply was, "Only a shot." A musket had gone off by acci-

dent owing to the failure of Sarsfield, the general of a division of the Spanish army, to advance against the Carlists in another direction, the whole Carlist army was let loose, and was driven down, on the 16th of March, against General Evans's force, and the consequence was that it fell back from the positions it had occupied with skill and steadiness. Our hero's regiment was not broken on that day, and contributed much to the successful retrograde movement. At the period of these events the object of our memoir was only a very few days beyond twenty.

For a better concert being established between General Evans and the queen's generals, he marched against Hernani, the head-quarters of the Carlist army, in conjunction with Espartero. The latter had promised a pension of 1000 reals (upwards of a shilling a day) to the soldier who should get into Hernani. Colonel Cannon's regiment was the first that reached the town. Having brought his regiment to the gates, which he now commanded, close upon the walls, he jumped upon a sentry-box, sprang over the wall, in a moment un-

barred the gate, and let his regiment in. He was adjudged to be the person who had gained the pension. The town was immediately abandoned by the enemy. The capture of Irun, a very strongly fortified Carlist town, was the next result of this combined movement. In this hard-won action the legion had the largest share, and Cannon's brigade did a great part of this work. It was to him that the commandant of the place surrendered his sword—a trophy which he has still in his possession. The surrender of this place may be said virtually to have concluded the war, and the services of the legion. Large arrears of pay were due to the men. All the men, with the exception of Colonel Cannon's, were sent home without getting their claims settled; the reason of their being more justly dealt with, was the firmness of the colonel. He told the Spanish government that he would not suffer a single man to be embarked for England, until the money due to his men was paid up: this determined language had the desired effect; the arrears of the men were promptly liquidated. Colonel Cannon, in consideration of his services to the Queen of Spain in the war, received the first and second class orders of St. Ferdinand, and that of Commander of the Order of Charles III. He also got the medals struck for the action of the 5th of May, before St. Sebastian, and for the capture of Irun.

The following statement of the general's services in Spain is extracted from the official records of the India House:—

"Sept. 1, 1835.—Was present with the force which assembled at Portugalette in the beginning of 1835, and which relieved the city of Bilbao, then closely besieged by the Carlists for several months.

"Sept. 11.—Was major in the 6th or Scotch Grenadiers, in the battle fought at Puento Neuvo, near Bilbao, on this day.

"Jan. 16, 17, 1836.—Was present in the actions on the heights of Arlaban on these two days, and commanded the 4th regiment.

"May 5.—Was major in the 9th Irish regiment at the storming of the lines of St. Sebastian, and battle of Ayeta, where he was severely wounded in the right shoulder and neck; the 9th Irish on this day lost, in killed and wounded, 13 officers and 152 men, although its strength, on entering the field, was only 21 officers, and 473 non-commissioned officers and privates. Received for conduct on this day, the decoration of a knight of the first class of the national and military Order of St. Ferdinand, and promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-colonel. Conduct noticed in general orders.

"May 22, 1836.—Appointed lieutenant-colonel commandant of the 9th Irish regiment.

"*May 28.*—On this day, although suffering severely from wounds, and supported upon his horse, he commanded his regiment, crossing the Uremia, taking the heights of Ometzoyana, and town of Paossages.

"*June 6.*—Was present in this day's action, when the enemy made an attack upon the British lines, where he commanded an advance-post. Conduct for this day noticed in general orders.

"*July 11.*—Present in the reconnaissance and action in front of Fuentarabia, on which occasion he covered the rear during the retrograde movement.

"*July 17.*—Obliged to return to England on account of the wounds which he received on the 5th of May.

"*Sept. 23.*—Rejoined the army in the north of Spain.

"*Oct. 1.*—Was present in this day's action, when the enemy attacked the British lines in great force. Conduct noticed in general orders.

"*March 10, 1837.*—Was present in the battle of this day, where he led the 9th regiment, in column of subdivisions, to the successful attack with the bayonet on the redoubts of Ometzoyana, and captured a standard from the regiment which defended the battery.

"*March 15.*—In like manner this corps, which he led, charged with the bayonet, and without firing a shot, the intrenched heights of Orimendi, and captured three guns. On this day he received a slight contusion over the left breast. Noticed in general orders, and promoted to colonel.

"*March 16.*—Was engaged during the whole of the battle of this day.

"*March 20.*—Appointed to the command of the 9th and 10th regiments, consolidated into one corps of ten companies, consisting of all ranks to nearly 1400 men, and styled the 'Royal Irish.'

"*May 6.*—Present in this day's action, near the house of Aguiri, beyond San Sebastian.

"*May 14.*—This morning led the Royal Irish, and retook the heights of Orimendi; towards the afternoon, led the Royal Irish with the bayonet up to the French gate of the fortified town of Hernani, and was the first to scale the walls, thereby gaining the prize of 10 reals per diem for life, offered by his excellency the general-in-chief, Count Suchona,\* several days previous, to the first man who should enter Hernani. Captured the colours of the regiment which defended the town-hall of Hernani, and drove General Gibuelda and his troops out at the opposite gate at the point of the bayonet.

"*May 16, 17.*—Siege and storming of Irun; led the Royal Irish, on the 17th, in by the French gate. Conduct noticed in general orders.

\* Espartero, afterwards regent of Spain.

"*May 18.*—Commanded the Royal Irish the surrender of Fuentarabia. On this received for conduct in the field, from the 1st of May up to the 18th, the cross of the class of the national and military Order of Ferdinand.

"*May 29.*—Present at the taking of dora."

He was present in the above-mentioned battles, sieges, and affairs, also several actions of minor importance not here mentioned likewise at the taking, fortifying, and putting in a state of defence, a number of towns, villages, constructing lines, erecting field batteries, &c. &c., in the north of Spain.

Colonel Cannon had been noticed in general orders for the high state of discipline which he kept his regiment; he received 1st class, also the cross of the 2nd class of the national and military Order of St. Ferdinand, a silver medal for the battle of Ayeta storming the lines of St. Sebastian, also a gold medal for the storming of Irun, for both which her most catholic majesty was graciously pleased to issue royal decrees. On his return to England he waited upon Sir James R. Carnee, Bart., chairman of the honourable Court of Directors, who was pleased to thank him, in the name of the honourable court, his conduct in Spain, and, unsolicited on his part, the chairman furnished him with letters to the right honourable the governor and commander-in-chief of Madras.

A statement similar to the above was forwarded to the adjutant-general's office at Madras, in 1839, by desire of the commander-in-chief.

After his honourable reception by the directors of the East India Company, Colonel Cannon returned to India, and the high appreciation of his services by the court of directors and by the Governor-general of India, led to his appointment as one of the commissioners for the government of the territories of Mysore. Having held this important post some years, he revisited Europe, and, on his marriage, resigned his appointment. He afterwards became connected with the West Middlesex militia, and in 1853 acted as lieutenant-colonel commandant. On the breaking out of the war between Turkey and Russia, in the same year, he was asked by the Turkish government, through their ambassador here, to take command in their army. Being joined by several more officers, he proceeded to Constantinople. All those officers, owing to the want of confidence in the promises of the Turkish ministers, gave up the idea of taking service. General Cannon, however, stuck to the object he had in view; and having got two other Indian officers to join and accompany him, was appointed a major-general on the staff of the

toman army in Asia. Before, however, going to the theatre of war allotted to him, he paid a visit to the head-quarters of Omar Pasha at Shumla. Omar Pasha saw reason to think that he would be of service to him, and requested permission from the Turkish government to retain him in connection with the army of the Danube. This was at once granted, and General Cannon, now designated Ibrahim Pasha, was appointed to a brigade of the army of the Danube.

Some time after he had become attached to this corps, he was sent by Omar Pasha to congratulate the princes and generals of the allied armies on their arrival in Turkey, and to arrange a meeting of all the chiefs, both naval and military, at Varna, to decide on the course of operations. This conference determined all the subsequent operations of the war. Meanwhile the Russians were pressing the siege of Silistria, with an army of upwards of 60,000 men, a large and efficient siege-train, and a powerful body of engineers, commanded by Schiller, the most celebrated engineer officer in their army. The garrison, encouraged by the heroism of the pasha, the great military capacity of Colonel Grach, the chief of the artillery and engineer department, and by the gallantry of Captains Butler and Nasmyth (two British officers), was making a very brave resistance: but the works of the Russians were advancing; the numbers of the garrison were becoming much reduced; provisions were failing; the inhabitants were in a state of despair; Silistria was on the brink of being surrendered or taken. Omar Pasha had ordered a body of 5000 men, under a Turkish officer from Shumla, to relieve the place, but it had made an unsuccessful attempt to get in. He determined on a second expedition. This he entrusted to General Cannon. The men immediately under the general were scarcely 5000 when he approached towards the camp of the Russians. Having selected a woody height for his own camp, he continued from that place to annoy the enemy. Hearing that the garrison was about to yield, he determined to get into the town, if possible. Seeing that it was impossible to fight his way through the Russian lines, which extended all round the place, he resorted to a stratagem which was attended with complete success. He wrote a letter in English to the governor of Silistria, informing him that he would endeavour to enter by a certain gate in front of the Russians next day. He told him that he had 25,000 men, and he expected that he would meet him with 10,000. This letter was given to two Bashi-bazouks, who, in all probability as was intended, fell into the hands of the Russians. The enemy naturally concentrated their forces near the point mentioned in the letter. In the meantime

General Cannon, leaving some hundreds of his men in his camp, to give it the same appearance as it previously had, with a view of strengthening the delusion of the Russians, made a long *détour* to the west during the night, and next morning got safely into Silistria on that side, the Russians only finding their mistake when his rear-guard was getting safely within the circle of forts constituting the outworks of the place. The ground which his little army had gone over was not less than forty-two miles. He found the garrison in a state of despair, and on the point of capitulating: aided by his troops, it however breathed a new life. Convinced that the place could now be held, he determined on energetic measures. The first of these was to make the pasha solemnly swear that he would hear of no surrender. Then the forts were reconnoitred. Captain Butler was that night struck by a ball from a Russian rifle, at the general's side, and was raised by him. The protracted resistance which Gortschakoff now saw the garrison was capable of making induced him soon to raise the siege. Omar Pasha, on hearing of these events, paid a visit to Silistria, and on meeting General Cannon, held out both his hands to him, and said, "You have saved Silistria." He afterwards thanked him, before the Turkish officers, as the deliverer of Silistria.\*

On the afternoon of the 6th of July, 1854, the Russians were in camp on the mainland, beyond the island of Mogan, and close to the town of Giurgevo. They had also guns, and twelve riflemen, on the island of Ramadan, opposite to Rustchuk. Early on the morning of the 17th of July, Mogan was occupied by the Turkish troops. Hussein Pasha believed their forces in all to amount between two and three thousand men only; he thought the main body had retired. On the morning of the 7th their tents had disappeared; nothing was to be seen of the enemy, and the pasha said he had information that they had all left. He resolved to cross the river in two places—one opposite Rustchuk and the other higher up the river, and nearly opposite Messai Tabia. He commenced between eight and nine o'clock, *à la Franco*, by sending 300 riflemen over first, in front of Rustchuk; but, instead of forming a strong division of his troops and filling all the boats, the whole issuing simultaneously from the right bank to the enemy's shore, boat after boat was dispatched as they were filled by the troops. A battalion of the 6th regiment followed the rifles, all under the command of Ferek Beker Pasha. With these troops no

\* Some additional particulars of the operations around Silistria have been here given: these will render our narrative more complete than the imperfect nature of the available information admitted, when treating of those events.

gabions or sand-bags were sent. Behram Pasha and Captain Burke, R.E., immediately on landing marched to the front with the rifles. The enemy opposed them at once, but were successfully driven back, where they took shelter under a battery, and brought up reinforcements. Behram Pasha, with two companies of rifles, charged the retreating enemy right into the fosse of this battery, where great slaughter took place. Our riflemen, after some time, were obliged to retire, and fell back upon the river and the reserves. At this time the want of gabions and sand-bags was much felt. Lieutenant Ballard advanced with a second body of skirmishers, whilst the rifles were fighting in advance. The reserves should have been formed up, showing a front to the enemy, at the same time a working-party ought to have been employed throwing up intrenchments. Nothing of this sort was done, the consequence was, when the rifles fell back all was found to be in confusion. Fortunately, Ali Pasha arrived at this time with fresh troops, and by his own good example and firmness restored order, and the men commenced to throw up intrenchments. Whilst these operations were going on opposite the town, two battalions passed over in front of Messai Tabia, upwards of a mile higher up the river. Lieutenant-colonel Yaver Bey (Ogilby) came over with the first body of these troops, about 500 men; his object was to form a junction with the other troops, which he successfully accomplished, after meeting with a determined resistance. A detachment of 150 men, belonging to this body of troops, were severely handled at one of the enemy's batteries close to the river, where they made a desperate fight. Captains Arnold and Meynell were killed here; the men running out of ammunition, were forced under the bank of the river, and nearly all killed. No attempt to send reinforcements to this party from the opposite bank was made. The other battalion (for they were sent in three different detachments) met with resistance immediately on reaching the shore; they were hard pressed by the enemy, but showed a bold front, and retired up the bank of the river, fighting well; and although the enemy's infantry, supported by four squadrons of cavalry and two guns, were all directed against our troops, this brave little band repulsed them, and the enemy withdrew. Lieutenant Burke, R.E., was killed with this party, and the Turkish troops lost full 150 men slain. To return to the original position. After a great deal of persuasion Hussein Pasha was induced to send over reinforcements, making the numbers full 5000 men. The whole force, with the exception of the last-named body up the river, now remained at the first landing-place, chiefly composed of the brigade of the gallant Ali Pasha, holding

possession of a battery of the enemy's as left of their position, their right extending yards down the river, and their front well protected by a creek of water. In this position the Russians, advancing in strong columns from Giurgevo and Slobodsa, made four distinct, desperate combined attacks upon the Turks, but were each time nobly repulsed with great slaughter, the Turkish soldiers rallying from their positions, and charging the Russians to the point of the bayonet. At sunset the action ceased. The Turks were actively engaged throwing up intrenchments all the night of the 7th instant, expecting to be attacked the next morning. The Russians could not have had more than fifteen or sixteen thousand men, with not more than sixteen guns, engaged. Their loss was great.

Slobodsa, on the same side, was still in the hands of the enemy. General Cannon strongly advised not only the taking of this place, but the following up of the Russian army. Hussein Pasha was averse to any more fighting, and in this view he was encouraged by other officers, who had served in the battles of Giurgevo. Hussein Pasha, in order to give effect to his refusal to furnish troops for following up the Russians, showed a letter of remonstrance to General Cannon. The general persisted in his application, and at length wrung from the pasha his consent to furnish a sufficient force, on the understanding that the general was to give a written guarantee that he would relieve Hussein Pasha of all responsibility, which was readily furnished, and seen to relieve the pasha from a heavy load of responsibility, who, although a brave and resolute man, wanted confidence in his own capacity for great command. He was then at the head of an army of 40,000 men—a body of troops requiring considerable experience and power of command. The very next day General Cannon crossed the Danube with fresh troops, and took possession of Slobodsa. The main body of the Russian army, by this time amounting to sixty or seventy thousand men, made a demonstration but failed to attack the Turks in their new positions. The retreat of the Russians, not only from the Danube, but from the principalities, was the result of these disasters, which General Cannon, without any other aid from the British, excepting five or six officers, effected by the principal means of inflicting.

When the Turkish army was sent forward to assist the allies in the Crimea after the protracted defence of Sebastopol, General Cannon was selected by Omar Pasha to take command of the first division. This he safely landed at Eupatoria. But that place was not in a condition to resist an attack from a large Russian army, which was near it. The French had a party of engineers there, under Colonel d'Osmond, who were constructing defensive

ks. These consisted of a ditch, and a holed earthen wall all round the town. General Cannon was satisfied that such a method of fortification was totally insufficient, remonstrated with the authorities of the armies on the subject. His objections were, that these fortifications were too far from the town, and if the Russians broke through any part of them, the whole army would get in at once. Besides, there was a considerable number of windmills outside; these the Russians could easily take, and if so, could plant guns on them and fire upon the town. His proposal was to construct a horn-shaped redoubt outside of these windmills, which to mount as many guns as possible. If properly manned, would prevent them getting near enough the town to fire on it. As long as it was held they would not dare attack any part of the town, for its guns would sweep the whole space around the town. After a great deal of correspondence, General Cannon succeeded in getting his plan adopted, and that of the French engineer set aside—the latter seeing reasons to object to the general's plan. The attack on Kars was made shortly after this, by Liprandi, the Russian general, tested the soundness of General Cannon's theory. This horn or redoubt was the point which he first fell upon, and, when taken it, there can be no doubt that he had got possession of the town.

In the autumn of 1855, General Cannon was ordered by the Turkish government to join the army of Omar Pasha, on the coast of the Black Sea, which was intended for the relief of Kars. Reaching Suchum Kaleh Omar Pasha told him that he intended to make an expedition into Mingrelia to Tiflis, thinking to occupy that place, and thus to draw off the Russians from the blockade of Kars. General Cannon's opinion was that the Turkish army, which was pretty well provided with transport, should be directed on Kars at once, through Erzerum, and he felt convinced that Omar Pasha's plan would be a failure. The route to Kars, *via* Erzerum, had many arguments in its favour. It was the high road, as far as Erzerum,

into Persia, and abundance of provisions and transport were to be had. The result of Omar Pasha's expedition fully justifies the opinion of General Cannon. Had his views been adopted, Kars would have been saved; for it is ascertained beyond all doubt, that Mouravieff had determined, in the event of Omar Pasha advancing on Kars, to abandon the siege.

General Cannon holds the rank of *ferik*, or lieutenant-general, to which he was raised, in 1855, in the Turkish army. He has the order of Abdul Medjidî, and medal for the Danube, and another for Silistria. His return to military service in Turkey is extremely likely, as he stands on the best terms with the government and army—his object and mode of proceeding, when in command of Turkish troops, being not to introduce British rules and discipline among them, but to develop and improve those elements of organisation that already exist in the Ottoman army. By working out their own military system, which is after the model of the Russian and French armies, there is no ground for the operation of native prejudices being excited against him, and efficiency is thus much better promoted than by the introduction of regulations, however excellent, from the British school of military science.

It must, however, be admitted that the Turks when disciplined in the British system become very effective soldiers. They form strong attachments to English officers, rendering a ready obedience, and will follow them with a fidelity not surpassed by British troops. They soon acquire the English system of drill, and are exceedingly proud of the acquirement, displaying much soldierly alertness and order. They are more available in throwing up earthworks, perform long marches with less suffering, and with greater rapidity; they can endure hunger better, and are temperate. The vice of intoxication, so unfavourable to the discipline of the English, is nearly unknown among the Turks. They are brave in the field, cheerful on the march, and vigilant sentinels under English command.

## CHAPTER CXII.

## POLICY AND PROCEEDINGS OF THE ALLIES AT SEBASTOPOL AFTER THE CAPTURE

"One indifferent general is better than two good generals of co-ordinate authority."—NAPOLEON I.

ALTHOUGH divided command was a serious drawback to the successful continuation of the war from the first, it can scarcely serve as a sufficient excuse for the unfortunate want of foresight, and ignorance of the locality, that was displayed by the military authorities after the fall of the south side of Sebastopol. In the first place, it surely can never be explained why a large force from the French army was detached, to make a *détour* by the Valley of Baidar, through intricate passes, in complete ignorance of the natural or artificial positions the enemy was holding; and this in a country as convenient for ambush or strategy as it is possible to conceive, and with which the Russians were well acquainted, while the allies had no knowledge of it. Besides which, it was contrary to the well-considered intention of keeping the sea as a basis of operations—so necessary to an army ill provided with the means of land transport, and deriving its resources from transport steamers. The Valley of Baidar was a valuable acquisition until the fall of Sebastopol, as it furnished an abundant supply of forage and timber; but, after that event, there was no real necessity to retain more space than was strongly entrenched or easily defended.

Now if a demonstration only had been made from Baidar, simultaneously with a naval one against the northern forts, while a descent was effected at the nearest convenient point to the mouth of the Bulganak, an advance might have been accomplished upon Simpheropol, along a plateau which, rising gradually from the sea, extends to within half a mile of that place at an elevation of nearly 100 feet; so that an army approaching would find the town itself and the outlets to Perekop, Karasubazar, the coast at Aloushta, and Sebastopol through Bagtché Serai, in a plain beneath their feet: most of these roads separated from each other by intervening elevations, but the one on the right bank of the Bulganak, approaching to the immediate vicinity of the town, commanding the rest; so that there could be no chance of Simpheropol making any resistance from an attack of this sort.

Much has been said about deficiency of water in this neighbourhood; but this idea arose from none having been found between Eupatoria and Chobatar; whereas, supposing the left wing of an army marching on the Bulganak, with its right wing moving on the right bank of the Alma, a sufficient supply of water would have been secured. In fact, the Bul-

ganak itself has a good supply higher up, is lost afterwards in passing through the land. There are water-mills along its course, and numerous farms and villages, with wells and springs.

The distance from the coast at the mouth of the Bulganak to Simpheropol is under twenty miles; and a strong position might have been entrenched at a considerable elevation, between the two streams which cross the high road to Sebastopol. A railroad with locomotives have been laid down very expeditiously on an easy incline. Eupatoria would have been as valuable as a *point d'appui*.

It is difficult to suppose that the Russians would have awaited the result of an attack of this description; for we have reason to believe that they were prepared to evacuate the Crimea from a report in circulation that the allies had removed their heaviest artillery to the coast, and from the proclamation of Prince Gortschakoff, showing that he had the imperial authority to evacuate the Crimea whenever he judged it prudent to do so. If we are to place a reliance on the rumour that a telegraphic communication from the war department proposed an attempt like the above mentioned, in consequence of information received of an intended attack on the allies, it is one of the deplorable mishaps which the Crimean expedition was doomed to suffer, and prevented glorious results.

If the authorities had been sufficiently impressed with the importance of this idea, the expedition to Kinburn might certainly have been deferred. In fact, if necessary at that time, it would appear to have been most anxious to accomplish it in the spring, when there would have been some chance of success in carrying it up.

Some are of opinion that it was too late in the season to undertake such an advance as has been above described; if so, what a mistake was the first expedition to the Crimea made in a later period; but, considering what a position existed at Eupatoria to fall back upon, we do not think it can be maintained that no risk existed; whereas the most important results might have been expected from it. A movement would have utilised Eupatoria, where so large a body of troops were unemployed.

The generalship displayed by the allies during the siege, but more especially after the fall of Southern Sebastopol, was most severely criticised by the officers of the garrison.

tations for peace were opened. Russian elements, military and civil, well acquainted with the topographical character of the vicinity, who were in the Crimea, and even in Sebastopol at the period, have assured the emperor of the practicability of the strategical undertaking by the Bulganak. They affirm that Northern Sebastopol could have been, ought to have been taken. Never, perhaps, did a great and conquering army, with limited resources behind it, do so little to a victory fruitful. Nine months after the opening of Southern Sebastopol, it was retaken with force and justice:—

The little tour made by Major Hammersly, Captain Brooke, and Mr. Sinclair, in the north of the Crimea, only demonstrated more clearly the enormous difficulties experienced by our armies in maintaining their position; it did not; it satisfied every one who heard their confirmation of previous details that if the army had advanced after the 8th of September, followed the enemy, supposing they retreated, or forced their position and defeated them in case they stood, the whole Russian army of the south must have surrendered prisoners of war, and that Kherson, Berislav, Simferopol, and Odessa would have been seriously menaced. All the north side, its guns, its garrisons, all the *matériel*, all the provisions, magazines of Bagtché Serai and Simferopol must have fallen into our hands, and 60,000 or 70,000 men. 'But why so?' one will ask. 'Could they not have got out?' Most certainly not. There are but two outlets from the Crimea; the first is by the isthmus at Perekop; the second is by the straits over the Putrid Sea at Tchongar. The approach to these outlets lies over waterless, stony plateaux, broken up by deep salt lakes. Wells, which yield a scanty supply of drinkable water, are profound pits, of which the shallowest is 100 feet, and many are as deep as 150 to 250 feet. They are scattered over the country very sparsely, and they contribute little water. Under such circumstances, the Russians have been obliged to send their reinforcements by dribblets; to march by water whenever they wanted to push on a single regiment, and to take the greatest pains to reach the wells on their way; in one word, it was impossible for them ever to have marched an army of 5000 or 6000 men by either of those routes in dry weather. Imagine how helpless they have been the position of an army of 80,000 men of all arms, broken and hemmed in by this salt prairie, and the waters of the Sivash, and struggling to reach those outlets under a burning sun, pressed by a victorious enemy! They could not march, nor, if they once got away, could they have pursued; but no general in his

senses would have risked the entire destruction of his army by retreating under circumstances like those from the south of the Crimea; and the Russians confess their position was hopeless had they been attacked and beaten at any point along their lines. It is believed, indeed, by many persons that Marshal Pelissier received orders from the emperor, after the fall of Sebastopol, not to attempt anything further against the enemy, inasmuch as the glory of the arms of France had culminated at the Malakoff, and the prospect of an agreeable peace was visible to the keen eye of the accomplished politician. If such were indeed the case, the czar is under deep obligations to his imperial cousin."

After all, the glory of the French arms at the Malakoff was that of a surprise, of which advantage was vigorously taken. The French were defeated at all points in the storming of Sebastopol, except at the Malakoff, which was entered without resistance and kept with difficulty. No doubt the French troops, in their various points of failure, did all that troops could do; but there was not such glory as ought to have induced them to rest upon what they had achieved. If the emperor gave any such instructions to Pelissier as the above extract expresses, he robbed the French army of much glory, and his ally of the firstfruits of victory; he sacrificed a great cause to unworthy personal purposes. Certainly the conduct of the French general after the 8th of September justifies such suspicions; and the treachery of certain French statesmen, the ministers of the emperor, would lead to the supposition that they compromised their imperial master in this matter, rather than that he was unfaithful to his ally. It is certain that the English generals, Simpson and Codrington, were desirous of more active proceedings, and that both armies were cognisant that a different policy was desired by their respective governments. There gradually arose, out of this state of feeling, an unfriendliness between the men of the two armies, which was suppressed but not extinguished. In the following letter, written by an American lady to the *New York Journal of Commerce* some weeks after the fall of Southern Sebastopol, this is noticed as it appeared to an impartial observer. The letter is so interesting in its details, as descriptive of the state of Sebastopol at that period, and the relations of the north and south sides to one another, as well as of the allied troops before and in the latter, that we give a considerable extract.

"The weather was charming, and we made two or three excursions, one to head-quarters, and one to Sebastopol. My husband made several inquiries for a vehicle, as the ride on horseback would have been too fatiguing for

me. He met a young English officer one day at head-quarters, and expressed his surprise to him that there were no carriages to be hired at Kamiesch or Balaklava. 'Oh,' said the officer, 'every lady rides on horseback.'—'But,' rejoined my husband, 'there are ladies here—captains who bring their wives with them—who would like to hire conveyances.'—'Ah!' said the officer, in a commiserating tone, 'those sort of people could not afford to hire them if they could be procured!' Notwithstanding, we found that by paying fifteen dollars, a conveyance could be had to carry us to Sebastopol. We therefore started, one pleasant morning about ten o'clock, in a sort of farm-waggon without springs, and having sides that sloped outwards. They put in two wooden boxes for seats, covered with blankets, horse-cloths, and old rugs, which I soon found to my misery were infested with fleas, some of which I carried about with me all day, and finally imported to my state-room. We had two miserable horses, one larger than the other, and a Pole for a driver; and, from the specimen we had of his skill, I should think he had handled the reins for the first time that day. His knowledge of language was confined to his mother-tongue, so that we had no means of communication until we engaged another Pole, who spoke a little French, as half-and-half interpreter.

"We were obliged to go first to the English head-quarters, about six miles, for our pass. You can therefore imagine us, my husband and myself on one box, A—— and my little girl facing us—I with my mantilla about me, and holding my parasol as gracefully as possible, in order to do credit to the sort of people to whom I belonged. We jolted along to General Simpson's, then, turning towards the Valley of Inkerman, passed through the English camp towards the Malakoff Tower. We stopped at a *restaurant* in the English camp, ate a small taste, and drank a bottle of lemonade *gaseuse*, for which we paid ten francs and a-half.

"For two miles before reaching the trenches, the ground was covered with cannon-balls, shot, and pieces of shell, like hail from a hail-storm. On the hill-side we could see innumerable rows of graves. I was surprised to see so few soldiers about the Malakoff and Redan. The fact is, that the forts on the north side are impregnable, unless they can cut off communication and starve them out. The Russians keep up such a hot fire upon the city, whenever they see anything of French or English, that any occupation of it by the allies is out of the question. The Redan we found was a large area of ground surrounded by high embankments of earth, and bags filled with earth. The whole interior was a scene of desolation—the guns dismounted, piles of cord-

age, shot, balls, and bombs in every direction, the earth ploughed up with shells. Then we walked down into the town, which was a perfect mass of ruins. The walls of many of the houses are standing, but pierced through and through with holes by the bombardment.

"Some fatigue-parties of English were engaged in tearing the wood from the houses, and carting it to the camp. The houses were built of white sandstone, which resembled marble in its aspect, and in its glory it must have been a beautiful city. We wished much to cross a bridge of boats built by the French to the quarter of Sebastopol occupied by them, but as our pass was English we were refused permission. There is a deal of ill-feeling between the soldiers of the English and French army, and, though the English permit the French to pass through their part of Sebastopol, they will not return the compliment. I tried to find some flowers in the gardens, but did not succeed. It was getting late, so we returned by the Malakoff Tower. This is a fortification within a fortification, but is built of baskets instead of masonry, and underneath the embankments are cells for the accommodation of the soldiers. There we found all sorts of relics, soldiers' caps, bullets, muskets, &c. You would have been amused to see my little girl hunting about with the same avidity that she does for flowers, muttering with the guide in French and loading the poor man with bulletins, until shot till I thought he would fairly drop under the weight of them.

"During all this time the forts on the north side had fired occasionally, and though we did not see the smoke and heard the whiz-whiz of a shell as it passed through the air, we did not talk to ourselves about it, as they did not come in that direction. As we left the Malakoff, my husband would have made a pretty picture, leaning in one hand the arm-bone and holding in the other a piece of shot and shell. Before proceeding to the tower, he added a jawbone to his human relics, intending them as a *souvenir* for Dr. M——. Twenty minutes after leaving the Malakoff, we heard a whiz-whiz that sounded unpleasantly near, and, turning, saw that a shell had fallen directly in the Malakoff Tower, where we had been standing not long before. Soon after another whiz-whiz, and we found that the bomb had fallen outside the Malakoff, in the very path we had walked in from it. The ground began to crawl with the agreeable expectation that we had had a narrow escape of death covered with military glory. We seated ourselves in our carts, and requested our driver to take the shortest road to Kamiesch; but he had been consoling himself with spiritual fort during our long absence, wishing per-

give us the worth of our money, he drove about three miles out of our way. The whole country was before him, for there were particular roads, so he drove along up hill and down dale, while the little breath the driving of the cart left in my body was extended in an occasional scream of terror at a prospective upset. It was very dark when we arrived at Kamiesch, the evening cold and chilly. I had some difficulty to find a boat, and then to ask permission to pass the guard-ship, that I was thankful enough to find myself no more on the *William Penn*. We had a very pleasant passage from Kamiesch, and arrived just in time to escape bad weather."

Throughout the month of September the garrison of Northern Sebastopol made every exertion for prolonged defence. They had ships, guns, and ammunition. Twelve new fortworks were run up in twelve days after the 18th, and they were all placed upon points judiciously selected. These were ultimately completed, and cannonaded the southern side when there appeared to be any hope of advance.

A popular and brief account of the state of Northern Sebastopol at this juncture appeared in the *Frankfort Post Gazette* of September 18th:—The fortifications bordering the roadstead of Sebastopol on the north forms two distinct divisions, some being situated to the west and directed against an attack made from the Black Sea, while the others lie to the south, and converge their fire on Sebastopol and the roadstead. The space separating the two divisions of intrenchments is defended by Fort Constantine, the guns of which command both the roadstead and the sea. On the western side we first meet with the Wasp Battery and the Telegraph; then, turning near Fort Constantine, we find ourselves before Fort Marine, armed with 120 guns, and two other series *rasantes* on the border of the bay. The rocky ground, so cut up with ravines, of the southern table-land, rises from the level of the sea by an abrupt ascent. The table-land before the invasion, crowned with several series, partly cut into the living rock, but then the whole shore of the bay, as far as the Inkerman Lighthouse, has been covered with earthen intrenchments. Further in the ground, in the centre of these works, the summit of the table-land bears the star-shaped bastion named Severnaya, but also called 'the shell.' Of the fortifications on the line of Belbek we have no details whatever. All that is now known is that when, in 1854, the allied army, after the battle of the Alma, marched on Sebastopol, it found the north side unassailable, and was obliged to make the flank attack recorded at the time for the purpose of reaching Sebastopol and reaching the south side.

of the town, which was known to be weakly fortified. This proves that even at that date North Sebastopol was in rather a formidable condition. Since that period they have certainly extended and strengthened the defences of this position; while prolonging them as far as Upper Belbek, they formed an intrenched camp for the Russian army of reserve. At the mouth of the Belbek the allies found, even last year, a regular fort. The forts on the north side are capable of containing a garrison of 25,000 men.

"The new works on the north side are meanwhile progressing very rapidly. Enormous working-parties are engaged upon them. Three new batteries have been commenced on the east of the great Star Fort, between it and the battery, on the verge of the cliff at the entrance to the Bay of Inkerman—*la Batterie du Cimetière*, as the French call it. Two new guns have been added to this last-named work, so that it is now armed with 14 instead of 12 guns. The general character of the new works which have lately been thrown up with so much rapidity by the Russians on the north side is certainly defensive; at the same time some of the works, especially the three last commenced, will perhaps be able to carry their fire into the Karabelnaia suburb, and into that part of the citadel and town which borders on the roadstead. Some of these are finished in all respects but receiving their armament, even the platforms being laid down. In four only are the embrasures not yet pierced. They extend generally in two lines, one line being carried along the heights from the Wasp Fort to Fort Constantine, and having the embrasures directed against the sea on that side, the other line extending along the heights from Fort Constantine to the Cemetery Battery, and looking upon the roadstead of Sebastopol. Several additions and outworks have also been made to the Star Fort. The works generally are of a very solid and massive character, and the rapidity with which they have been thrown up exhibits the remarkable energy of the enemy to which we are opposed. This command of labour appears to be almost unlimited."

Notwithstanding the efforts of the allied squadrons in the Sea of Azoff, recorded in another chapter, stores continually entered Sebastopol, as the telescopes of our officers assured them. The ships of the allied fleets were as unlikely to enter Sebastopol after the reduction of the south side of the city as before that event—the new batteries, as well as those previously existing, foiled any attempt. Whatever the Russians left behind in their flight from the southern side, they took care to carry off all the provisions, for very little were found among the arms, ammunition, and other stores which were taken possession of by the allies.

This seemed to show that either they got all the supplies of that kind away first, or else that they had very little to spare.

A town of tents arose on the north side, within range of the French rockets from Inkerman, but not a rocket was discharged against them, the Russians even appeared confident of impunity so far as the French were concerned. The reason assigned by the French for this inactivity was that the huts were occupied by civilians; this was not the case, except in some small degree, and if it had been, the reason would have been unsatisfactory. We were at war with the civilians of the Russian empire as well as her soldiers, and if the former were found participating in aggressive deeds, even indirectly, our allies were bound by their duty to the alliance to disturb such participants in warlike acts. It was the aggressive spirit of the whole Russian people which had plunged their government in war. All Russia waged war in the name of the autocrat. Why, then, should a camp of civilians, whose hands were building the earthworks, working the forges and foundries, carrying up the ammunition, and organising and operating the skilled labour necessary to an army, be spared from the fire of the French guns? To what purpose did the English destroy the commercial marine stores off Finland, and the nets of the fishermen in the Sea of Azoff, as well as the homesteads of the husbandmen when they contained grain which would have been used to supply the Russian army, if the camp-tents of Northern Sebastopol were to be spared by the French? After the fall of Southern Sebastopol Pelissier assumed a more firm tone to General Simpson, and this was adopted by the French superior officers generally—our chief officers were overruled, Pelissier was virtually commander-in-chief. This general view of the spirit and attitude of the various armies and their leaders will enable the reader to estimate more correctly the detail of events which followed the successful storm of the 8th.

According to Bazancourt 4000 guns were found by the victors. Others were thrown into the harbour before the moment of retreat, those it was supposed might be recovered. The number of projectiles exceeded 100,000, and more than 200,000 kilogrammes (400,000 lbs.) of gunpowder. For a number of days, fatigue-parties were engaged in burying the dead bodies of men and horses which were scattered about in the streets, in the ruins, and partly protruding from beneath piles of rubbish. All the graves had to be covered afresh, and as stench arose from many of the ruins and houses, dead bodies had to be drawn from the lower stories and buried. So dreadful had been the losses of the enemy, that they had to bury their dead where they fell.

Notwithstanding the general ruin, there were large and important structures which the enemy had not succeeded in blowing up, such as the docks and establishments in the neighbourhood; Fort Nicholas, the Quarantine Fort, Fort Alexander, although greatly injured, were not destroyed. We have, on the previous page, related that the docks were constructed by an English engineer, the late Colonel Upton. The barracks and naval stores erected in the vicinity of the Sebastopol docks were projected by a Mr. Ackroyd, architect-in-chief to the Black Sea department. Mr. Ackroyd was an Englishman. Thus to English general the whole of those great structures owed their formation—docks, barracks, and naval stores.

Their labours did not prevent our French friends from celebrating their victory in every imaginable way, even to the singing of a *Deum* in the Sebastopol cathedral. On the 13th, they moved large bodies of troops to the rear, in the direction of Baidar and Tchorgov.

The English manifested considerable activity at first; or, rather, orders were given as if English general contemplated very energetic proceedings. Several divisions of the land transport corps were ordered to hold themselves in readiness to move at a minute's notice. The horse-artillery were paraded in marching order. The heavy field-batteries were moved to the front, for the siege-batteries had been nearly all disabled, except the sailors', who were sent on board. The sappers and miners sank great mines, to explode the various earthworks. It was the intention of the allies to blow up the "unrivalled docks" were especially selected for this treatment. It was curious that, the first few days, the Russians did not disturb the working-parties, although within range they directed some guns upon a party of English, who were burning large piles of Russian clothing which were filthy or stained with blood, but they were permitted to proceed unmolested, although the French erected a mortar-battery behind Fort Nicholas, from which they shelled the Russians who were busied with the new earthworks.

While preparations for the destruction of what remained of Southern Sebastopol were making by the allies, speculation as to the prospects of a protracted occupation of the north side were entertained by the officers of the allied armies; and by the public in Western Europe. A letter written by the correspondent of the *Morning Herald* attracted considerable attention, and although the hopes it excited that the Russians would be obliged to abandon Sebastopol speedily were not realised, yet the statements were founded to a great extent upon facts, and depicted the trying condition under which Prince Gortschakoff must maintain the defence.

"About ten years ago, an order came to Sebastopol that the engineers of the works were to use their utmost endeavours to sink wells on the north side, for the use of the forts there situated. The utmost endeavours were used, but, though thrice renewed, failed. *There is no well, or water of any description, inside the lines of defences on the north side.* A small hamlet of three or four huts on the south of the Belbek has one well, but its waters are too brackish to be drunk. The Russian force now on the north side draws its only supply of water from the river Belbek. Even the government bakeries, which are situated a little in the rear of Fort Catherine, were always supplied with water by lighters built for the purpose.

"In the Star Fort, and the other works on the north side, there are no magazines for provisions, and there are none that could be turned into such, capable of holding even a month's provisions for 20,000 men. Fort Catherine, situated on the great harbour, has large magazines for stores, and from what I have just heard I believe that these are full; but it is quite impossible that these can hold a month's provisions for Gortschakoff's present army. Besides, this depot is entirely within reach of the allied guns from the south side of the harbour.

"The destruction of the Russian fisheries in the Sea of Azoff, which was carpied at by us as an act of cruelty, has, in reality, dealt the most serious blow to the enemy's hopes of success. Those fisheries contributed at least one-half to the support of the Russian troops in the Crimea, and already this loss is severely felt.

"I am informed, on the very best authority, that Simpheropol is entirely abandoned by all who can fly from it, not from fear of the allies, but to the last the Russians believed, with their priests, that the allies would never capture Sebastopol—but simply from provisions being at famine prices. The immense flocks of sheep with which the Crimea abounded are almost exhausted. The few that remain have been driven off to the mountains by the Cossacks, who fear lest they should be taken from them, like the rest, without payment. The consequence is that, even in June last, the most numerous Cossack foragers, after many days' search, were unable to procure more than two or three sheep. The same fears of the pillage for the support of the army has also prevented the cultivation of barley, and indeed grain of any kind.

"On the whole, therefore, I am certain that even if the allies make no attempt to surround them, it will be utterly impossible for Gortschakoff to maintain anything more than a mere nominal garrison on the north side during the approaching winter."

September died out without any enterprise on the part of the allies, notwithstanding much fussy preparation, great display, and innumerable orders and counter-orders, as if the commanders-in-chief had no fixed purpose or opinions concerning the campaign. The weather was exceedingly fine, scarcely could any weather be more favourable for operations in the field, excepting a few days of rain and storm immediately after the success of the assault. Nothing, however, was effected, because nothing was attempted.

The following despatches will throw but little light upon the conduct of the generals-in-chief; but they are necessary to the connection of the series of military documents connected with the war. The first of these official papers might have been more properly inserted in the chapter of despatches connected with the fall of Southern Sebastopol; it refers, however, to the state of the wounded, which could only be fully ascertained some time after the assault. It is addressed by the inspector-general of hospitals to the English commander-in-chief, and discloses a fact which is not generally supposed—that the losses at the Redan on the 8th of September were less than on the 18th of June. This might, however, be inferred from the smaller number of troops employed on the latter date, and the partial success which attended the assault; for when the men got under the parapets of the Redan, they were comparatively safe from the enfilading batteries.

"I have the honour to inclose a return of casualties in the attack on the Redan yesterday; and I have much satisfaction in being able to state that nearly the whole of the wounded were brought in in the course of the afternoon and early part of the night, accommodated in either their own regimental hospitals, or in the general hospital in camp, and their injuries promptly and properly attended to by the medical officers. Those men who fell wounded too near to the enemy's works to admit of their removal, were brought in early this morning, as well as such wounded Russians as had been left in the Redan by their countrymen. The list of casualties, though numerous, is not of so serious a character as that of the 18th of June, and I hope many of the wounded will soon be restored to the ranks. The ambulance conveyance, under Captain Pigott's orders, was efficiently conducted, and I have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the care and steady conduct of the drivers in the execution of their duty. Of the skill and attention of the medical officers, both staff and regimental, as well as of those gentlemen who had volunteered their services from the civil hospitals at Smyrna and Renkoi, and

from the General Hospital at Scutari, I cannot speak too highly; and I beg to bring under your notice Dr. Alexander, deputy inspector-general of hospitals; Dr. A. Gordon, staff-surgeon, first class; and Dr. Monat, staff-surgeon, first class; for their able professional aid and zealous exertions in providing for the wants of the wounded, the two former in the light and 2nd divisions, and the latter in the general hospital in camp."

During September General Simpson forwarded to Lord Panmure the report of General Daeres, who commanded the artillery, and which places in an interesting light the services of that corps:—

"With the successful close of the siege of Sebastopol it becomes my duty to bring before you the share borne by the Royal Artillery, in operations protracted to an unparalleled extent amid extreme difficulty and hardship.

"Notwithstanding the great and frequent obstacles to maintaining a constant supply of ammunition in the batteries, with roads almost impassable for weeks together, and with a very precarious and insufficient transport, there has been no instance in which the commander-in-chief has required the artillery to act where they have been found unprepared, and at the close of each bombardment they have always possessed the means of continuing the fire.

"The officers and men of the siege-train have shown unflinching zeal and cheerfulness in their arduous duties of arming the batteries, frequently under circumstances of great difficulty, and of directing and serving the guns. The ruined state of the enemy's works, and the silencing of their guns, have frequently testified to the excellence of our artillery practice, of which the number of dismounted ordnance found in the captured works opposed to us affords another convincing proof. Our fire has on several occasions rendered important assistance to our allies, which their chiefs have always warmly acknowledged. The state of the parapet of the Redan, which presents throughout one battered and ruined slope, from the interior crest to the foot of the counter-scarp, is a remarkable instance of the effect of a well-directed fire against strong earthworks.

"I have had frequently to lament the loss of valuable officers, among whom I wish to particularise the late Captain Oldfield, who was most zealous and indefatigable in his services in the left attack.

"The great duration of the siege operations, and the number of officers who have come under my notice, forbid me to specify all whom I could wish; and besides the names of some who had served a considerable period before Lieutenant-colonel St. George took command

of the siege-train, I will only add to the inclosed report from that officer that, with some who had served through the entire period, have necessarily executed their duties under circumstances of unusual hardship, all have shown the greatest zeal and ardour. The arrival of reinforcements from time to time to the last day's fire, of course causes great parity in the amount of service rendered by different officers and companies, and the early period involved much greater toil and endurance than the last few months. These circumstances I have carefully distinguished in the detailed report to the adjutant-general of artillery; but I wish to particularise the following officers, who have served with great assiduity throughout the siege:—Captains Hope, Luth, W. J. Bolton, and Owen; Lieutenants Ru Keene, Addison, and Tillard. From Lieutenant-colonel St. George, commanding the siege-train, and his brigade-major, I have received the greatest assistance in carrying out the operations of the siege.

"The duties of the artillery staff have, of course, been constant, arduous, and important. From Lieutenant-colonel Adye, assistant adjutant-general, I have received every assistance that zeal and energy could offer. Captain Field came out with the army in 1854, from ill health he was obliged to leave it, but joined me in January, 1855, since when he has performed the duties of deputy-assistant quartermaster-general, which have been very onerous, assisted by Majors Fortescue and Galt, very much to my satisfaction. To my personal staff, Majors Hamley and Gordon, I am much indebted for the assistance they have rendered me at all times by their activity and professional knowledge.

"The numerous sick and wounded of the siege-train have been attended to with a degree of skill and interest which I have never seen exceeded, and which has given me particular satisfaction. The state of comfort and order in which Surgeon Bent, who superintended the medical department of the right attack, and Surgeon Fogo, of the left, assisted by Assistant-surgeon Taylor (who has served in the trenches through the whole siege, whose gallantry was most conspicuous, as well as his skill), have, by their judicious arrangements, kept their hospitals during the great pressure of casualties from the enemy's fire free from epidemic cases, has frequently called for thanks and approbation; and I beg to recommend these officers to your notice. The whole medical department has been, since his promotion, under the charge of Surgeon Elliott, who previously had charge of the left attack, and his efforts at all times to provide comforts, and his attention to the sick and wounded, unremitting.

"The field-batteries have at all times rendered me important assistance in the conduct of the siege, in conveying guns and ammunition to the trenches, on many occasions under a heavy fire; and officers and gunners, supplied by this portion of the force, have frequently done good service on emergencies during the different bombardments.

"I have this moment received two notes from general officers—Windham and Straubenberg—mentioning the gallantry of Captain Williams during the attack on the Redan on the 8th instant, when he was acting as aide-de-camp to the latter; it was equally conspicuous on the 18th of June, when he commanded the sapping-party. I have great pleasure in bringing it to your notice.

"I will merely add that to the whole of the very large proportion of the corps I have the honour to command, my best thanks, frequently expressed to them before, are again due for the good, zealous, and intelligent services which, conspicuous throughout this trying period, have contributed to the great result achieved, and that will form a most memorable page in the annals of the Royal Artillery."

This report contained an important inclosure from Lieutenant-colonel St. George, commander of the siege-train:—

"The sixth bombardment of Sebastopol, which commenced on the 5th instant, and lasted until the 8th, having successfully terminated the occupation of the place by the allies, it becomes my duty, at the close of this long and glorious siege, to lay before you the names of a number of the many who have distinguished themselves during the time I have had the honour to command the siege-train of this army.

"From Captain Campbell, commanding the Artillery of the right attack, who has served in the batteries through five bombardments, and exercised his present command in three of them, I have always received the greatest assistance; and the admirable arrangements and indefatigable exertions of Lieutenant-colonel Baker, C.B., commanding the left attack, entitle him to the highest commendation. He has represented to me the able and zealous aid which has received throughout from his adjutant, Captain N. O. S. Turner.

"Among those whose gallant conduct has been perhaps most conspicuous, I beg leave to mention the names of Major Strange (who has served in the siege from the opening of the trenches to the last hour of the attack); of Captain Arbuthnot (who has been twice severely wounded); of Captain Philip Dickson (who has served throughout the siege); of Captains Gughton, Hastings, Clifford, and Williams; of Lieutenants Ward, Rideout, and C. O. Wyn—all of whom have displayed a cool-

ness and a zeal which cannot be overlooked. In a siege of so long duration, where every officer in his turn had frequent opportunities of distinguishing himself, which were never neglected, it is almost impossible to point out the most deserving.

"I cannot speak too highly in praise of Captain Reilly, my brigade-major. Until the termination of the siege he continued the only staff-officer of this large and responsible command; and his able performance of his various and difficult duties has already, I know, received from you the warm approval it deserved.

"I had the pleasure, on the 22nd of August, of representing the gallant conduct of Captains Fitzroy, Hawkins, and W. J. Bolton, on a former occasion, on which representation the commander of the forces made a minute that these officers should not be forgotten. I deeply regret to add that one of them, Captain Fitzroy, was mortally wounded in the batteries on the 8th instant, and died yesterday.

"Captain G. Davis, with twenty men, volunteered to accompany the storming-party on the 8th instant, with spikes; but, as the infantry did not enter the Redan *en masse*, his services were not required. He remained at the head of the advanced sap, where five of his party were wounded.

"I have to thank Major Alexander, Royal Marine Artillery, who with his detachment joined the siege-train in June, for his zealous assistance in the duties of the siege. I have much pleasure in calling your notice to the untiring zeal and energy of Deputy-assistant-commissaries Hayter and Yellon, in conducting the onerous duties of their branch of the service. The former officer, who was a most valuable public servant, was, I grieve to say, killed in the batteries on the 8th instant.

"The medical department of the siege-train, under the able and careful supervision of Surgeon Bent at the right attack, and Surgeon Fogo at the left, assisted by their juniors, of whom I would especially mention Assistant-surgeon Taylor, has been such as to give me the greatest satisfaction. The air of comfort in their hospitals, and the happy appearance of their patients, are sufficient proof of their admirable arrangements and unceasing attention.

"In conclusion, I have the greatest satisfaction in representing the manner in which every officer, non-commissioned officer, and gunner under my command, have made themselves remarkable during the siege for bravery, discipline, and endurance. The state of the enemy's works, and the ruin of the city, show the precision and the vigour with which the fire was maintained by them, the effect of which has undoubtedly been to compel the evacuation by the enemy of a place no longer tenable."

On the 25th the general sent home one of his meagre reports, which was as follows:—

"I have the honour to transmit the report of the principal medical officer for this week, as well as for the week ending the 18th of September, which, by mistake, I omitted to send before. Your lordship will read with satisfaction that the health of the army is all that can be desired; and the marked improvement since the arduous night duties have ceased is very apparent. The troops continue to be employed in the construction of the roads, and in making preparations for the winter, which are greatly facilitated by the fineness of the weather. The enemy have commenced firing into the town, and the troops stationed there for the purpose of performing fatiguing duties have been, in consequence, withdrawn. Large quantities of timber and building material are daily taken from the houses by our troops."

This letter contained some inclosures, which were interesting as revealing the health of the army, and its prospects of efficiency for a winter campaign. Dr. Hall wrote to the general thus:—

"I have the honour to transmit the weekly state of sick to the 15th instant, and have much satisfaction in being able to state that the health of the army continues to improve. During the period embraced by this return, the admission from wounds, owing to the assault of the Redan Battery, have been numerous, and the number of deaths, I am sorry to say, is very considerable; but the cases that remain are, for the most part, doing well, and a large portion of them are of a slight nature, and many of the men will soon be restored to the ranks.

"Cholera continues to decrease, and may now be said to have almost disappeared, and during the present week there has been a diminution of every other form of disease, as will be seen by the following abstract, in which it will be observed that gun-shot accidents are alone in excess over the previous week:—

	This week.		Previous week.	
	Admitted.	Died.	Admitted.	Died.
Fevers .....	349	15	396	20
Diarrhoea .....	498	4	561	7
Cholera .....	21	11	25	20
Dysentery .....	139	7	169	4
Wounds .....	1965	150	702	56
Other diseases ..	628	7	481	5
Total	3600	194	2334	112

"The admissions to strength this week have been 7·22 per cent.; last week they were 4·91 per cent. The deaths to strength this week have been 0·40 per cent; last week they were 0·23 per cent. The sick to well this

week is 12·0 per cent.; last week it was 10 per cent."

This report is exceedingly interesting disclosing the relative influence of disease battle upon the Crimean army.

During the month of September the general sent complimentary letters to the allied commanders.

The following general order was issued on the 17th of September by the chief of the staff of the British army in honour of the Naval Brigade:—

"The service for which the Naval Brigade was attached to this army having been completed by the fall of Sebastopol, the force has been ordered to rejoin the fleet.

"The commander of the forces here thanks the officers, petty officers, and sailors for the very efficient services they have rendered in the batteries, and on all occasions when their aid against the enemy was required, and he has to notice the patience and courage with which, side by side with the soldiers of this army, they have endured the dangers and hardships of nearly a year's duty in the trenches.

"General Simpson cordially acknowledges the obligations he is under to Rear-admiral Sir Stephen Lushington, K.C.B., who so ably commanded the brigade from its formation until his removal by promotion to a higher rank, and to Captain the Hon. H. Keppel, R.N., who succeeded him, and retained the command until the conclusion of this ever-memorable siege."

On the 21st of September an order was published in which the rank and file took interest:—

"Her Majesty having been graciously pleased to grant an extra field allowance of sixpence per diem to the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of her regular army, when engaged in active operations in the field against an enemy, the same will be issued from the 1st January 1855, to all non-commissioned officers and soldiers, including the Royal Artillery, Royal Sappers and Miners, cavalry, and infantry of the army now serving in the Crimea.

"The commander of the forces trusts that the troops will make a good use of this additional allowance, and reminds them of the facilities that now exist for remitting money to England. He hopes that he may have the pleasure of reporting hereafter that the means of obtaining increased comforts, which are thus placed at the disposal of the soldiers, have not been abused on account of irregularity or intemperance. Commanding officers are empowered to stop the field allowance of any soldier for a period exceeding seven days in a proved case of drunkenness. During the period of a month

ommissioned officer or soldier being in hospital, his field allowance will cease, but will be allowed from the day he returns to duty in the field. In all cases in which the pay of a soldier is forfeited for absence without leave, or when any portion of the pay of a soldier is forfeited by a court-martial, his field allowance will be forfeited also."

The Royal Engineers rendered great services during the siege, and received but little recompense or honour. After the siege, during the month of September, General Jones called the attention of Sir James Simpson to these circumstances in several reports, such as the following:—

"The long and eventful siege of Sebastopol having been brought to a successful termination, I beg leave to draw your excellency's attention to the services of the officers of Royal Engineers who have been employed in carrying out the siege works. Many of these officers have been continuously on duty since the 8th of October last, and have been in the trenches 97, and 108 days and nights.

"I beg leave to mention the name of Lieutenant-colonel Chapman, C.B., who has been employed with the army since the arrival of the first detachment at Gallipoli; and since March last, when Colonel Gordon was wounded, unable to perform the duties of the siege, senior officer of engineers, he has had to make all the necessary arrangements for the orderly carrying on of the duties; this has been performed by him in the most zealous and energetic manner, under great exposure to fire, to my entire satisfaction. Major Bent has been doing the duty of director of the left flank since March last; the duties of that post are very onerous, and these he has performed in a most zealous and praiseworthy manner. During the above period Major Bent has been under fire twice, if not thrice, every twenty-four hours. Captain Brown, who was recently severely wounded, performed some time the office of director of the right flank, and so has also Captain Cooke. Captain Hart, the adjutant to the Sappers and Miners, carried on the duties of the parks, which are extremely troublesome, and requiring great attention, in the most zealous and satisfactory manner.

I do not trouble your excellency with the names of the subalterns of engineers, as they are not eligible for promotion under the existing regulations. Nothing could exceed the zealous and praiseworthy manner in which they have invariably performed their duties. Several have been more than once wounded, and many have died from wounds, or from sickness caused by exposure to the great heat in the trenches.

"I wish to bring prominently under your notice Major Bouchier, my brigade-major, who has rendered me very great assistance throughout the whole siege, and Lieutenant Cowell, my aide-de-camp, who has, during the siege, proved himself most useful by his professional knowledge as an officer of Royal Engineers, and by his general military acquirements. Of the assistant-engineers I cannot speak too highly in praise of the zeal and intelligence they have displayed, and I beg leave to inclose the names of those who, from their long service at this siege, I consider deserving of promotion.

"List of officers of the corps of Royal Engineers, and of officers acting as assistant-engineers, recommended for promotion, as called for by confidential memorandum, dated the 15th of September, 1855:—

"Royal Engineers.—Lieutenant-colonel Chapman; Majors—Bent, E. F. Bouchier, and E. Stanton; Captains—the Hon. H. F. Keane, F. C. Hassard, J. M. Browne, W. W. Montague, A. C. Cooke, E. C. De Moleyne, L. J. A. Armit, C. B. Ewart, W. Porter, L. Nicholson, C. H. Sedley, P. Ravenhill, and G. Ranken.

"Assistant-engineers.—Majors—C. F. Campbell, 46th Regiment, and S. R. Chapman, 20th; Captains—G. Wolsley, 20th, and L. W. Penn, Royal Artillery; Lieutenants—W. Sheehy, 64th Regiment, P. M. Jones, 46th, and J. J. Grinlinton, 4th Regiment.

"List of medical officers, attached to the Royal Engineers and Royal Sappers and Miners, recommended for promotion:—

"Second-class Staff-surgeon G. Hyde, M.D., and Assistant-surgeon J. F. Longhead, Rifle Brigade. [These two officers have been particularly zealous and attentive in the discharge of their duties.]

"Second-class Staff-surgeons H. C. Walshe, M.D., and E. S. Protheroe; Assistant-surgeon G. Sharpe, O.M.D."

Extract from another report of Lieutenant-general Sir Harry Jones, K.C.B., to General Simpson:—

"This long siege of 337 days having been brought to a successful termination, I am extremely desirous to bring under your excellency's notice the services of a most gallant and zealous body of officers. I allude to the subalterns of the Royal Engineers, who, from the constitution of their corps, in which promotion goes by seniority, are never promoted into other branches of the service, which was the reason why I did not include in my recommendatory list the names of those individuals who have particularly distinguished themselves, trusting to the opportunity which would be afforded me of bringing their names

forward specially. During the recent siege the duties of the trenches fell very severely on the subalterns of engineers; throughout the whole of the winter they were constantly on duty, and, as their numbers were small, the tour of each individual returned at short intervals—nothing but great zeal and spirits carried them through the severe work they had to perform.

"The following short statement will enable your excellency to see how a subaltern of engineers was called upon to do duty in the trenches, several more than once wounded, and others contused. The following figures refer to some of the survivors:—33 days, or nights, 108 ditto, 32 ditto, 46 ditto, 97 ditto, 62 ditto, 65 ditto, 78 ditto.

"It must be borne in mind that these tours of duty always brought the individual under fire, and in the winter months they were exposed to all the severities of the season. Several of the subalterns distinguished themselves on several occasions in the attacks upon rifle-pits, quarries, &c. Such services, I trust, will not be allowed to pass without reward."

"The following are the names of the officers who particularly distinguished themselves:—

"Royal Engineers.—Lieutenants H. De Vere, A. A. C. Fisher, H. C. Elphinstone, G. Neville,

W. O. Lennox, W. C. Anderson, G. Graham, G. Phillips, C. N. Martin, C. G. Gordon, & J. F. Donnelly.

"Minute of inspector-general of fortifications.—'I would strongly recommend Lieutenants Stopford, Cowell, Pratt, and Dring to be added to this list.'"

"I can most conscientiously corroborate every word expressed by Sir Harry Jones. The arduous and always dangerous duties in which the engineer officers were continually employed have all along, during this siege, been deserving of my praise and admiration. Their untiring perseverance and frequent acts of gallant conduct are beyond all praise, and I here desire to record my high approbation of these officers named by Sir Harry D. Jones, and my strong recommendation of them to Viscount E. Palmerston's favour."

This ended the month of September, and so ended the condition and operations of the victorious armies. The autumn was far advanced, the people of Western Europe began to manifest uneasiness lest another winter would have been endured on the bleak plateau before Sebastopol. Another chapter will reveal the main events of autumn around the conquest of the city.

## CHAPTER CXIII.

OCTOBER AND NOVEMBER AT SEBASTOPOL.—RETIREMENT OF GENERAL SIMPSON, AND APPOINTMENT OF LIEUTENANT-GENERAL CODRINGTON TO THE COMMAND-IN-CHIEF OF THE BRITISH ARMY.

"The course of the campaign was so peculiar and exceptional, that it is not easy to say what military lessons have been derived from it."—COLONEL HAMLEY.

OCTOBER is the "second summer" in the Crimea; no month in the year is so agreeable in that climate. The armies of the allies were enabled therefore to make great progress in any works which they thought necessary for their security and efficiency, if compelled to stay another winter in the quarters they then occupied. Roads were made; the railway was rendered still more efficient; the gabions were taken from the parapets of the trenches, and used or stored for fire-wood; and the English cavalry were ordered to Constantinople, there to winter; proving that the generals were unable, or their governments unwilling, to prosecute an autumnal campaign towards the interior of the Crimea. A curious specimen of British military mismanagement occurred in the arrangements for cavalry quarters. While the transports were preparing for the removal of the regiments constituting that force to the Bosphorus, reinforcements for these regiments were arriving from home at Balaklava!

The destruction of the houses and public buildings in Sebastopol went on vigorously, but the process was often interrupted by shelling from the northern heights. Two powerful Russian mortars, which had been captured from the French, responded to this bombardment with potent effect. The French and English threw up batteries near Forts Alexander and Paul, but were disturbed by a cannonade from the enemy, who fired from Fort Michael, Little Severnaya, and from the harbour Street Battery. The labours of the Russians in strengthening their positions continued to be prodigious; new batteries were erected on the slopes of the hills south of the Belbek. Whether their hopes or views were at this juncture difficult to glean; but many evidences were given that they did not contemplate the execution of a boasted scheme of driving the allies into the sea. A letter from a Russian merchant at Odessa to a correspondent in the Austrian capital, and which was published in the *Vierteljahrsschrift*

*Military Gazette*, throws some light on the feeling among intelligent men in Southern Russia as to the prospects of the war, as seen from a Russian point of view.

"It is noticed with suspicion that the governor-general of the Crimea has countermanded and prohibited the further introduction of provisions and goods into that peninsula, on the ground that the stores already accumulated there are in excess. It is also thought singular that the reinforcement of the army in the Crimea has been suspended. Whatever explanation may be given of these facts, the general opinion of the public here is that things are going on badly in the Crimea, and that we are on the eve of great events. The fall of Sebastopol we cannot get over. People wonder why something was not done on the Tchernaya during the last three days of the bombardment. It might not have averted, but it would have delayed the fall of the place, and the shock caused by the event would have been less when at last it must take place. Why, they say, was not Nachimoff encouraged in his noble desire to go out with the ships, and to die grandly in battle a fleet which was doomed to be foredoomed to destruction? It would have at least gained the respect of the enemy, and perished with honour."

What we know of the positions occupied by the army in the Crimea is gleaned from the statements of travellers and couriers, but all their statements agree. They tell us that the main body of the Russian army occupies the line from Duvankoi to Avankoi, Bagtchéi, and Simpheropol, and that strong cavalry squadrons are advanced from Sarabus, by way of Tulat, on the road to Eupatoria." During the month of October a considerable number of officers, especially superior officers, returned home on sick leave, although the troops were generally healthy. Among the returning officers none was more regretted by the army than Colonel Norcot, of the Rifle Brigade. The colonel was son of the late general Sir Amos Norcot, of the county of Wick, in Ireland, who commanded the troops in Jamaica with so much usefulness during the transition of the coloured people of that island from slavery to freedom.

During the early part of October, preparations for the expedition to Kinburn enlivened the camps, and afforded officers and men some prospect of active service, which was eagerly expected. Such was the spirit of enterprise in the armies, that volunteers could be had for any undertaking, however perilous.

A commission was appointed for the purpose of seizing and dividing the stores and munitions of the enemy captured in Sebastopol, and pursued with scrutiny often under the fire of the enemy. The members of this commission were:—

## ENGLISH.

Captain Drummond, R.N.  
Brigadier-general Dupuis, R.A.  
Major Staunton, R.E.  
Commander F. Martin, R.N.  
Assistant Commissary-general Crookshank.  
Captain Shaw, R.A.  
A. Rumble.  
Lieutenant Buller, R.N.  
Captain Montagu, R.E.  
Assistant Commissary-general Lundy.  
Captain Dickson, R.A.  
A. W. Johnson, Secretary to the Commission.

## FRENCH.

Mazure, Général d'Artillerie.  
Feldstraffe, Capitaine du Génie.  
Laurent, Lieutenant de Vaisseau.  
Ciezoza, Capitaine d'Artillerie.  
Goutier, Adjoint à l'Intendance.  
De Calac, Capitaine d'Artillerie.  
Cadurst, Chef de Bataillon du Génie.  
Genoux de la Coche, Capitaine de Fregate.  
La Cabrinère, Sous-intendant.

At the beginning of October the British army was in renovated condition and numbers. The infantry were reputed to be 27,000; the cavalry, 3500; and the artillery, 9000; in all nearly 40,000 men. Mr. Russell says this army was nearly as large as that with which Wellington fought the battle of Vittoria. It was scarcely half the strength of Wellington's army, unless Mr. Russell excludes the Portuguese and Spaniards under the duke's command. The army in the Crimea, although healthy, was very inferior in discipline and physical vigour to that which the great British captain commanded at Vittoria, and to that which Lord Raglan possessed encamped under his command in Turkey. Mere boys, and men fifty years old, were sent out after the fall of Southern Sebastopol.

On the 3rd of October the commanders-in-chief of the allied armies were presented with honours from the sultan—the order of the Medjidie of the first class, and magnificent sabres, incrustated with diamonds and precious stones.

Prisoners were taken by the allies in the early part of October, especially by the Sardinians and Turks, in the neighbourhood of Baidar and the Tchernaya. Deserters also made their way from the Russian camp; all these men were badly clothed, their coats especially being in tatters; they complained of being weak from want of food, and represented the army as very short of provisions, in consequence of the operations of the allied squadrons in the Sea of Azoff.

The British Army-works Corps, and the men employed in the various preparations necessary for the expedition to Kinburn, and for winter

quarters, were much impeded by the badness of the tools given out by the quartermaster-general. Although, from the beginning of the war, many complaints had been made on this subject, and the English press denounced the neglect of the War-office and the Ordnance-board—and although ministerial promises of care in this respect were made in the House of Commons—no real amendment took place. Some time during October, 1855, no tools could be obtained, and those charged with particular works had to go to Constantinople, and purchase such as that bad market for such articles supplied.

It was intended by the allied generals to send strong reinforcements to Eupatoria, but after some detachments of cavalry only had sailed thither, a telegraphic despatch from Lord Panmure countermanded the order. His lordship had learned from Berlin that an attack upon the allied armies before Sebastopol was intended. This was merely a *ruse* on the part of the czar's Prussian allies (for such they might with great propriety be called), to prevent any attempt from Eupatoria upon the interior of the Crimea, or any other expedition such as the fine weather of October favoured.

On the 20th news arrived of the glorious battle of Kars. The British army was boisterous with joy at the noble conduct of the British officers in that great victory. This intelligence quickened the desire of enterprise, especially among the British regimental officers.

Towards the end of October deaths from cholera rather increased, and one of the Roman Catholic Sisters of Charity perished of that pestilence. Her remains were attended to the grave by Miss Nightingale and other ladies, and by many officers and soldiers.

During the month of October the extreme use of intoxicating liquors was most injurious to the British army. Kadikoi was a sort of fair, to which the mirth-loving resorted, and where inebriation was much indulged in. The establishment of the money-order system in connection with the post-office at Balaklava tended to check these excesses, as many of the soldiers sent home their money by post-office orders; this they were able to do, for never before had a British army been paid so well.

The events in the allied camps during this month were not exciting. Hutting, road-making, railway extension, and drilling were the chief occupations of the British forces. Many officers returned home; the plea of "urgent private business" became more common as winter approached. The general in command of the 4th division took his leave of that gallant body of men on the 12th. Deputy acting Adjutant-general Elliott thus addressed the men of the division on the occasion:—

"Private and important family affairs compelling Lieutenant-general Sir H. Bentinck K.C.B., to return to England, he cannot relinquish the command of the fourth division without expressing the great regret with which he does so. Although he has only had the command of it for the short period of little more than four months (but during a very eventful period), he has witnessed with great satisfaction the manner in which all ranks have conducted most difficult, arduous, and dangerous duties, with a spirit, energy, and good-humour not to be surpassed. Having already expressed to Brigadier-general Garrett, on his quitting the division, and to Brigadier-general the Earl of A. Spencer and the first brigade, on the morning of their departure on another expedition, his opinion of their services, it only remains for Sir Henry Bentinck to thank Colonel Webb and the officers, non-commissioned officers, and men of the Royal Artillery, and the commandant of the division, and the commandant of the non-commissioned officers, and non-commissioned officers, and men of the second brigade, for the assistance they have at all times rendered to him; and he cannot refrain from expressing his high approbation of the manner in which all ranks have done their duty to their queen and country. The lieutenant-general begs to thank the officers of the division for their zeal and energy in the discharge of their duties, and he concludes without expressing also his satisfaction at the manner in which Dr. Robertson performed his to the commissariat department, and land-transport corps of the division, to whom it is indebted for their supplies, and with a regularity seldom equalled, and rendering great credit on the officers of those departments. The lieutenant-general has only to say, in taking leave of the division, that it renewed glory, and he will always feel the greatest interest in its proceedings generally, and of the regiments composing it particularly."

The Russians continued to build batteries and throw up earthworks, to victual the north side, and store up munitions of war on the north side, while they closely watched the movements of the allied forces on the Tchernaya. The communications of the allied generals, except in reference to the Kinburn expedition, were unfrequently interrupted during October and November; while the Prince Gortschakoff were constant, and reflected with more or less detail to the proceedings and quiescence of his enemies, as well as of his own armies. The following extract will exemplify this, taken from the Journal of Military Operations (from October 14th to October 20th), transmitted by Aide-de-camp General Prince Gortschakoff to the Russian minister of war:—

"The enemy has continued to cannonade the north side of Sebastopol. He has opened embrasures in the No. 8 Battery, and has

ched himself in the ravines of Apollo and Chakoff, also at the quondam Admiralty, in the Karabelnaia faubourg. Our adversary's fire does us little injury. Loss between October 14th and October 15th consisted in two men killed, four wounded, eight contused.

At our left wing the enemy, being dislodged probably by the augmentation of our troops upon the right bank of the Belbek, has evacuated the summit of the heights between Karlow and Kokkoulouz, and has withdrawn behind the pass of the mountain, where he has only three divisions of infantry. One division remains in the Valley of Baidar, the rest of the troops have recrossed the Tchernaya, and occupied Komary, also the Gasfort and Fedou mountains. Nearly ten of his battalions have been transferred to Mount Sapoun. Our batteries are again established upon the heights between Karlow and Kokkoulouz, and our outposts are pushed on to Kourtlér-Fots-Sala."

From the 24th to the 30th, Prince Gortschakoff's journal furnished the following extracts, in which the ever-recurring story of the man wounded is to be met with; the rank of Gortschakoff and Wrangel should have prevented such silly attempts at imposition:—Nothing of particular importance has taken place along the line of the positions occupied by our troops in the Crimea. The enemy has made up a feeble cannonade against the north side of Sebastopol, and it is with the same intensity that he has worked against the little fort of St. Paul and Karabelnaia Bay, erected on the rocks in Ouschakoff Bay, between the piles of the aqueduct and armed Battery No. 3. Loss experienced by our troops on the north side consists of three men wounded. Against the left flank of the main body of our troops the allies have continued to rest upon the mountain passes, and in the Baidar Valley, employing themselves cutting wood, and working slowly at a road which descends from Kévéne to the village of Kokkoulouz and Maréchal. On the 15th (27th) October, a battalion of infantry and a squadron of cavalry of the 1st Army descended from the Heights of Ozen, and returned to their camp after foraging at night. From Genitschi Major-general Wrangel announces that on the 12th (24th) two steamers were roadstead kept up during the whole of the day a cross-fire upon the town; one man was wounded. In the evening a steamer arrived in the roads. At Kertch the enemy has received reinforcements, which brings their strength up to 20,000 men, and they are preparing to take the offensive."

We have elsewhere recorded that the Emperor Alexander II. visited the Crimea; before he did so he put the conscription ruthlessly in

force, sent large supplies of men and munitions to his garrisons, and ordered his superior officers to use every exertion to inspire the troops to hold possession of the Crimea, until winter should render aggressive operations on the part of the allies impossible. Accordingly, on the 15th of October, Prince Gortschakoff, in an order of the day, dated from the M'Kenzie Heights, proclaimed to his army that he would not evacuate the Crimea:—

"His imperial majesty, our master, having charged me to thank, in his name and in the name of Russia, the valiant warriors who have defended the south side of Sebastopol with so much abnegation, courage, and perseverance, is persuaded that the army, after having acquired liberty of operation in the field, will continue by all possible efforts to defend the soil of holy Russia against the invasion of the enemy. But, as formerly it pleased the solicitude of the father of the great family (the army) to order, in his lofty foresight, the construction of a bridge at Sebastopol, in order to spare at the last moment as much Russian blood as possible, so now the emperor has also invested me with full powers to continue or cease the defence of our positions in the Crimea, according to circumstances. Valiant warriors! you know what your duty is. We will not voluntarily abandon this country, in which St. Vladimir received the water of grace, after having been converted to the Christianity we adore. But there are conditions which sometimes render the firmest resolutions impracticable, and the greatest sacrifices useless. The emperor has deigned to leave me the sole judge of the moment at which we must change our line of defence, if such be the will of God. It is for us to prove that we know how to justify the confidence of the czar, who has come into our neighbourhood to provide for the defence of his country and the wants of his army. Have confidence in me, as you have hitherto had during the hours of trial which the decrees of Providence have sent us."

At the close of the month of October, the Russian army was intrenched on the M'Kenzie Heights, and occupied the northern forts in great strength. A document, signed by the Russian councillor of state, De Kotzebue, thus describes the relative positions of the opposing armies:—"It is difficult to divine what the enemy will do in the future; it is probable, however, that he will make some further attacks, in order to take our army either upon its flank or at its rear. Thus we may expect that the allies will make some movements from the side of Kertch and Yenikale, at both of which places they have reinforced their troops; but we may hope that these projects will be baffled, for, as we have said, the army

of the Crimea has received reinforcements so considerable, that the general-in-chief has it in his power to augment in a notable manner Lieutenant-general Wrangel's forces, which cover his extreme left on the side of the peninsula of Kertch. This is equally true of the coast of the Black Sea, from the embouchure of the Danube up to Perekop. Great masses of infantry and cavalry are distributed in such a manner that it is possible to concentrate them in a very little time upon various points, and especially at Nicolaieff and Perekop."

Road-making was pushed with extraordinary vigour by the English, so that before the retirement of General Simpson from the command of the army in November, the main road from Balaklava to the central depot was completed. It was a work of admirable construction; no less than 10,000 labourers and soldiers had been employed upon it, under the superintendence of Mr. Doyne. The French did not display a similar amount of energy in this department, nor did they make, in any respect, such ample and suitable preparations for the winter as the British did. The Sardinians were still less vigorous in these preparations than the French, and the portion of road depending upon their labour was in a very imperfect condition when General Simpson left the army. The energy displayed by the English in perfecting their system of roads was not allowed to interfere with the development of the railway. It had been, from the exigencies of the case, constructed too quickly, but it was drained and brought into a state of thorough repair and stability while the roads were being made. Instead of being worked chiefly by horses and ropes, means were taken to establish the use of the locomotive, and so effectual were these efforts, that twenty miles of excellent rail was traversed by locomotives before the British army left the Crimea.

Glimpses of affairs in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, viewed from a Russian point of view, were afforded by the press in Russia, and by the Russian press in other parts of the Continent. Thus, the *Invalide Russe* announced as follows:—"Under date of the 26th of October (Nov. 7th), Aide-de-camp General Prince Gortschakoff has sent the following:—"The enemy are not making any movement. They continue to erect batteries on the south side of Sebastopol, but do not cannonade the north side. A considerable number of the enemy's ships is assembled in the roads near Kamiesch Bay."

At the same date the *Kreutz Zeitung* contained the following:—"The Russian army in the Crimea, which is encamped on the northern part of the table-land, and thence stretches out over the mountainous, well-secured portion of the peninsula as far as Simpheropol, is in pos-

session of all the towns, villages, and hamlets, and pays for everything in ready money (sic) and is on the best possible footing with the Tartar population. The regiments that have camped have burrowed their way into the hills, and are living in the same way as the Crimean peasantry, which is much to be preferred to the wooden huts of the allies. With respect to the clothing of the men, there is nothing to be desired; for every one has, in addition to the uniform, good boots of leather, a fur-skin, and a great mantle with a hood, which protect him against the roughest weather. The Cossacks often bring in prisoners, either deserters, *bandits*, or persons whom love of sport has driven too far into the Russian lines. There are also some comical little episodes, as, for instance, a party of Cossacks fell in with two *vivandieres* of the 50th regiment, seated in a sort of cart drawn by mules, who had lost their way; they were told of the spicy young French girls, and the ladies' treatises to be let go, had already produced a very remarkable effect on the sons of the Crimea, and they would doubtless have released them when the voice of their bearded leader, 'Stupal, Mamsell' (March along, Ma'am) recalled them to their duty."

It was evident from such publication that the Russian government deemed it politic to spread the impression in Europe that the cause was far from desperate, and that the army in and around Sebastopol were only passing vicissitudes. The object of this did not appear to be to brag; but months afterwards it was made manifest that these efforts to propagate by the press the opinion of the unabated strength of Russia were designed to support the negotiations which were afterwards initiated.

Early in November the czar paid his first visit to the Crimea a visit. He entered Sebastopol on the 9th, in company with his brothers Nicholas and Michael, and with Duke George of Mecklenburg, where he was, of course, received with all honours. Not only were there military reviews and banquetings resorted to for his welcome, but the Greek priests, the Jewish rabbis, the rabbis of the Karaites, and the head men of the Tartars, sent delegations and addresses offering the lowliest hospitality. In the evening there was a display of pyrotechnic art, and a grand illumination. On the 10th the imperial family visited Novorossiysk, and on the 11th the czar and his illustrious attendants visited the camps on the Upper Belbek; on the 12th those on the Katcha, for the Russian government had taken care to secure all the river communications of the Crimea. On the same day the emperor inspected the lines of the Ke-

returned to Bagtché Serai, and visited all hospitals. He was represented by witnesses of the visit to have been painfully affected by the horrible wounds which had been inflicted upon many of the inmates during the bombardment. The czar conversed with patients, listened attentively to their tales of suffering, danger, privation, and struggle, distributed liberal and honourable rewards. A silver medal to those who had taken part in the defence of Sebastopol was directed for distribution; and an order of the day to his army was to have concluded the ceremony of a review, in which the troops and Russian residents lived with the most loyal and devoted demonstrations of joy. The following was the message to the army by their imperial master:—

Brave soldiers of the army of the Crimea! By an order of the day of the 30th of August I expressed to you the sentiments which filled my heart with sincere gratitude for your services, which have immortalised the glory of the defence of Sebastopol. But it did not come for my heart to thank you from a distance for the great acts of bravery and self-sacrifice which even astonished your enemies, which made you brave all those difficulties during nearly a year's siege.

Here, in the midst of you, I desired to say to you personally how much benevolence and affection I entertain for you. My interest in you has procured me inexpressible pleasure, and the brilliant condition in which I found all the troops of the army of the Crimea, after having inspected them, surpassed my expectations. I felt pleasure in beholding you and in admiring you. I thank you from my very soul for your services, your exploits, and your bravery. They are guarantees for that my brave army well knows how to uphold the glory of Russian arms, and to sacrifice itself for its faith, its sovereign, and its country.

In commemoration of the celebrated and glorious defence of Sebastopol, I have instituted especially for the troops who defended the fortifications, a silver medal, to be worn at the button-hole with the ribbon of St. George. Let this sign be the certificate of merit for you, and inspire your future comrades with the sentiment of duty and honour which constitutes the unshakeable foundation of the nation and country. May the union upon which I gave the medal of the name of my father—of our glorious memory—and myself be a pledge to you of our sentiments, which are equally directed to you, and may it perpetuate with you the inseparable memory of the Emperor Nicholas and of myself.

I am proud of you as he was. Like him, I have full confidence in your tried devotion,

and in your zeal in the accomplishment of your duty. In his name and in my own I once more thank the brave defenders of Sebastopol—I thank the whole army.

“ALEXANDER.”

On the part of the allies little was effected, requiring notice in this chapter, on any of the contiguous coasts. The occurrences at Kinburn will occupy separate chapters. The state of affairs at Kertch may, however, here be noticed so far as the following letter, from an officer in the E. I. Company's service, may throw light upon it:—“The Anglo-Turkish contingent have been increased at this place to nearly their full complement—sixteen regiments of infantry, close on 1000 men each. The Polish Legion, consisting of 1000 Cossacks and 3000 infantry, and the Bashi-bazouks, 3500 strong, also form part of the force. But it is doubtful whether these two latter will join us till after winter. There are some scoundrels and inhuman brutes amongst the men recently handed over to the contingent. The world are already alive to the excesses, the fearful and horrible atrocities, committed by some of these on the ‘sacking of Kertch.’ Though not to such an extent, these atrocities went on. Of course, when the men came under English rule, this was no longer to be tolerated. It is the custom of the Russians to bury their dead with the rings they wore in life, and other trinkets on them. The coffins of the rich are also richly worked with silver. This became known to the Turks, and resurrectionists in parties prowled like wolves into the still recesses of the dead. An order was issued to stop this. The desire of plunder, however, prevailed, and they continued at night to turn up the Christian graves. Instructions were given to the night patrols to fire on all parties found disobeying orders; and this was carried out about ten days since. A Turkish officer was shot dead in the act of separating the fingers of a corpse to procure the rings. Some days after this an inhuman murder was committed on an old Russian woman. The murderers were apprehended, one of them being an officer. Some of the party concerned in the affair returned to rob the house of the deceased, perhaps to murder a sister who resided with her. The provost-marshal, having learned what was going on, proceeded to the spot, caught the thieves in the act, and flogged them. While doing so, a crowd collected around him, and on failing to extricate the thief, proceeded to force. A soldier of the 71st, and some of the provost-marshal's party were badly wounded, and he himself was severely hurt by stones thrown at him. Captain Guernsey resisted as long as he could without resorting to force; at last, presenting his revolver at

the assailants, he warned them to retire. An officer in this case was also the ringleader; he drew his sword on the provost-marshal. He was instantly knocked over, as were also three other ringleaders, and then the crowd dispersed. But the excitement was very great amongst the men. They declared loudly they would have vengeance. They said they were sold to the English by the sultan, and they would take their muskets and get rid of all. This was very awkward—a second Cabul massacre in prospect, for what were the English amongst 20,000 Turks?—only one ship of war in the harbour, and a weak regiment of Highlanders. To make matters more complicated, the advanced posts of the Russians had approached to within six miles of us—6000 infantry, 4000 Cossacks, and twenty to thirty guns. We all passed a restless night, as may be supposed. But next morning the Turks were handed over to our commissariat, their officers were separated from them, and they have become quiet and orderly. They see that the guilty will be punished, and they will be well taken care of. So all fear of an *emeute* has passed.”

On the 11th of November General Simpson formally announced to the army that he had resigned his command. The announcement

was made by Lieutenant-general B. chief of the staff, in the following terms:

“General Sir James Simpson announces to the army that the queen has been gratified to permit him to resign the command of this army, and to appoint General Sir William Codrington, K.C.B., to be his successor.”

“On resigning his command, the general desires to express to the troops the high opinion he entertains of the admirable conduct of the officers and men of this army during the war. He has had the honour to serve with the army, and he takes the opportunity of taking leave of them, he tenders his best wishes to all ranks, and offers his earnest wishes for their success and honour in all the future operations of this noble army.”

“General Sir William Codrington is pleased to assume the command of the army to-morrow, the 11th instant.”

Thus terminated the command of an able, honest, and incompetent man—a great failure at the War-office, which he deserved, and a safe, prudent, and good general in a subsidiary post; but he was not fit for the command-in-chief of an army in the field. He did he pretend to be so. He retired with the respect, esteem, and good wishes of the army.

## CHAPTER CXIV.

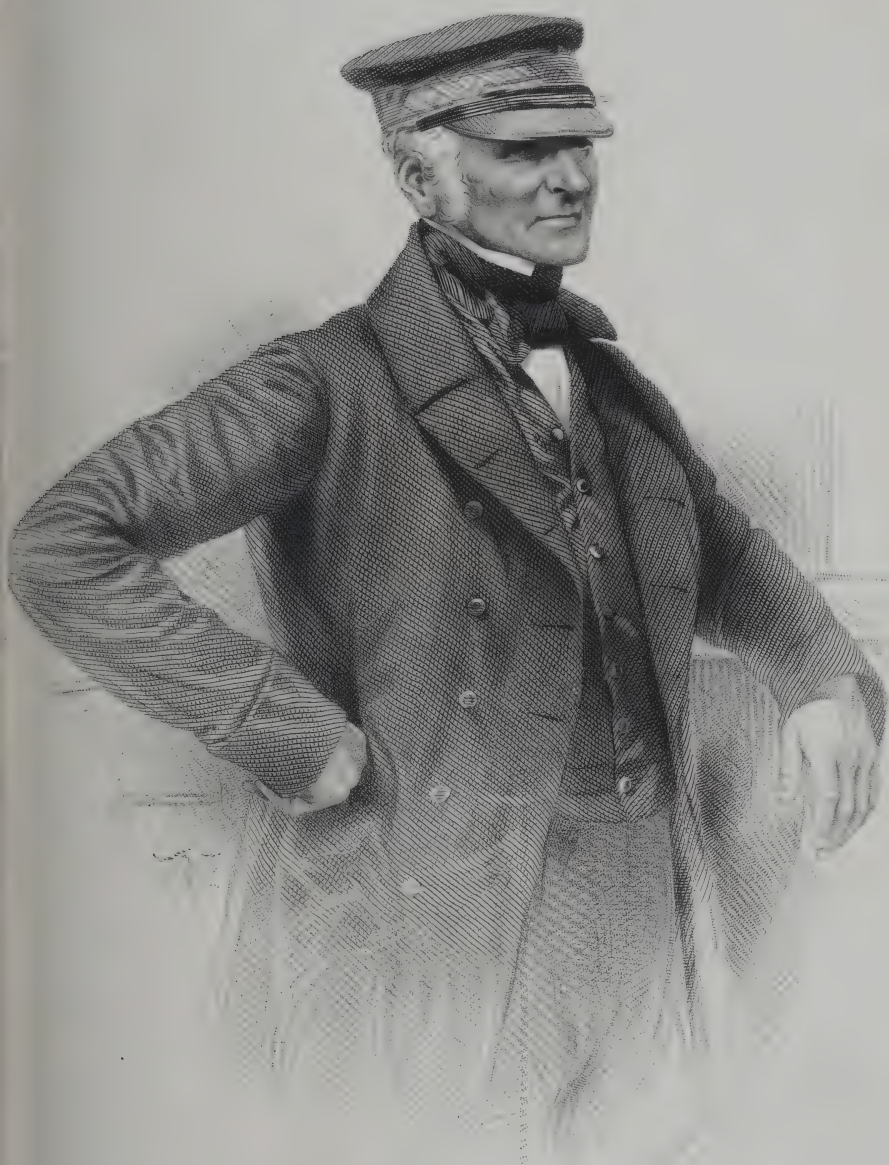
### EXPEDITION TO KINBURN.—ALLIED FLEETS OFF ODESSA: ALARM OF THE CITY.—REDUCTION OF KINBURN.—DESTRUCTION OF OCZAKOFF.

“With helm and blade for honour made,  
And their plumes in the gay wind dancing.”—MOORE.

EARLY in October it was decided by the allied authorities at Sebastopol to send an expedition against Kinburn and Oczakoff, and on the 7th of October the fleets and armies destined for that object departed.

It is desirable, before relating the events connected with the expedition, to give some account of the places against which it was sent. They are both situated on the shores of the Liman of the Dnieper—Oczakoff on the north side, and Kinburn on the south. The former was built on the top of a cliff, not very high, but sufficiently commanding. This cliff advances in an acute angle southwards, throwing out a low flat, on which stood an old dilapidated Genoese fort. Soon after the attack upon Odessa, a battery was erected on the cliff outside the channel, taking it in enfilade, but at long range. In the year 1788 a Turkish garrison defended this place against the Russians with great bravery and pertinacity. After a siege of some months, Potemkin, the clever and infamous favourite of Catherine, reduced it. On the southern side, the distance across the Liman not being much more

than a mile, the citadel of Kinburn was situated upon a spit or tongue of sand and shingle, a deposit formed by the passage of the Danube to the sea. The defences consisted of two forts—the citadel, and two minor fortifications. The citadel was a horn-work of masonry with earthen parapets, surrounded by a ditch wherever it was not washed by the sea. It contained barracks and other buildings, the roofs of which were visible above the rampart. The armament was heavy, and upon all faces of the fortifications, consisting of one tier of guns covered and casemated, crowned by a *barbette*, the whole generally numbered sixty guns, half of which swept the sea side, from the S.E. to N.N.W. Two batteries had been constructed just before the allied fleets arrived. The passage into the Danube was much nearer Kinburn than Oczakoff, giving to the former greater importance as a fortified place. The usual garrison was 1000 men, but was not quite so strong when the allied fleets arrived before it. The fleet always floated above Kinburn, to indicate it was a place of arms.



GENERAL SIR JAMES SIMPSON, &c.

*Portrait by W. H. Sturt*



zakkoff was about 190 miles north by of Constantinople. Fifty miles higher up son was situated, the capital of the pro- e. Russian charts of the Liman of the per were in the hands of the admirals of allied fleets, but little reliance could be on their accuracy, and at the time the rs of the expedition knew little of either shores or waters of the Dnieper. The al alterations in the tide-way rendered information, possessed independent of Rus- charts, also untrustworthy. The waters e Bug and the Dnieper, having formed a tion, flow together through a narrow chan- of variable width, fifteen feet being the mum, until they debouch into the sea near koff and Kinburn. At the river en- ce of the gulf of the Dnieper, and on its ern bank, Cherson was remarkable, not as the seat of government, but from the ical incident of the Empress Catherine ng written on the gate of the city, "Road onstantinople." This province was not d to the Russian empire until ten years the annexation of the Crimea; its terri- is more extensive than that of Taurus.

ne object of the allies in operating against orts at the mouth of the estuary, was to re a good basis of operations against Nico- f, the strongest hold of the czar in Southern ia after Sebastopol. It was the great -building arsenal, and the largest naval in the Black Sea. A quarter of a cen- previous to the fall of Sebastopol, Nicolaieff scarcely ever been heard of out of Russia. energy and talent of the Muscovite ad- l, Lazareff, laid the foundation of its great-

It was situated on the confluence of the and the Ingul, and surrounded by a vast e, barren and desolate. There were about e houses, and 40,000 inhabitants there at eriod of the expedition. It contained many ublic buildings, six Greek churches, one tholic Greek" church, a Lutheran church, a Jewish synagogue, and a synagogue arite Jews! The Admiralty was a magni- nt building, and there were several barracks, e stories each, solidly and elegantly con- ted; these were capable of accommodating e than 25,000 men. Immense stores of guns mmunition had been laid up in the ase- but the demands which had been recently at Sebastopol nearly exhausted them. ic works necessary for an arsenal abounded, the aqueduct, like that at Sebastopol, was markable specimen of civil engineering. e conducted a supply of excellent water to garrison and the inhabitants, and was ary to their existence, for there were no e, and the waters of the Ingul were turbid (unwholesome.

was on Sunday, the 7th of October, that

the fleets sailed from Kamiesch Bay. The expedition was on a scale of magnitude from which much greater things might have been expected than were performed. The subjoined lists will present to the reader correct details of the forces dispatched:—

LINE-OF-BATTLE SHIPS.

	Guns.	Troops on Board.	Royal Marines.
Royal Albert*	121	800	80
Hannibal†	90	670	80
Agamemnon‡	90	—	—
Algiers	90	500	80
St. Jean d'Acre	101	—	1030
Princess Royal	91	700	80
Totals	583	2670	1350

STEAM FRIGATES, SLOOPS, &C.

	Guns.		Guns.
Curaçoa	30	Spiteful	6
Dauntless	33	Spitfire	5
Firebrand	6	Stromboli	6
† Furious	16	Terrible	21
Gladiator	6	Tribune	31
Leopard	18	Triton	3
Odin	16	† Valorous	16
Sidon	22	Vulcan	6
Sphinx	6		
		Total	247

SMALLER VESSELS.

Gun-boats.	Guns.	Gun-boats.	Guns.
Arrow	4	Lynx	4
Clinker	1	Viper	4
Cracker	1	Wrangler	4
Fancy	1	Beagle	4
Moslem	1	Snake	4

MORTAR-VESSELS.

Firm.	Camel.	Magnet.
Hardy.	Flamer.	Raven.

STEAM TENDERS, &C.

Banshee.	Danube.	Brenda.
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TRANSPORTS.

	No.	Freight, &c.
Prince Alfred	126	Royal Artillery.
Arabia	83	Forrest, Royal Artillery, &c.
Orient	78	Medical Staff—Hospital Ship.
Lady Alice Lambton	99	Stores.
Durham	179	—
Indian	197	M'Master, Commissariat-Staff, &c.
Charity	140	Civil Land-transport Corps, and Commissariat Stores.
Colombo	—	Methven, shot and shell, &c.
Zebra	211	Fuel.
Arthur Gordon	238	Stores.

The French had four line-of-battle ships, several steam frigates, a number of gun and mortar-boats, and three of the floating steam-batteries—a new and peculiar description of vessel, more efficient for the purposes of the expedition than any other. In this respect our ally showed a naval superiority; there were no such vessels, nor any of equal efficiency

\* Sir E. Lyons, G.C.B., &c., having on board Brigadier-general Spencer, commanding.

† Sir H. Stewart, K.C.B., second in command.

‡ Joined the squadron at Odessa.

in the English fleet. Their invention was ascribed to the genius of the French emperor. The *Moniteur* claimed this honour for the emperor, after the reduction of Kinburn, in the following terms:—"As soon as the first experiments of the firing had confirmed the ideas on which this new invention was based, and even before the plan was fully decided on, the emperor eagerly communicated his views to our faithful and great ally. Competent persons, men of knowledge and experience, at first felt some surprise, for the question was regarded as one that could not be solved; but experiments on the effect of the fire having been made, they fully confirmed the results which had been obtained in France. The two governments then agreed to build a certain number of these floating batteries, which have just made their first trial at Kinburn. The projectiles which struck them, notwithstanding their size, could neither pass through nor damage their sides, and they soon opened practicable breaches in the stone walls. Thus, not only have the floating batteries, as the emperor wished, neutralised the formidable properties of the Paixhans' shot, which produced such disastrous effects at Sinope, but the experience of war, like the experiments at Vincennes, have proved that they can resist round-shot. Our navy, and that of our allies, who now are acquainted with the properties of these warlike machines, will know how to turn them to good account. The emperor had before that furnished France with a description of artillery which performed a very material part in the victories of the Alma, of Inkerman, and of Traktar; he has now endowed the navy with an arm which has only just made its appearance, and of which the future career will prove the power."

As the fleets drew off from Kamiesch, the admirals made signal that the rendezvous was to be five miles south by east of Odessa, at which they arrived without accident on Sunday night.

On the 8th the fleet arrived off Odessa, which place was described sufficiently for the purposes of this History in a previous chapter. The object of the admirals in appearing off Odessa was not to bombard it, but to deceive the enemy as to the real design of the expedition. The feint partly succeeded, and troops for the defence of that city were directed from every quarter—even from Nicolaieff and Cherson, where they were likely to be so soon required. The terror of the citizens of Odessa was very great, although it did not prevent them from gratifying their curiosity by crowding every elevated position from which a view of the fleet might be obtained.

Much discussion took place in England as to the motives of sparing Odessa, and much

diversity of opinion existed amongst who were not influenced by political considerations, as to the propriety, and even possibility of destroying Odessa. Mr. Russell, who accompanied the expedition from the Crimea, gave it as his opinion that, from the condition of the houses, the city could not have been destroyed from the sea. It may be that a most terrible bombardment, many stone buildings would remain standing; but it can hardly be doubted that the admirals could have rendered the place uninhabitable, and have destroyed the stores from which the Russian army in the Crimea received sustenance. Mr. Russell represented the fleet as incapable of destroying the place from want of appropriate missiles and an adequate supply of ammunition, even if its destruction had been practicable under a bombardment. Upon these remarks of its correspondent, the *Times*, in a footnote observed:—"The impression in the Crimea, which no doubt our correspondent faithfully echoes, seems to be that Odessa should have been destroyed; whereas, we believe that an attack on Odessa would have been considered throughout all Europe as a barbarous outrage, which the aggressors would have been heartily ashamed of after the heat of conflict had passed away. If Odessa were really a military position, the stern laws of war would, no doubt, justify its destruction; but an attack upon a great commercial city, on the pretext that its stores supplied provisions to the Russian army, could only be classed in history with the bombardment of Washington."

Such opinions did not generally prevail in England. It was thought that, if the fishing vessels and boats in the Sea of Azoff, and along the shores of the Baltic and the White Sea, stores connected with the commerce of Russia, and granaries the property of merchants, were destroyed in accordance with the laws of war—so, at Odessa, a similar proceeding would have been righteous. In fact, it was not simply a commercial city, for it had a large garrison, was the capital of a province, and trusted for its security, not to its commercial character, but to its barracks and batteries of army and its sea ramparts. The proper course would probably have been to demand the arming of the place, and promise to spare it, in case the dismantling of fortifications and surrender of guns were refused, to treat it as a place of arms, which it undoubtedly was, and reduce it to ruins. Mr. Russell argued against the expediency of any attack, that if the total destruction of the place was impossible, the enemy would fire the last gun to claim the victory. If this reasoning was sound, then all the operations in the Sea of Azoff were impolitic, for the destruction inflicted was in no place total, and the ene-



to form the southern division, so that the *Montebello* will be the fourth ship from the south, and the *Royal Albert*, as the fifth ship, will be the southern ship of the English division.

"No. 3. The line-of-battle ships are to weigh together and form a line abreast, north and south, at a cable apart. The southern line-of-battle ship is then to steer so as to bring the south end of Kinburn Fort bearing E. by compass, and, to shield her from any danger that may not have been discovered, or from approaching too close to the bank to the south, she is to be preceded by two steamers, each a cable apart, and in advance, on her starboard bow, and showing their soundings. When the south line-of-battle ship brings the south end of Kinburn to bear E., she is to steer for it. The rest of the ships will then steer the same course, keeping one cable apart, and all anchor together in a line nearly north and south, just without the flag buoys that will be placed during the previous night.

"No. 4. The nine ships will then be in position for the first five or six to engage Fort Kinburn at from 1200 to 1400 yards, and perhaps less, and the other three to take the sand batteries in flank and rear, at about 1000 yards.

"No. 5. The three French floating-batteries are to be placed on a line N.N.W. and S.S.E. of each other, to the S.W. of Fort Kinburn, at about 600 yards distant from it.

"No. 6. The mortar-vessels are to anchor in a line E. and W., at 2800 yards distant, with the fort bearing N.E. from the outer vessel of the line.

"No. 7. The English mortar-boats to be towed by the *Odin*, on a line E. of the French.

"No. 8. If the outer mortar-vessel brings Oczakoff telegraph on with the east end of Fort Kinburn, bearing N. 20 E. (magnetic), and steers for it till the Oczakoff telegraph and Odzah Point subtend an angle of 70 degrees, she will be about the requisite distance of 2800 yards from Fort Kinburn; the rest can take their stations at a cable distance east of her.

"No. 9. The *Sidon*, *Curaçoa*, *Tribune*, *Dauntless*, and *Terrible* to anchor close off the North Sand Battery on Kinburn Spit, or when ordered, to join the squadron of gun-boats, &c., that have previously entered within the straits, should any large ships of the enemy from Nicolaieff appear for the relief of Kinburn.

"No. 10. The disposable paddle-steamers can find good positions between the line-of-battle ships for directing their fire with steady aim at the embrasures of the casemates, or at any position where the enemy maintains his fire, or off the N. and N.W. extremity of the Kinburn Spit, to enfilade the batteries and their approaches.

"No. 11. The gun-boats will attend to protect the army during the landing, and they are not ordered to remain to cover their flank. They are to take up position between the other ships as opportunity offers, and by a careful attention to the plan of attack, are not to fire in the direction of the other ships.

"No. 12. The admiral holds the captain responsible for there being no firing, until the men can distinctly see the objects they are directed to fire upon.

"*Triton* and *Beagle* to attend *St. Jean d'Alger*. Each ship's boats to land her own troops. Reserve ammunition for the marines to be landed with them. *Spiteful* and *Furious*, assisted by *Triton*, to land twenty-one cavalry horses, seven staff horses, twenty-seven regimental staff horses from No. 197, and six sappers, with tools, &c. The captain of each ship is to be responsible for the disembarkation of his own troops and baggage."

Minute directions for the conduct of the advanced squadron followed, which are too technical for the general reader, and too much detail to be necessary for the professional reader.

During the night of the 14th, the English steam gun-boats, *Boxer*, *Cracker*, *Clinker*, and *Fancy*, with four French gun-vessels, for the passage into Dnieper Bay, the Spit E. firing heavily, but without effect. The next morning a landing was effected, the British troops under the command of Brigadier-general Spencer, the French under General Bazai. The place of landing was three miles southward of the principal fort, and thereby the retreat of the garrison was cut off, while the arrival of reinforcements was also effectually prevented. The troops landed precisely in the order laid down in the plan already given, and no opposition was offered. The 17th regiment was the first to land—a body of fine and well-disciplined men. The troops immediately entrenched themselves, no enemy appearing except a few Cossack videttes. The weather freshened in the evening, producing a heavy surf, which interfered with the operations of the ships. Nevertheless, the gun-boats opened upon the enemy's positions. The utility of this fire was disputed by those who saw or took part in it. Mr. Russell, who witnessed the bombardment, thus wrote:—"The mortar and gun-boats bombarded the forts for three hours, but not produce any apparent impression." An officer who participated in the labour of the bombardment described it, in *Colburn's United Service Magazine*, in a very different way:—"In the evening the English and French mortar-boats tried their ranges against the main fort, with excellent effect." The latter version of what happened we believe to be the correct one—the mortar-vessels only intended to try their range, so as to ensure an effect.

al fire—when the bombardment should really commence.

On the 16th a south wind and a heavy swell prevented the fleets from attempting anything very signal importance. In the evening, however, Admiral Lyons directed a slow and steady fire from the *Valorous*, a French frigate, and a few gun-boats of each nation, for little more than half an hour upon the forts, which was returned with great spirit. The fire of the batteries inflicted little damage—that of the enemy none. The Russian shells were badly manufactured, and burst in the air; the artillery practice of the forts was in all respects bad. A skirmish between French troopers and Cossacks took place in the morning of this day. The French were patrolling in the plain in the direction of Cherson, when they came upon some brushwood, which concealed a body of Cossacks. The French charged with promptitude, killed two and captured two, the remainder fled. This seemed to check the alertness of the enemy in effecting close reconnaissances, the Cossacks were afterwards chary of advancing near enough to receive a similar chastisement.

The trench-work was carried on throughout the 16th and 17th with great vigour; both French and British soldiers seemed to labour with ardour, and the works consequently assumed a formidable appearance, even within so short a time. The character of these works was that of an entrenched camp, with one front towards the fort and the other towards Cherson, a space of about half a mile maintained in the interval. The flanks of these lines were left open towards the sea, where they were of course covered by the guns of the shipping. The French occupied the intrenchment against Kinburn, the British that towards Cherson; the former directed against the fortress, the latter guarded the rear, and prevented the arrival of reinforcements to the enemy.

On the 17th, at dawn, the French approached within 600 yards of Fort Kinburn, and opened fire in parallel. The enemy endeavoured to retard this operation by his fire, but was not successful. At an early hour a northerly breeze sprang up, which, the water being smooth, enabled the gun-boats to get well in, and to fire with much precision upon the forts. The *Odin*, followed by a train of mortar and bomb-vessels, executed the necessary manoeuvres in a superior style. The *Raven*, *Magnet*, *Camel*, *Flamer*, and *Firm* mortar-boats—the *Arrow*, *Viper*, *Snake*, *Wrangler*, and other gun-boats, directed for several hours the missiles of destruction against the doomed fortress. The *Arrow* threw Lancaster shells, and sent several men from the bursting of the shells which had not been manufactured by the inventor of this new arm of war. The fire

of the small craft was terribly effective; the grim fortress trembled beneath the shocks of successive salvoes, and flames burst forth in several directions. The French gun and mortar-boats were not as efficient as those of the English; but their iron floating-batteries were the most powerful instruments of demolition brought against the fort. A French officer wrote to his friends in Paris an account of the action of these vessels, which other eye-witnesses confirmed:—"We have just put the floating-batteries to a most satisfactory proof. They opened their fire at a quarter past nine, at a distance somewhere between 400 and 600 metres, and by noon there was a splendid breach. The fifty-pound balls quickly scaled off the facing of the rampart, and the shells knocked over everything. I was in the fort after its surrender, when the fire kindled by the mortar-vessels was still burning. I never saw such a confusion of smashed gun-carriages, of broken or dismounted guns; the chaos was superb. Now, we must set to work and try to do better still. The first trial has been good, but there is yet room for improvement; the engines are not powerful enough, and the hulls do not readily answer the helm. But one thing is decidedly proved—the main and essential thing—that is, the invulnerability of the floating-batteries. They all of them bear the dints of from forty to fifty shots, just like the marks of bullets on a target. We have only lost a few men from some projectiles that entered by the port-holes. We are well rewarded by the signs of astonishment and admiration on the part of the English and the Russians."

About noon the storm of battle was increased by the arrival of the *Royal Albert*, the *Algiers*, the *Agamemnon*, and the *Princess Royal* line-of-battle ships, with four liners of Admiral Bruat's. These all came abreast, and poured in from their broadsides a hurricane of balls. At the same time the squadrons of Admirals Sir Houston Stewart and Pellion took the forts in reverse, and continued their fire until it was silenced. The main forts were also engaged by other portions of the fleets. The *St. Jean d'Acre*, *Tribune*, and *Sphinx* attacked the centre fort; the *Hannibal*, *Dauntless*, and *Terrible* battered that upon the spit. When the defence ceased the English admiral, anxious to spare life, requested the French admiral to cease firing, but he refused, alleging that until the enemy held out a flag of truce, or the forts were utterly destroyed, it was his duty to continue the cannonade. Soon after, the English guns were silent, and the French admiral agreed to spare the garrison the horrors of a further cannonade until negotiation was tried. A flag of truce was sent in, and the governor consented to surrender the fortress and its garri-

son, the officers to wear their swords as they surrendered. The reason of no flag of truce having been shown by the enemy when defence was no longer possible, was discovered during the negotiation. The second in command of the fortress, a Pole, and the engineer officer, resisted the purpose of the governor to treat with the allies, and were insubordinate, threatening to blow up the fort; they were intoxicated. These men had to be put under arrest before the governor could deliver up the place. This he at last did, and he and his garrison marched out prisoners of war, while the flames within the fortress were spreading, and were perilously near the magazine. The governor was Major-general Kokonovitch. The garrison consisted of engineers, artillery, and infantry, to the number of nearly 1400 men. Nearly 300 had been killed, and about 500 wounded. Eighty-one guns and mortars, and a considerable store of ammunition, fell a prize to the conquerors. The demeanour of the prisoners very much resembled that of the captives at Bomarsund. The officers, in most cases, were apparently remorseful and resentful; some deported themselves with great dignity. The men were mostly drunk, and pirouetted and waltzed, making grotesque faces, and uttering exclamations of mingled satisfaction and recklessness. The governor was in deep grief; turning to the fortress, his cheeks wet with tears, he exclaimed, "Adieu, Kinburn! Suwarow's glory and my shame!" Yet the veteran had made a very gallant defence, and his surrender was in no way to his dishonour. The prisoners were sent to Constantinople.

On the 18th the enemy blew up the fort near Oczakoff, and retired from that place; twenty-two waggons were destroyed in the explosion. The British and French made suitable preparations for the occupation of Kinburn, and thus secured an important position for operations against Cherson or Nicolaieff, as well as inflicted a new loss and humiliation upon a proud and boastful foe.

On the 20th of October, General Simpson referred to these exploits in the following short paragraph of a despatch:—

"I am happy to be able to congratulate your lordship on the successful termination of the expedition to Kinburn. I transmit a copy of the report of Brigadier-general the Honourable A. Spencer. This contains all the information I have received on the operations, with the exception that, in a private note, Sir E. Lyons mentions that the enemy have exploded the three forts at Oczakoff, commanding the northern entrance into the Dnieper."

The report of the Honourable Brigadier Spencer was dated from the camp near Kinburn on the 17th:—

"In reporting, for the information of general commanding the forces, the fall of garrison of the fortress of Kinburn this I have the honour to state that the force under my command effected their landing on Monday the 15th, unopposed.

"Owing to a heavy surf, and which continued all day yesterday, the landing has accomplished with some little difficulty. troops, however, were all got on shore on the first day, and have since been employed in trenching our position. There are rumours of a force of the enemy collecting at Cherson about forty miles from here, but our immediate neighbourhood appears to be clear.

"The advanced line of the position, flanked on both sides by the sea, is held by the force under my command, and is about a mile in extent."

In a subsequent despatch, General Simpson inclosed another brief report from Brigadier Spencer, dated the 19th of October:—

"I have the honour, for the information of the commander-in-chief, to forward a copy of a correct statement\* of the force under my command, than my very hurried despatch of the 18th instant enabled me to do.

"I am this day employed in moving my position now three miles from Kinburn, to the immediate neighbourhood of that fort; our position, although no time has been lost in making trenchments, being too extensive; and the number of gun-boats of the allied fleets, from the liability of the ground, could, in the event of an attack from the interior, be of little use. The front of the new position will not extend more than half a mile, and will be well covered by gun-boats on both flanks.

"To-morrow General Bazaine purposed making a reconnaissance, in which nearly the whole of the English force will take part, and will carry with us two days' provisions.

The fort of Kinburn, which has been much damaged by the fire of the ships on the 17th, is about to undergo repair. The magazines at Oczakoff were yesterday blown up by the enemy. The weather is fine, and the troops are very healthy. A supply of water is to be found on the coast, and I hope to increase it."

The French, having undertaken to garrison Kinburn for the winter, the brigadier a-

\* "Infantry—180 officers, 237 sergeants, 86 drummers, 3999 rank and file, 33 sick.

Royal Artillery—6 officers, 5 sergeants, 100 rank and file; 100 horses.

Royal Engineers—6 officers, 4 sergeants, 56 rank and file.

Detachment of Cavalry—1 officer, 1 sergeant, and file; 20 horses.

Total—193 officers, 247 sergeants, 86 drummers, rank and file, 33 sick; 120 horses."

ces rejoined the army before Sebastopol, as appears from the following despatch of General Napson, dated Sebastopol, October 27th:—

"I have the honour to transmit the copy of letter I have received from Brigadier-general Honorable A. Spencer, informing me of the return of the force under his command to Kinburn, after having made a short reconnaissance.

"As it has been decided that the French garrison the fort, the English troops will turn here, and I expect them about the 3rd of November.

"I have to report the arrival, on the 25th instant, of a detachment of prisoners, to the number of 132, from Odessa, where the greater part of them arrived on the 24th of September. Among them is Lieutenant James, of the Royal Engineers, who was taken on the night of the 2nd of July; he has been kept at Kinburn, and reports having been very well treated by the Russians. The prisoners have been kept at Veronetz, on the Don, and when they left there were only two remaining, who were sick, and 51 deserters."

"On the 20th the allied troops made the reconnaissance thus referred to, which occupied three days, with no other result than burning a village, and ascertaining the topography of the neighbourhood. The following is General Spencer's report, dated Kinburn, 24th of October:—

"I have the honour to report, for the information of the commander-in-chief, that the troops under my command returned yesterday morning from the reconnaissance they made in company with the French army. The force at Kinburn on the 20th instant, bivouaced at night and the following at the village of Skakoffka (eight miles), proceeded thence to the village of Skakoffka, which the allies burnt. Good many farms, all deserted, and a great quantity of hay were also destroyed. On our return yesterday, about 250 of the enemy's cavalry menaced our rear. The troops are in good health."

"At a conference held to-day, it has been determined that the fort of Kinburn is to be occupied for the winter by French troops, and it is expected that the English troops will march for the Crimea on the 1st of November."

"On the 13th of November, General Codrington, in a despatch to Lord Panmure, inclosed the final report of Brigadier-general Spencer. The terms of General Codrington's despatch are:—

"Having so lately assumed the command of the army, I have not sufficient materials, nor do I consider it necessary, to write a separate

despatch. The return of the troops from the expedition against Kinburn was announced to your lordship by electric telegraph on the 3rd instant.

"I do myself the honour to transmit the copies of reports received from Brigadier-general the Honourable A. Spencer, giving a more detailed account of the proceedings of the force under his command than he had hitherto been able to make; and two reports from Brigadier-general Lord George Paget, with an account of two reconnaissances that were made by the allied cavalry from Eupatoria."

The report of Brigadier Spencer was dated on board her majesty's ship *Royal Albert*, off Sebastopol, the 4th of November:—

"In reporting the return of the expeditionary land force under my command from Kinburn, I am now enabled to make, for the information of the commander-in-chief, a more ample report of their proceedings than in my previously hurried despatch I was able to do.

"The landing of the troops, three miles from Kinburn Fort, was effected without opposition on the 15th of October. Owing to a heavy surf, there was considerable difficulty in it, but the infantry were all on shore by 11 o'clock (it commenced at 8 A.M.); and from the activity of the royal navy employed, the cavalry and most of the artillery were landed in the course of the day, though the first portion of the commissariat was only landed, and with great difficulty, on the evening of the second day.

"The whole force was very shortly in position. The orders I had received from the French General Bazaine were, to protect with the English troops the right flank from any attack the enemy might make, for the relief of the garrison, from Nicolaieff or Cherson; while the French line was to be in our rear, but facing the fort. The ground I occupied was about a mile in extent; the regiments were deployed into line, every advantage being taken of the nature of the ground, which was undulating. The tents were pitched in rear of the battalions as they arrived from the landing-place. The regiments were employed, immediately after landing, in intrenching their own fronts, thus making our general line of field-works from the sea on either side. A work was also thrown up in the course of the following day, on the left flank of the line, to be occupied by field-pieces or by ship-guns, should the fort not fall immediately. The nature of the ground rendered any assistance from the allied gun-boats impossible. The French had hastily thrown up a *place d'armes* in rear of our right, from which a re-embarkation, if necessary, might have been satisfactorily accomplished."

"The bombardment from the ships commenced on the afternoon of the 15th, but from the state of the weather it was discontinued; and on the 16th they were unable to resume it from the same cause. By the morning of the 17th, the fieldworks thrown up by the troops were, as far as circumstances would admit of, very defensible, although too extensive. The outlying pickets had also thrown up small intrenchments at their respective posts; that morning, at daybreak, I made a reconnaissance, with the detachments of French and English cavalry, and the 57th regiment. The weather becoming thick, the infantry returned after a march of four miles out. The cavalry proceeded to the village of Paksoffka, a few miles further, which they found deserted. At 10 A.M., the ships opened fire, and at 3 o'clock the forts surrendered, with about 1400 prisoners. Seventeen officers and 739 men were given over to me by General Bazaine, and were subsequently sent on board her majesty's ship *Vulcan*, to proceed to Constantinople. On the following morning, the forts at Oczakoff were blown up by the enemy. French and English commissioners were appointed for the taking over of the *matériel* found in the forts of Kinburn, and for the temporary division of the place.

"On the 19th I moved the English camp to the immediate neighbourhood of the fort, and occupied the southern shore; the ground is here nearly level with the sea, and so perfectly smooth that it is easily protected by ships on both flanks. On the 20th the English force, with the exception of the 21st regiment, who were left to do the duties at Kinburn, joined the French in a reconnaissance under General Bazaine. The troops carried three days' provisions, and the commissariat were able to carry three more. We halted and bivouaced that night at the village of Paksoffka, about eight miles' march of sandy soil. The French occupied a village at a short distance. We had no tents; but the weather was fine, and there was plenty of wood and hay, and a large supply of cabbages and other vegetables. The inhabitants had all left. On the 21st halted. The following day, with the cavalry, artillery, and three battalions, I accompanied General Bazaine, with a part of the French force, to the village of Skakoffka, about five or six miles; country very open, with occasionally deep sand; always plenty of water in the villages. Having burnt the village, we returned that day to Paksoffka. The detachment of carabineers, under Captain Wardlaw, had pushed on by my direction to a village about three miles further, where they found inhabitants, who told them that some Russian cavalry had left them that morning. On the 23rd, the whole force returned to Kinburn.

On the march our rear was threatened about 250 of the enemy's cavalry, who, however, soon retired. On the 27th, the cavalry and artillery were embarked, and on the 30th the whole of the infantry, to return to the Crimea, leaving French troops to garrison the fort."

The despatches of the admirals will afford information on matters of detail connected with the fleets, interesting to naval men. The following was from Rear-admiral Lyons, commander-in-chief of her majesty's ships at sea in the Mediterranean and Black Sea, dated *Royal Albert*, off Kinburn, October 18th:—

"My letter of the 6th instant will have informed the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that an allied naval and military expedition was to leave the anchorage off Sebastopol on the following day, for the purpose of taking and occupying the three Russian forts on the Kinburn Spit, at the entrance of Dnieper Bay, and the telegraphic message which I forwarded to Varna last night will soon communicate their lordships the success which has attended this enterprise.

"It is now my duty to give a more detailed account of the proceedings of the expedition. I have therefore the honour to state that we arrived at a rendezvous off Odessa on the 8th instant, but owing to strong south-west winds which would have prevented the troops from landing, it was not until the morning of the 14th instant that the expedition was enabled to reach the anchorage off Kinburn.

"During the night the English steam gun-vessels *Fancy*, *Boxer*, *Craacker*, and *Clinker*, and four French gun-vessels, forced the entrance into Dnieper Bay, under a heavy but ineffectual fire from the Spit Fort, and on the following morning the British troops, under the orders of Brigadier-general the Hon. A. Spencer, together with the French troops under the command of General Bazaine, landed about three miles to the southward of the principal fort, and thus, by these simultaneous operations, the retreat of the garrison and the arrival of reinforcements were effectually cut off. In the evening the English and French mortar-vessels tried their range against the main fort with excellent effect.

"The wind having veered round to the southward, with a great deal of swell, nothing could be done on the 16th; but in the forenoon of the 17th a fine northerly breeze, with smooth water, enabled the French floating batteries, mortar-vessels, and gun-boats, the *Odin*, and the mortar-vessels and gun-boats, named in the margin,\* to take up position.

\* "Mortar vessels—*Raven*, *Magnet*, *Camel*, *Hall*, *Flamer*, *Firm*. Gun-vessels—*Lynx*, *Arrow*, *Viper*, *Snake*, *Wrangler*, *Beagle*."

ons off Fort Kinburn; and their fire was so effective that, before noon, the buildings in the interior of the fort were in flames, and the eastern face had suffered very considerably.

"At noon the *Royal Albert*, the *Algiers*, the *Agamemnon*, and the *Princess Royal*, accompanied by Admiral Bruat's four ships of the line, approached Fort Kinburn in a line abreast, which the shape of the coast rendered necessary, and the precision with which they took up their positions in the closest order, with booms run in, and only two feet of water under their keels, was really admirable. At the same moment the squadrons under the orders of Rear-admirals Sir Houston Stewart and Pellion pushed through the passage between Ozakoff and the Spit of Kinburn, and took the forts in reverse, while the *St. Jean d'Acre*, the *Curacao*, the *Tribune*, and the *Sphinx*, undertook the centre battery, and the *Hannibal*, *Invincible*, and *Terrible*, that on the point of the spit.

"The enemy soon ceased to reply to our overwhelming fire, and, though he made no sign of surrender, Admiral Bruat and I felt at a garrison which had bravely defended itself against so superior a force deserved every consideration, and we therefore made the signal to cease firing, hoisted a flag of truce, and sent ashore a summons, which was accepted by the governor, Major-general Kokonovitch; and a garrison, consisting of 1400 men, marched with the honours of war, laid down their arms on the glacis, and, having surrendered themselves as prisoners of war, they will be embarked in her majesty's ship *Vulcan* to-morrow. "The casualties in the allied fleets are very few, amounting in her majesty's ships to only two wounded. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded is, I fear, very severe.

"In the three forts, which have suffered considerably by our fire, we found eighty-one guns and mortars, mounted, and an ample supply of ammunition.

"This morning the enemy has blown up the forts on Ozakoff Point, which mounted twenty guns; and we learned from a Polish deserter, who escaped in a boat from them during the night, that the commandant apprehended an attack from our mortar-vessels, which would not only have destroyed the forts, but also the neighbouring dwellings.

"I have abstained from entering into the particulars of the proceedings of the squadron under the orders of Rear-admiral Sir H. Stewart, as he has so ably described them in a letter which I have the honour to inclose, in which their lordships will perceive that we have received from him on this occasion—as, indeed, I have on all others since I have had the good fortune to have him as second in command—that valuable assistance which might

be expected from an officer of his distinguished and acknowledged merits; and I beg leave to add my testimony to his in praise of all the officers, and especially Lieutenant Marryat and Mr. Brooker, whom he recommends to their lordships' favourable consideration.

"To particularise the merit of the officers under my command, where all have behaved admirably, would be a difficult task indeed; but I beg leave to mention that the same officers of the navy and the Royal Marine Artillery, who were in the mortar-vessels at the fall of Sebastopol are in them now, and that on this occasion, as before, they have been under the direction of Captain Willcox, of the *Odin*, and Captain Digby, of the Royal Marine Artillery. Nor can I refrain from stating what I believe to be the feeling of the whole fleet, that on this expedition, as on that to Kertch, the talents and indefatigable exertions of that very valuable officer, Captain Spratt, of the *Spitfire*, and of those under his command, entitle them to our warmest thanks, and deserve to be particularly mentioned.

"I need hardly say that my distinguished colleague, Admiral Bruat, and I have seen with infinite satisfaction our respective squadrons acting together as one fleet."

Sir Houston Stewart's report to Admiral Lyons was dated on board the *Valorous*, in Dnieper Bay, October the 18th:—

"I have the honour to inform you that, in pursuance of your orders, I hoisted my flag in her majesty's steam-frigate *Valorous* on the afternoon of the 14th instant, immediately after the arrival of the allied fleets off Kinburn Spit, and proceeded, under the able guidance of Captain Spratt, of the *Spitfire*, to take up positions at the entrance of Dnieper Bay, where, with the division of steam-vessels placed under my orders,\* and in company with those under the orders of my colleague, Rear-admiral Odet Pellion, we remained in readiness to force an entrance into the Dnieper, for the purpose directed by you of preventing, as far as possible, any reinforcements being thrown into the forts on Kinburn Spit, as well as to cut off the retreat of the garrison, should either be attempted.

"At 9 P.M. I instructed Lieutenant Joseph H. Marryat, of the *Cracker*, to take on board Mr. Edward W. Brooker, additional master of the *Spitfire*, and endeavour with him to determine the course of the intricate channel through which we were to pass, and to lay down buoys along the south side of it, the French having undertaken to perform the same service on the north side.

"I likewise directed Mr. Thomas Potter,

\* "*Valorous*, *Gladiator*, *Fancy*, *Cracker*, *Grinder*, *Boxer*, *Clinker*."

master of the *Furious* (lent to do duty in the *Valorous*), to proceed with two boats of the *Tribune*, and, protected by the *Cracker*, to search for the spit on the north bank, and on his return endeavour to place a buoy on the edge of the shoal off Kinburn Spit, that the entrance of the channel might be assured.

"As soon as the preconcerted signal was given, indicating that this operation was effected, I dispatched the *Fancy*, *Boxer*, and *Clinker* into Dnieper Bay, with orders to anchor in such positions as would best protect the right flank of our troops upon the disembarkation taking place, and to make that their chief care, as long as there was any possibility of the enemy threatening them. During the night, Rear-admiral Odet Pellion also sent in the French gun-boats for the same purpose.

"At daylight on the following morning I had the satisfaction of observing all the gun-boats, French and English, anchored safely to the north-east of Kinburn Fort, and without any of them having sustained damage, although the enemy had fired shot and shell and musketry at them during their passage in.

"While still in considerable doubt as to the extent to which the channel for the larger ships was buoyed, at 10 A.M. Lieutenant Marryat and Mr. Brooker came to inform me that the work intrusted to them had been completed, and that the latter officer was ready to pilot the ships in. The zealous desire evinced by these officers to furnish me personally with their report on the difficult navigation of the Dnieper deserves my warmest thanks; and the gallant manner in which Lieutenant Marryat brought the *Cracker* out for that purpose, under a very heavy fire from the whole of the forts and batteries, elicited the admiration of all who witnessed the proceeding. We were now fully prepared to advance, and, in obedience to your directions, awaited the signal for general attack.

"The whole of the proceedings of yesterday must be already fully known to you; but it is right that I should state briefly the share taken in them by the division you did me the honour to place under my orders, which consisted of the ships and vessels as already stated, reinforced by those named below.

"It being necessary to advance in single line, it was arranged that the ships should do so in the following order:—*Valorous*, Captain C. H. M. Buckle, C.B., bearing my flag; *Furious*, Captain William Loring, C.B.; *Asmodée* (French), bearing the flag of Rear-admiral Odet Pellion; *Cacique* (French); *Sidon*, Captain George Goldsmith; *Leopard*, Captain George Giffard, C.B.; *Sané* (French); *Gladiator*, Captain C. F. Hillyar; *Firebrand*, Captain E. A. Inglefield; *Stromboli*, Commander Cowper Coles; *Spiteful*, Commander F. A. Shortt.

"At noon the signal being made from my flagship to weigh, we proceeded through the channel, each ship engaging the Spit batteries and Kinburn Fort as they came within range.

"To Lieutenant Marryat, of the *Cracker*, due the merit of preceding and piloting through, which he did with great judgment.

"Had the enemy continued his defence of the Spit batteries, the *Sidon*, *Leopard*, *Sané*, and *Gladiator* were directed, in that case, to remain in front of them until their fire was completely silenced; but as they were subdued by the accurate and well-sustained fire which was poured upon them by the ships which you had placed to the westward of the spit, and by those of our own squadron on passing to the eastward, this became unnecessary. The whole division, therefore, continued its course through the channel, and anchored within Fort Nicolaieff and Oczakoff Point.

"During this time the four gun-boats, *Fancy*, *Grinder*, *Boxer*, and *Clinker*, did good service by placing themselves in such position as to throw a flanking fire on the middle battery of Kinburn Fort at the time our division passed within short range.

"Immediately on anchoring I transferred my flag to the *Cracker*, and, followed by the other gun-boats, proceeded close off the front of Kinburn Fort, to be ready to act in circumstances required, should the enemy fire, which at that moment had entirely ceased to be renewed; however, the necessity for further action did not arise.

"As the service intrusted to me was carried out under your observation, I feel it to be unnecessary to do more than to record my grateful sense of the very satisfactory manner in which the whole of the ships under my orders took up their appointed stations, and the manner in which all employed performed their duty. I think myself fortunate in having for my temporary flag-ship so efficient and well-ordered a man-of-war as the *Valorous*, and feel much indebted to Captain Buckle and his zealous first-lieutenant, Joseph Edey, for their unremitting attention and assistance.

"I am delighted to add that, in concert with our gallant allies the arrangements necessary for carrying into effect the present successful operations, I have received the cordial support and concurrence of my excellent colleague, Rear-admiral Odet Pellion.

"The anxiety which you yourself ever bear to do full justice to merit and exertion may be my excuse for presuming to request your most favourable notice of Lieutenant Marryat and Mr. Brooker. They have had anxious, difficult, and dangerous work to perform, they have each of them executed it admirably."

## CHAPTER CXV.

EVACUATION OF KINBURN FORT.—RECONNAISSANCES BY THE ALLIED FLEETS.—PERSONAL EFFORTS OF THE CZAR TO ENCOURAGE THE GARRISONS OF ODESSA, CHERSON, AND NICOLAIEFF.

"The English, with their invincible fleets, will blockade all our ports, and their inexhaustible resources will enable them, with their own small but brave army, and the numerous and impetuous troops of France, to penetrate to the very heart of our empire."—*Alleged saying of the Czar Nicholas.*

FTER the allies settled down in the occupation of the captured fort, they were informed that their proceedings had been watched from Kinbourn by the czar, and that he signaled to the garrison his intention of sending relief if it did not out until the next day. This story is irreconcilable with existing narratives of the peregrinations of his imperial majesty at that time, but the prisoners insisted upon its truth.

One of the first acts of the allies, after the events related in the foregoing chapter, was a small expedition to the mouth of the river Dnieper.

The flotilla appointed for this purpose consisted of the *Stromboli*, bearing the flag of the admiral Stewart; the *Spiteful*, *Spitfire*, *Triton*, steam-sloops; the *Wrangler*, *Lynx*, *Snake*, *Beagle*, *Clinker*, *Cracker*, *Grinder*, *Grinder*, and *Funny*, screw gun-boats; and five French gun-boats, also under the command of a rear-admiral.

Another flotilla, composed of British and French gun-boats, sailed for the mouth of the river, where the Bay of Cherson becomes a narrow strait of about five miles in width. The bottom on its shores was marshy, and covered with a thick growth of rushes; forests stretched far into the interior. At this place two large rafts of considerable value were captured by the British. These rafts were about 100 feet long, 6 feet deep, and 100 wide. Their destination was the Russian dockyard at Nicolaieff. They were formed of the best European oak, and their value was estimated at £10,000. One of these was presented to the czar by the English admiral. They had great utility to the Russians in carrying cargoes of timber for the purpose of ship-building, the dockyards of Nicolaieff having been supplied with this commodity chiefly by the government of Sigtewski, where there are forests of the finest oak in the dominions of Russia, especially at Minsk, Moulins, and Vitebsk. The rafts themselves, as well as the timber they carried, were used for building purposes at Nicolaieff. Some of the rafts were composed of 5000 large trunks of oak; the majority were of less dimensions. Several vessels of war were constructed at Cherson, and ships of the line and frigates at Nicolaieff. Superior oak timber, such as was found in the forests of the government of

Sigtewski, was very scarce in the Russian empire; and therefore, when the allies succeeded anywhere in destroying stores of ship-building material, they inflicted great injury upon both the martial and commercial marine of Russia. The rafts were brought down to Kinbourn, and moored there; but some time afterwards they parted from their moorings, and were driven to sea, and broken up.

While these expeditions reconnoitred the Bug and the Dnieper, Mr. Brooker, of the *Spitfire*, volunteered to go to Nicolaieff at night, in one of the small gun-boats, and ascertain its actual condition. This gallant offer was not accepted, as it would have been in the days of Nelson and our more ancient admirals. It was supposed that the Russians might capture the boat, and make too much boast of the prize. Certainly, any calculations based upon a supposed want of vigilance on the part of the enemy were likely to prove erroneous; the watchful foe seemed never to forget that care and alertness were as great essentials of war as courage. Had his enterprise equalled his circumspection, many serious blows might have been dealt against the allies on every field of contest.

During the month of October, the Russians amassed vast quantities of provender on the banks of the Dnieper and the Bug, apprehensive of their falling into the hands of the allies.

While the naval squadrons were effecting these reconnaissances, the enemy, by a skillfully-worked system of telegraphs, communicated intelligence every moment to headquarters, and the Cossack videttes seemed to be ubiquitous. Three French officers landed in a fog, for some capricious purpose, and were instantly captured. Three English sailors, belonging to the crew of the *Lord Arthur Gordon*, were also taken prisoners, and, fastened to the tails and saddle-bows of the Cossack horses, were rudely dragged from the river-beach into the interior. Wherever the crews landed, they found a skillfully-laid ambush awaiting their enterprise.

It was a matter of surprise to amateurs, and to the tars generally, that no attempt was made to destroy telegraphs within the range of our fire. Captain Inglefield, of the *Firebrand*, offered to effect their speedy destruc-

tion, but was not permitted. The men of the squadron which proceeded up the Bug were surprised at the indications of agricultural wealth which appeared. Large farm-houses, with well-stored yards, and vast herds of cattle, which the Cossack troopers were collecting and driving before them, were everywhere visible. About three miles up the river there was a farm of vast dimensions, such as none on board the fleet had ever witnessed before. Two miles further there was a handsome village, with two churches well built, and ornamented guard-houses. Cossack posts were very numerous in the vicinity. The squadron lingered here, while the *Stromboli*, and the gun-boats *Cracker* and *Grinder* went ahead, followed slowly by the *Spitfire*, taking soundings. The banks of the river rose to high cliffs, and on their summits Russian artillerymen were seen to peep forth at intervals. Presently, from a gun in the side of the steep cliff, a shot was fired at the *Grinder*. Admiral Stewart ordered her to give a shot in return. Before this was accomplished, another gun from the cliff fired at the *Stromboli*, the ball falling short. The drums of the ships beat to quarters, and the sailors, delighted at the prospect of a contest, rushed to their guns with alacrity. The *Grinder* fired upon the cliff battery in vain—it was constructed too well to be easily silenced; but the *Stromboli* and *Grinder* worked closer in, and the shots fell right into the intrenchment, scattering it about, and causing confusion among its occupants. The *Spitfire* arriving, aided with good practice. Two of the enemy's guns were silenced; but the Russians set about repairing the battery, even under fire; and it was evident that, as often as they were driven out, they would return; the ships, therefore, steamed down the river to their rendezvous. As the cruisers were leaving, a shell from one of them burst among the Russian artillerymen.

After that reconnaissance the French admiral made one, and a contest ensued with the same battery, which, according to the accounts given by the French officers, was destroyed by their fire, and havoc created among those who manned it. These accounts were somewhat inconsistently detailed, and savoured a little of gasconade.

While the English were engaged in their reconnaissances, they observed a grand staff of military officers regarding the squadron from the shore with minute attention. One of them was supposed to be the czar, from the respect shown to him. A Cossack was observed to bring him a letter, and to dismount and prostrate himself as he presented it.

It was suggested by the French admiral that the village of Stanislov should be bom-

barded, because of its telegraphs, C posts, and certain batteries erected there. The squadrons approached it, and found a strong body of Russian troops occupying it. New and excellent batteries had been erected, and the houses were lined with riflemen. In accordance with the cautious policy of the admirals throughout the war, nothing was attempted.

While the naval reconnaissances recorded in this, and the military reconnaissances recorded in a previous chapter, were being conducted, the engineers and artillerymen worked hard at Kinburn, to put it into a posture of defence, which the enemy could not assail with impunity. In hope of success after the fleets should be drawn. A small body of English remained to guard the British flag, the army of the honourable Brigadier Spencer having re-embarked for the Crimea, as already recorded. The French occupying force was strong, and forth the activity characteristic of the troops of that nation. Before the first week of November had passed, not only had the batteries been cleared away, the damaged guns repaired, and all the wreck created by the bombardment put out of sight, but repairs and improvements had been accomplished on a large scale. The curtains were rebuilt, the fosse deepened, the palisades repaired, the approaches of the eastern gate covered by a strong rampart, the crests of the parapets restored with fascines and earthwork, the casemates made ready for stores or troops, and guns of the largest calibres landed from the English fleet and put in position.

The idea of further reconnaissances of the rivers was given up. Winter was rapidly approaching, when these rivers are frozen; besides, there were the dangers of fire-ships, and the possibility of riflemen, securely posted in the cliffs, picking off the men on the decks of the gun-boats. Vessels with shot-screens and proof decks, might have gone on with tolerable safety, so long as the rivers were open. The raft invented by Captain Cole might have been successfully employed on such enterprises, as it possessed a double proof screen, by which every one on board, even the helmsman, was perfectly protected.

On the 28th of October Captain Paris arrived to take the command, instead of Admiral Stewart, that officer being about to return to the troops to Sebastopol.

Nothing particular occurred to the garrisons of Kinburn during the winter. The sea as well as the Bug and the Dnieper, were frozen over, and the garrison had a dreary time, except that rumours of an attack in great numbers by the enemy were constantly arriving. Sometimes these were brought by deserters, and occasionally they were borne from Sebastopol.

There was no likelihood that the allies could have Kinburn a good base of operations against Cherson and Nicolaieff. So long as the enemy occupied Simpheropol and the M'Kenzie Heights, Sebastopol, they dare not leave so powerful a force in their rear and on their flank; therefore depended upon the operations against Cherson and against Simpheropol, whatever base, whether there could be active operations from Kinburn in the spring of 1856. The expedition thither was unpopular with the English; it was altogether a French suggestion. The English were in favour of attacking Kaffa instead, which the French, especially Admiral Bruat, opposed. The allies seldom agreed in their plans, however well they co-operated in their execution; and we are bound to say that events ultimately proved that the ideas of the English senior officers and naval commanders were correct.

Such were the course of events, so far as the allies were concerned, during the occupation of Kinburn. Meanwhile, the Russians were full of activity, and the most strenuous exertions were made to repel any attack by the allies in the spring at Odessa or from Kinburn, and even to attack offensively from Cherson and Nicolaieff, if fortune should favour. These exertions were stimulated by visits from the czar to all the places.

In a previous chapter notice was taken of the effect produced by the fall of Southern Russia upon the court and cabinet of the czar. It was then related that he visited the provinces, and among other places, Bessarabia and the neighbourhood of Dnieper and the Bug. At Odessa the effect of his visit was electric upon the inhabitants; they who sued so servilely for mercy from the allied fleets, responded to the warlike appeals of the emperor with alacrity. His majesty, notwithstanding the clemency of the allied fleets, treated their disappearance from the coast of Odessa as the result of fear, and ordered extensive fortifications, to meet any future threat of danger. Odessa became more a place of arms than before, and proved in a yet greater degree the weakness of the policy which spared it. The *Journal d'Odessa*, of the 7th of November, contained an official narrative of the czar's visit:—

His imperial majesty, accompanied by the grand-duke George de Mecklenburg Strelitz, arrived from Nicolaieff on Saturday, the 3rd, at 10 p.m., and alighted at the house of Prince Gontzoff, upon the boulevard. His majesty was received upon the flight of steps by Aide-de-camp General Luders, commander of the garrison of the south; Aide-de-camp General Count Orloff, governor-general of New Russia and Bessarabia; Lieutenant-general Krusenstern,

military governor of the city of Odessa; and by Lieutenant-general Grothenjelm, commander of the troops stationed at Odessa. In his majesty's suite were the following generals:—Count Orloff, Count d'Adlerberg, Baron Lieven, and Prince Bariatsinski. The same evening prayers of thanksgiving for the happy arrival of his majesty the emperor were offered up in the cathedral by his eminence Monsignor Innocent, Archbishop of Cherson and Taurida.

“At half-past ten o'clock in the morning of Sunday (November 4th), his majesty deigned to receive the military and civil *employés*, also the body of the merchants of the city of Odessa, who had the happiness of presenting bread and salt to his majesty. His majesty the emperor condescended to honour with a gracious reception all the persons who were presented to him, and expressed to the body of merchants his entire reliance on the Most High, that He will grant a happy issue to this war, raised against us by nations whom we have constantly nourished with our bread, and his conviction that, after the conclusion of an honourable peace, the commerce of Odessa will resume its original importance.

“At eleven o'clock his majesty the emperor went to the cathedral. At the threshold of the temple Monsignor Innocent, in presenting the cross and the holy water, addressed some words full of unction to his majesty. His majesty assisted at the divine office celebrated by the archbishop.

“At one o'clock in the afternoon his imperial majesty went out of the city upon the great plain, which formerly served as a hippodrome, and where the troops stationed at Odessa are now assembled, under the command of Aide-de-camp General Luders. There are now under arms four battalions of infantry, three regiments of cavalry, four artillery batteries, and eleven cohorts of movable militia of the governments of Moscow and Smolensk. His majesty passed these troops in review, which he defiled first in platoons and then in columns.

“The emperor then visited the military hospital establishment in the former institute of the *demoiselles nobles* of Odessa; also the hospital of the city. The emperor condescended to kindly interrogate almost all the officers and soldiers upon their wounds, addressing to each some words of encouragement and consolation. His majesty then visited the coast batteries from Perepice to the mole of the quarantine. His majesty was desirous also of visiting the hospice of the Sisters of Charity, where, among others, the military dangerously wounded are surrounded by the results of a charity which is truly Christian; but time, to the great regret of his majesty, would not allow him to fulfil this wish.

“At five o'clock in the afternoon the prin-

cial authorities were invited to his imperial majesty's table.

"In the evening two military bands assembled before the house occupied by his majesty, and performed some beautiful *morceaux*, while the crowd thronged the walks of the boulevards. At nightfall the city was illuminated.

"At eight o'clock in the morning of Monday, the 5th, his majesty, accompanied by his Grand-ducal Highness the Duke de Mecklenburg Strelitz, quitted Odessa for Nicolaieff, in perfect health. Prayers for his majesty's safe journey were offered, by his eminence the Archbishop Innocent, in the cathedral.

"His majesty the emperor has expressed his complete acknowledgments to the aide-de-camp, Lieutenant-general Strogonoff, governor-general of New Russia and Bessarabia, for the wise measures taken during the presence of the enemy's fleets in the road of Odessa; also his imperial satisfaction to Lieutenant-general Krusenstern, military governor of Odessa; Major-general Shoestac, commander of the city of Odessa; to Von-Tchudy, formerly inspector of the quarantine of Odessa, and now colonel of the Kamtschatka regiment of chasseurs; also to Arcoudinsky, master of the police of Odessa."

The address delivered to the emperor by the archbishop in the cathedral, is, perhaps, one of the most disgusting specimens of unctuous cant and the assumption of spiritual superiority ever publicly uttered. In a literary point of view it is as contemptible as it is morally offensive to every one, whether friend or enemy of Russia, who regards falsehood and unprincipled adulation on the lips of a prelate as such things ought to be regarded. The assertion that peace was desirable because agreeable to the religious feelings of the emperor and his people, when he and the religious hierarchy, of which he was the head, were inflaming the minds of the masses with a fanatical war-spirit, shows that the hypocrisy of Russian religion was as bold as it was profound. At any moment the czar and his people might secure peace by declaring that he would no longer interfere with the sultan's government, and no more seize or plunder his territories; yet this archbishop presents in his address the sovereign, church, and people of Russia as piously supplicating the divine interposition for pacific purposes, and as the weak objects of aggression by the injustice of France and England! Political and religious hypocrisy were never more unblushingly blended, even by the Czar Nicholas himself, the prince of hypocrites. Thus another proof was afforded that the deceased autocrat had been a representative man,—the incarnation of the spirit of Russia. False, treacherous, greedy of power, unprincipled in its exercise, intolerant in religion, fanatically eager for religious ascendancy, igno-

rant or reckless of the obligations and precepts of Christianity, and basely hypocritical in its profession. The following is the bishop's address, as published by order of the Russian government:—

"Pious sovereign, thou hast scarcely put on the crown of thy ancestors when it has been surrounded by thorns! Providence to surround it with thorns! Bodily eyes are not accustomed to see such ornaments sparkle on the head of kings, but eyes of faith see in it, with piety and reverence, a souvenir of the crown of Christ. Has it not been, in fact, such crowns that the most glorious kings and princes have worn since David, Josaphat, Constantine, Vladimir the Great, Dimitrid, our hero of the Don, and finally our patron, Alexander Newsky?"

"Have courage, and let not thy soul become weak at the sight of those smoking brands. Said the prophet to the warrior king of Assyria, when the two kingdoms of Israel and Assyria united against him in an unjust war. 'How closely do these words of the prophet apply to us and our enemies! This unhappy France! Is she not, in truth, the brand which for a century has carried fire throughout the world? And the proud, but to-day abased and jeopardised Britain? What is she, if not another brand, which, after being extinguished for two centuries, recommences to smoke in the midst of a yawning gulf? And we also say with the prophet, 'Let not thy soul become weak at the sight of these two smoking brands before us.' As a sign from the Most High, the winds abate and the rain falls to fertilise the fields. These brands depart, and Russia, protected by God, recovers itself for the joy of her chief, and for the well-being even of her enemies."

"Enter, then, O pious sovereign, the temple where thy august father lately came in the depth of the night to raise towards heaven thanks for having escaped the tempest and shipwreck. Enter, and in turn raise with thy prayers to the King of kings for the cessation of the tempest which now rages both on sea and land. May Heaven grant that the temple may again see thee kneeling before God, but then only to render acknowledgments to give thanks! Amen."

From Odessa the emperor went to Nicolaieff, and, it was alleged, proceeded also to Oczakoff. The proceedings of his majesty at Nicolaieff were thus rendered by his official journals in St. Petersburg:—"Immediately on the arrival of the emperor at Nicolaieff, the principal officer of the engineers at Odessa, Captain Volokoff, was sent for by a telegraphic message, and orders were given him for the immediate construction of five large redoubts, capable of mounting 400 pieces of artillery. A

the time the building of 500 gun-boats was commenced in the dockyards, under the inspection of the Grand-duke Admiral Constantine, who has brought with him from Cronstadt a large body of working shipwrights and mechanics. These gun-boats are to be each armed with two and four guns of heavy calibre, which have already arrived from the great cannon foundry at Kiew. The guns for the armament of the two new frigates, *Vitjas* and *Tiger*, have also arrived from Kiew. The Grand-duke Constantine left Nicolaieff on the 27th ult., for Sebastopol—or as near as he can approach to it—and will return with Prince Gortschakoff, when the great council of war will be held, in which the future military operations will be definitely settled. As far as is known here, the emperor wishes to evacuate his present position on the north side of Sebastopol, as perfectly untenable during the winter, and proposes to take up a strong defensive position between the Serai and Eupatoria. Whilst the emperor was inspecting the naval hospital at Nicolaieff, containing the few remains of those officers that formerly manned the Black Sea fleet, Lieutenant Dorschinsky, of the 45th naval brigade, was presented to him. This officer, severely injured at Sebastopol by the explosion of the Bastion No. 2. On observing that the first attempt to fire the mine was a failure, he seized the burning fuse from the hands of the man who held it, and deliberately thrust it into an open powder barrel, which immediately had the desired effect, but the gallant officer was severely burnt in the face and arms by the explosion, which also set his uniform on fire. The emperor expressed his thanks for the proof of his devotion, and to reward him for his noble conduct took off his own decorations of the Order of St. George, and handed it himself to the lieutenant."

Previous to the issue of the foregoing, the statement at St. Petersburg and Moscow was very great, and high hopes were entertained that his majesty's presence in the south would give every heart to the utmost daring, and every hand to the most strenuous effort. There was, however, a tone of despondency mingled with this hope. The following letter, written at the time to the *Patrie* by a Russian gentleman, in correspondence with that journal, indicates this:—"The minister of war, Prince Gortchakoff, has been informed that the emperor, when scarcely arrived at Nicolaieff, has come to the resolution of going by Cherson to Eupatoria, whence he would proceed into the Crimea to inspect, as well as events would show him, the different corps of the army of the Crimea. It is thought here that the presence of the emperor would produce a great effect on the spirits of the soldiers, more or less shaken down by the long fatigues, privations,

and defeats which have followed all the encounters with enemies of holy Russia. It appears that the resolution came to by the emperor had not been communicated to any one, not even to the empress, who has returned here from Moscow with her children. The minister of war was also ignorant of it. The czar will not return here till the 22nd, and will pass by Moscow; and according to the opinion he may come to after seeing the army of the Crimea, he will decide on the movements of the reserves. It is said before leaving Moscow the emperor ordered the generals of the reserves to make the necessary preparations for their departure, in case that step should be required. According to a report generally circulated among the officers of the guard, the Grand-duke Constantine, who will not return to St. Petersburg so soon, will reside alternately, as events may require, at Cherson and Nicolaieff. It is said to have been in contemplation, a short time back, to withdraw the two divisions of grenadiers from Finland, as well as the other regiments of the line, all of which were to have marched to the south, and to have been replaced by battalions of militia; but on the pressing entreaties of General de Berg, who commands in Finland, and who declared that he could not answer for the defence of the coast with troops but little accustomed to war, the measure has been abandoned."

After the emperor left Southern Russia, the effect of his visit remained in the increased stimulus to exertion by which the Russian armies were impelled to labour. In the depth of the winter, when the cold was most intense, and the French soldiers would have found it impossible to labour upon the works of Kinburn, had that been necessary, the Russians put forth prodigious efforts, both at Cherson and Nicolaieff. Defensive works were erected along the banks of the Bug, and lines were thrown across the spit before Cherson, and made so strong as to present a most formidable obstacle to an enemy. It was the opinion of the Russian engineers that the redoubts raised for the defence of Cherson would be unconquerable by any army marching from Kinburn. Before the winter set in the Bug was defensible against gun-boats, and the Dnieper made altogether impracticable. At Oczakoff cannon were mounted upon the upper cliffs, beyond range from the allied ships, and a most formidable obstacle to the movements of the squadrons was thus presented from that quarter. Efforts were made by the Cossack cavalry to establish a camp near Kinburn, but the state of the spit prevented. Afterwards, guard-houses and posts were attempted; but the weather was more potent than the allies in rendering their attempts abortive. Viewing all these occurrences as a whole, how-

ever desirable the capture and occupation of Kinburn for a basis of operations against Cherson and Nicolaieff,—if these operations had been undertaken with energy, promptitude, and power,—the subjugation and occupation of the fortress merely put the enemy on his guard, stimulated his defensive efforts, betrayed the allied strategy, and caused the enemy to place the approaches of the Bug and Dnieper in such a condition that it would be impossible for any flotilla to reach those cities. The opinions of the British admirals and engineers that Kinburn should not be taken, unless the blow

was *immediately* followed up by sea against Cherson and Nicolaieff, was sound. The military forces sent from the Crimea were altogether inadequate to such an undertaking, as before observed, a land force dare not move from Kinburn upon the desired prizes, and the strategic positions of the hostile army in the Crimea continued as they were. Negotiations for peace prohibited all opportunities for testing these views, and the army of Kinburn like that of Kertch and that of Eupatoria was withdrawn, without encounter with the enemy, after winter closed the operations of 1855.

## CHAPTER CXVI.

### DIPLOMACY FROM THE VIENNA CONFERENCE TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1855.

“But I'll acquaint our duteous citizens  
Of all our just proceedings in this case.”—SHAKSPEARE.

THE unfortunate issue of the Vienna conference did not stop negotiations nor check intrigues. It will be our duty in this chapter to unfold a general outline of the private proceedings of the various powers, adopting the method hitherto maintained in this History, of giving in detail all negotiations having a practical result, and presenting to the reader the general features only of less fortunate diplomacy.

When the Vienna conference was broken up, Austria continued to use every exertion to patch up a peace which would relieve her from the necessity of maintaining so large a standing army, and remove the chances of her being involved in a struggle for which she had no heart, and by which her policy was, if possible, to profit without the perils or sacrifices of war. Vienna, therefore, continued to be the focus of diplomatic scheming, the ambassadors of all the powers being engaged with incessant activity in efforts to outwit one another, and discover or create some turn of affairs profitable to their respective governments. Austria displayed considerable irritation that Count Buol's proposals concerning the third point at the Vienna conference did not meet the support of the Western governments. This led Lord Clarendon, on the 8th of May, to address Lord Westmoreland on the subject, that the latter might communicate with the government of Vienna as to the opinions of the British cabinet. The English foreign minister, with great firmness, wisdom, and dignity, showed how futile the proposed concessions would practically prove, and arguing that, so far as the third point was concerned, restrictions would be laid in the actual workings of the treaty upon the allies rather than upon Russia. Count Buol artfully, but ineffectually, replied to the able arguments of the British

foreign minister, and continued to urge at times upon one power, then upon another, modifications of the propositions originally proposed. It is unnecessary to encumber pages with these discussions; to present readers with the two series of propositions actually discussed, will enable them, by comparison, to judge for themselves how far it was worth the efforts of the Western powers to outwit as they did for a treaty of peace such as was ultimately obtained:—

#### FIRST PROPOSITION.

“ART. I.—The high contracting parties, being desirous that the Sublime Porte should participate in the advantages of the good understanding established by the law of nations among the various states of Europe, severally engage to respect the independence and territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire, guarantee in common the strict observance of the engagement, and will in consequence consider every act and every event which would be a nature to endanger it, as a question of European interest. If a difference should arise between the Porte and one of the contracting powers, those two states, before resorting to arms, should place the other powers in a position to obviate this contingency by peaceful means.

“ART. II.—The Russian plenipotentiaries and those of the Sublime Porte will propose common to the conference the equal effect of the naval armaments which the sea-bordering powers will maintain in the Black Sea, and which must not exceed the amount of Russian vessels at present allocated to that sea.

“ART. III.—The rule respecting the closure of the straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, established by the treaty of 1841,

1841, shall remain in force, with the exceptions specified in the following articles:—

ART. IV.—Each of the contracting powers which has no establishment in the Black Sea, shall be authorised by a firman from his highness to send into and station in that sea two frigates or vessels of smaller force.

ART. V.—In the event of the sultan being attacked with aggression, he reserves to himself the right of opening the straits to all the naval forces of his allies."

#### SECOND PROPOSITION.

ART. I.—(Repetition of Article I. in first position).

ART. II.—The rule respecting the closing of the straits of the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, established by the treaty of July 13th, 1841, shall continue in force, with the exceptions specified in the following articles:—

ART. III.—Each of the contracting powers which has no establishment in the Black Sea, shall be authorised by a firman from his highness to send into and station in it two frigates or vessels of smaller force, in order to protect commerce, and to exercise the necessary protection.

ART. IV.—If Russia should increase the number of her naval forces at present afloat, as defined, the contracting powers who do not possess an establishment in the Black Sea shall be authorised by a firman of his highness by giving a previous warning of five years to send respectively into that sea an equal number of vessels of the same class, to one-half of the naval forces of Russia.

ART. V.—At no time will ships of war of other nations be allowed to anchor in the Bosphorus, with the exception of the small vessels hitherto admitted belonging to the empires; and in time of peace the number of ships of the line of the contracting powers shall have no establishments in the Black Sea must never exceed four at a time before Constantinople, on their way from the Dardanelles to the Black Sea, and from the Black Sea to the Dardanelles.

ART. VI.—In the event of the sultan being attacked with aggression, he reserves to himself the right of opening the Straits to all the naval forces of the allies."

#### TRIPARTITE TREATY.

England, France, and Austria to sign a treaty binding them,

To enforce the observance of the principles established in the first article, in the event of the violation of the independence or territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire in Asia.

To consider as a *casus belli* the increase in amount or strength of the Russian naval

force in the Black Sea as regards its effective force at the beginning of the war.

"If Russia should herself engage not to exceed that number, the three powers would consent not to give publicity to the treaty."

After the interchange of various notes, and many ministerial interviews at Vienna, the Western governments demanded from Austria the fulfilment of the treaty of December the 2nd. The imperial cabinet not only refused to join in enforcing any severe terms upon Russia, but declared itself absolved from any obligation to go to war, on the ground that the Western governments were exacting and unjust in their demands, and that their own representatives at Vienna (Lord John Russell and M. Drouyn de Lhuys) had concurred with Count Buol in the propositions for peace which he had introduced. Austria was much emboldened in this faithless but specious course by the manner in which the Cobden and Gladstone sections of the English senate supported her views. Her circulars to her diplomatic agents were pro-Russian in tone, and represented the allies as raising obstacles to peace by the injustice of their demands. This course she followed up by disbanding her war contingents, and addressing a note to the German Diet, declaring that she would not go to war to enforce upon Russia terms so stringent. Her conduct from that time, until the successes of the allies in the Sea of Azoff, at Sweaborg, and ultimately at Sebastopol, again alarmed her lest she should be visited by their anger, was more like that of an ally of the czar than a party to the treaty of the 2nd of December. The Austrian government facilitated in every way the transmission of stores, foreign luxuries, and useful commodities, such as groceries—which can hardly be classed as luxuries—into Russia; even military *matériel* was permitted to pass the frontier, the government conniving at this infraction of neutrality, not to say alliance. The Kaiser rivalled the King of Prussia in friendship to Russia, until the tide of misfortune seemed to set against her, too strongly to be stemmed.

The czar took occasion, from the returning friendship of Austria, and her growing coldness to the Western governments, to open negotiations with the German Diet, through M. de Glinka, her accredited agent to that body. The minister made known to the officials at Frankfort, that although the autocrat could not concede the third point of debate at Vienna, he would act upon the other three points so long as the German courts maintained a neutral attitude. The Russian agents all over Germany strained every source of artifice to persuade the confederation to acquiesce in a stipulation of neutrality on these terms. The

press in Germany and Belgium, under Russian influence, advocated the measure with such earnestness as betrayed the great anxiety of the czar's government to effect a treaty on this basis with Germany. The subject, as put by the Russian advocates, may be clearly seen from a single article of the *Indépendance Belge*, published in June:—"There is in Germany a large party which maintains that the first two points of guarantee are the only points that interest the confederation. The German Diet itself, whilst adopting the four points, declared that the first two concerned *especially* German interests. Now those interests are completely cared for by the interpretation adopted at the Vienna conferences, and which Russia declares it is her intention to maintain, whatever may happen. Germany, being thus no longer interested in the result of the struggle between Russia and the Western powers, can have no further motive to meddle in it. Under these circumstances, the departure of M. de Bismarck Schönhausen, the Prussian envoy to the Diet, who, says the *Frankfort Journal*, left Frankfort on the evening of the 9th inst., having been summoned to Berlin by telegraph, and where he in fact arrived on the 10th, has given rise to many surmises. It is supposed to be in connection with this same Russian despatch. If the whole of Germany remains irrevocably neutral, it appears difficult to admit that Austria will go to war alone with Russia. Such is, it is said, the opinion of General Hess himself."

Prussia warmly supported the Russian view, urging the Diet to adopt this course; Austria, partly perhaps from this very reason, and partly because any formal stipulation between Russia and the Diet would fetter her own policy, and possibly involve her in a final quarrel with Western Europe, dissuaded the Diet from entering into any contract. Count Walewski, the French foreign minister, exerted himself to thwart these schemes, and issued several circular notes to the diplomatic agents of France, which ably analysed the policy of Russia and Germany, and made such comments upon the course of their negotiations and secret intrigues, as tended to keep the whole subject in a fair light before the eyes of Europe.

During the summer Austria made many attempts to re-open negotiations upon a basis favourable to Russia, but was foiled by the sagacity of the English premier and foreign minister. The diplomatic papers of Lord Clarendon sifted the arguments and pretences employed by Russia and the German powers, allowing nothing to escape his penetration. During the autumn, Prussia was more active than Austria in the game of intrigue. The tone and spirit of Frederick William may be seen in his address at the opening of the Prus-

sian Chambers in the month of October. "The conflict between several European powers is not yet at an end. Our fatherland, however, continues to be the abode of peace. I trust in God that it will remain so. My duty and standing of Prussia, without in any way imposing upon our country the heavy sacrifices which it has made, I am proud to say that I know of no people better prepared for war, or more ready for peace, than my own, whenever its honest interests are really in danger. This sense of duty, however, imposes upon me a duty, while abiding faithfully by obligations already contracted, not to enter into further engagements, the political and military liabilities of which are not to be estimated by the hand. In the attitude assumed by Prussia, Austria, and Germany, behold a security for the further maintenance of that independence which is equally conducive to the attainment of an equitable and lasting peace, and compatible with sincere good will for all."

That his Prussian majesty was not concerned for the justice of the cause, which involved the great nations in arms, and that he, personally, felt no apprehension or doubt of the aggressive and despotic policy of Russia, was plain from that speech, if there had been no other circumstances to betray his sympathies with Muscovite policy.

The proceedings of Austria greatly irritated the English people, and their exasperation was raised still higher by the arrest of the Danubian principalities, of a Colonel Colquhoun by the Austrians, then in occupation of that territory. They alleged that the colonel was a deserter; the English consul, Mr. Colquhoun, demanded his liberation as an English officer. The Austrian commander treated Mr. Colquhoun with indignity, which it is astonishing the British government endured. The colonel was committed to prison, and, after much negotiation, was released by the Austrian authorities as an act of favour and friendship to the English government.

The feeling in France was nearly as strong against Austria as in England, and a strong exemplification of it arose, which led to a great diplomatic alarm and correspondence. The Emperor patronised an industrial exhibition, in which reference has been made in the chapter on the visit to Paris of her Britannic Majesty. At the close of the exhibition, the emperor delivered an address, in which allusion to the hostile nature was supposed to be made to the German powers, especially to Austria. The address was as follows:—

"GENTLEMEN,—The exhibition which is about to close offers a grand spectacle to the world."

is during a severe war that, from all points of the universe, men the most distinguished in science, arts, and industry, have flocked to Paris to exhibit their productions. This competition, under such circumstances, is due, I am pleased to think, to that general conviction that the war which has been undertaken only threatens those who provoked it; that it is pursued for the interest of all; and that Europe, far from regarding it as a danger for the future, finds it rather a pledge of independence and security.

"All of you, therefore, who think that the progress of the agriculture, the industry, and the commerce of a nation contribute to the welfare of all others, and that the more reciprocal relations are multiplied, the more national prejudices are effaced, say to your fellow-citizens, on returning to your country, that France entertains no hatred against any nation, and that she feels sympathy towards those who wish, like her, for the triumph of right and justice.

"Tell them that, if they desire peace, they must openly, at least, express wishes either for or against us, for, in the midst of a serious European conflict, indifference is a bad calculation, and silence an error.

"As for us, nations allied for the triumph of a great cause, let us forge arms without weakening our manufactories, and without stopping our looms; let us be great by the means of peace as by those of war; let us be long by concord, and let us put our trust in God to make us triumph over the difficulties of the present and the chances of the future."

The astonishment produced all through Europe by this speech was intense, and in Austria the effect was a feeling of mingled fear and awe. It was deemed politic by the allies to quench the excitement this created; and, accordingly, M. Walewski addressed the following circular to the French diplomatic agents at the various courts:—

"I am informed, from different parts of Europe, that the speech of the emperor, at the closing of the Universal Exhibition has produced, as was to be expected, a deep impression. However, it is said not to have been received everywhere in the same manner, and to have become the subject of different interpretations. There can, however, be but one interpretation, and the neutral states could not be misinformed on sentiments upon which they can only congratulate themselves.

The emperor said that he desired a prompt and durable peace; I need not dwell upon that declaration: it explains itself, and needs no comment.

In addressing himself to neutral states,

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calling upon them to express wishes in this sense, his imperial majesty sufficiently testified the price he attached to their opinion, and the value he gives to their influence in the course of events. Such, moreover, was his opinion respecting them from the very commencement of the diplomatic conflict which preceded hostilities. The emperor always thought that if they had then more forcibly expressed their judgment upon the point under discussion, they would have exercised a salutary action upon the resolution of the power that provoked the war. Their position has undergone no change in the eyes of his imperial majesty, and they may now, by a firm and decided attitude, hasten the *dénouement* of a struggle which, it is his conviction, they might have prevented.

"It is with this view that the emperor asks them to declare openly how they are disposed towards the belligerent powers, and to place the weight of their opinion in the scales of the respective forces. This appeal, moreover, which was so well understood and so warmly received by an audience formed of the representatives of all nations, is simply a solemn act of homage rendered to the importance and efficiency of the task which devolves upon neutrals in the actual crisis."

This circular somewhat quieted the ferment in Germany, especially in Austria, but did not allay the alarm. It was supposed that the bold speech of the emperor had exercised a powerful influence upon the Austrian court, and led it to believe that the time had arrived when a decision must be taken for or against the allies. To avert the necessity of a recourse to arms either way, the ministers of the kaiser were ordered to renew their exertions to find some method of securing peace. The mother of the kaiser and the mother of the czar were said to be active in promoting this object, although the latter opened the correspondence for the purpose of securing the neutrality of Austria.

Meanwhile, at Berlin, neither the French emperor's menacing speech, nor his foreign minister's diplomatic explanations, extinguished the plots which went on, under the patronage of Frederick William, in favour of Russia. The policy of this prince was to form a league of all the sovereigns of Germany with Russia. This aim of the king and his cabinet was supported by the ministers who represented at Berlin most of the minor German states—those of Bavaria, Württemberg, Baden, Nassau, Oldenburg, and Saxony, were zealous for the formation of such a league, although held back by apprehensions of the consequences: even our cousins of Hanover, and Saxe-Cobourg and Gotha, were said to be as deeply compromised as any of the sovereigns unconnected with the British court. It was significantly remarked at the

time, by a politician conversant with the state of things in Germany, especially at Berlin, "The treacherous neutrality of Prussia may probably prove as fatal to her as the treaty of Basle, in 1795."

The zealous efforts of the Russian government to conclude an alliance with Persia, not merely for the objects of this war, but with ulterior designs, have been noticed in previous chapters. At the juncture of which we write, these efforts were strenuously renewed. The shah sent an ambassador to congratulate the young czar on his accession to the imperial throne. This act of courtesy was not resolved upon by the court of Teheran until a very long time after that august event. It was not until the autumn that the especial envoy of the shah reached the capital of the czars. Rumours then prevailed in St. Petersburg that so much was the Persian sovereign influenced by the pertinacity and successes of the allies, that he could only be induced to send an especial embassy by large presents from the Russian emperor. A letter from Berlin thus commented upon the events of this mission:—"The Persian residents in Tiflis welcomed the arrival of the ambassador in a manner peculiar to their nation. They took up their station on the right side of the road leading into Tiflis, each with a sheep, which, as the carriage of the ambassador drove past, each of them sacrificially slaughtered with a knife held in readiness. The Persian embassy, and all connected with it, are reported to enjoy very freely the pleasures that the Russians procure for them; they frequent the theatre, and take particular pleasure in the ballets produced there. Prince Bebutoff had given them a dinner and a ball, at the former of which the ambassador had proposed the health of the 'faithful and constant ally of the Emperor of Russia, his highness the shah,' and afterwards that of 'the emperor of Russia, the friend and ally of the mighty ruler of Persia.'"

The most remarkable phase of diplomacy on the part of the allies, until the close of the year, appeared in connection with Sweden.

Previously, the Scandinavian States could not be moved to do anything for the alliance, except to express their hearty good wishes. Denmark preserved its neutrality, on the whole, honourably—the court leaning to Russia, the people to the allies. And even when Sweden responded to the allied overtures, Denmark still persisted in neutrality. The influence of Norway in the councils of the united kingdoms of Norway and Sweden was very decidedly put forth in favour of the allies, and conduced to the favourable reception of General Canrobert as their envoy to negotiate an alliance. The importance of an alliance between Western Europe and the Scandinavian States, in a

contest of either with Russia, has been already noticed in a former chapter; it is only necessary, therefore, to glance in passing at the importance here. The eagerness with which Russia sought to encroach upon Norwegian territory by various artifices, proved that her policy was far-sighted, and her objects beyond the mere acquisition of a little more land. The possession of Norway would give to Russia an Atlantic coast and good seamen; accordingly, she had long made attempts to gain position in Varangen Fiord, on the coast of the North Cape. The vast harbour of the fiord is seldom frozen, affording a highway to the ocean all the year, the great necessity to Russia in her ambition to become an Atlantic power. Her designs upon Denmark had been also developing themselves for a considerable time, indicating a new danger to Western Europe. Denmark, by its geographical position, is of great political importance as an ally to the West. The Straits of the Sound, situated between the Baltic and the German Ocean, are as much impediments to the development of Russian naval power against Western Europe as the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles against her designs upon Eastern Europe and the Mediterranean. The policy of Great Britain and France was, clearly, to strengthen the northern states, and to foster Scandinavianism as a bulwark against the ambition of St. Petersburg. Nearly seven millions of brave and intelligent men—good soldiers, good sailors, and occupying an important position—would obstruct the progress of Russian despotism, if the Scandinavian States were united, and in terms of alliance with France and England. There can be little doubt that King Oscar would have drawn the sword as gallantly as Victor Emanuel, were it not that the tone of the Vienna conferences led him and Europe generally to think that there was a deficiency in the earnestness of the confederacy formed against Russia. It cannot be denied that, while the allies were desirous to commit Sweden and Denmark to a war with their formidable neighbour, there did not appear to be any desire to offer political advantages commensurate with the risk. Thus the Scandinavian nations held themselves aloof from all active participation in the war. At last the allies resolved to intrust to General Canrobert a mission to the courts, especially to that of Sweden. They probably committed it to him because the emperor of the French was desirous to show to Europe his unimpaired confidence in his favourite general, notwithstanding his failure to do all that was hoped from him in the Crimea. His mission was more especially to the court of Sweden, and it was ostensibly made to confer a decoration, as a mark of personal esteem, from the emperor to the Swedish king.

the general arrived at Stockholm on the 5th of November, and on the 7th the monarch gave him an interview. His arrival in Sweden was hailed with acclamation; court and people emulated one another in paying him respect. He arrived at the palace in a superb court carriage. On his way the populace shouted *Vive Canrobert!* "*Vive la France!*" His reception was dignified, and his mission successful.

The correspondent of the *Moniteur* thus described the progress of the envoy from his hotel to the palace, and the respect accorded to him:—"Shortly before one o'clock the great master of the ceremonies, Count Gyldenstolpe, conducted the ambassador from his hotel in a carriage drawn by eight horses, preceded by two runners. By the side of the carriage walked six footmen, and each horse was held by a groom in grand costume. This carriage was followed by another, drawn by four horses, which was the aide-de-camp of the ambassador, and the Swedish captain, Count Bjornsterna, aide-de-camp to the king, who has been named at the disposal of General Canrobert during his stay in Stockholm. In the hall of the castle the ambassador was received by the first marshal of the palace, surrounded by the members of the court, who accompanied the ambassador to the apartments of his majesty. At the top of the staircase were posted twenty-four men, as a guard of honour; in the ballroom were twelve pages in livery at one of the doors, whilst the officers of the body-guard were at another; in the lower part of the great gallery was the personal staff of the king. At the door of the bed-chamber, where the audience took place, was posted his majesty's body-guard. When the ambassador entered, the first chamberlain, Count de Løwenhaupt, addressed towards him, and conducted him to the presence with the grand master of the ceremonies. The doors were open. At the side of his majesty were the Dukes of Ost-Gothland and Scania, with the minister of state for foreign affairs, the Baron Stjerneld. The ambassador pronounced an address, and handed him the insignia of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour to the king. When his majesty replied, the doors were closed. At a quarter to three the ambassador was conducted to his hotel with the same ceremony. On his going, as in returning, the streets and places were crowded with persons, who loudly expressed their sympathies. A grand dinner was given in the evening by the king, in the queen's banquetting-room, at which were present the following personages:—the crown-prince and princess, with their suite; the ambassador, his aide-de-camp; the French embassy at Stockholm, the high dignitaries of the crown, and Admiral Virgin."

The result of General Canrobert's negotiations was, a treaty between the united kingdom of Sweden and Norway, on the one hand, and the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, with France, on the other. This treaty was signed on the 21st of November, and the ratifications were exchanged at Stockholm on the 17th of December. The following is a correct translation of that document:—

*Treaty between Her Majesty, the Emperor of the French, and the King of Sweden and Norway.*

"Her majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his majesty the Emperor of the French, and his majesty the King of Sweden and Norway, being anxious to avert any complication which might disturb the existing balance of power in Europe, have resolved to come to an understanding with a view to secure the integrity of the united kingdoms of Sweden and Norway, and have named as their plenipotentiaries to conclude a treaty for that purpose" [here follow the names and official titles], "who, after having communicated to each other their respective full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed as follows:—

"ART. I.—His majesty the King of Sweden and Norway engages not to cede to nor to exchange with Russia, nor to permit her to occupy any part of the territories belonging to the crowns of Sweden and Norway. His majesty the King of Sweden and Norway engages, further, not to cede to Russia any right of pasturage, of fishery, or of any other nature whatsoever, either on the said territories or upon the coast of Sweden and Norway, and to resist any pretension which may be put forward by Russia with a view to establish the existence of any of the rights aforesaid.

"ART. II.—In case Russia should make to his majesty the King of Sweden and Norway any proposal or demand, having for its object to obtain either the cession or the exchange of any part whatsoever of the territories belonging to the crowns of Sweden and Norway, or the power of occupying certain points of the said territories, or the cession of rights of fishery, of pasturage, or of any other right upon the said territories and upon the coasts of Sweden and Norway, his majesty the King of Sweden and Norway engages forthwith to communicate such proposal or demand to her Britannic Majesty and his majesty the Emperor of the French; and their said majesties, on their part, engage to furnish to his majesty the King of Sweden and Norway sufficient naval and military forces, to co-operate with the naval and military forces of his said majesty, for the purpose of resisting the pretensions or aggressions of Russia. The description, number, and destination of such forces

shall, if occasion should arise, be determined by common agreement between the three powers. Done at Stockholm, the 21st of November, in the year of our Lord, 1855.

“ARTHUR C. MAGENIS.

“V. LOBSTEIN.

“STIERNELD.”

The conclusion of this treaty caused an extraordinary sensation in most of the nations immediately concerned. In England there was a quiet and profound satisfaction, mingled with some disappointment that the Swedes and Norwegians did not engage to join in the contest, which was expected to be renewed with redoubled fierceness in the ensuing spring. Denmark—at least the court of Copenhagen—regarded the matter with distrust, although the Danes rejoiced in the prospect of events drawing closer the Scandinavian and Western states. The Prussian people, to some extent, participated in the good feeling of the Danes; but his Prussian majesty looked upon the alliance with alarm. Austria was jealous of the whole transaction: Russia was enraged, offering, through her journals in Russia, Germany, and Belgium, insult and menace to the Norwegians, Swedes, and their king. It was said by persons most conversant with the opinion of the Russian court and chancellerie, that this treaty had a powerful influence in determining Russia to avoid another campaign in the Baltic, believing that events would necessarily press the Swedish court into a struggle, where the heart of the people was with the allies. In France the most sanguine expectations were entertained as to the ultimate effect of the agreement that had been formed with the court of Stockholm. The following letter, written from Paris at the time, will convey the true state of feeling in France generally, and among French politicians, upon the subject:—“The result of the mission of General Canrobert to Stockholm appears in this day’s *Moniteur*. It was not the presentation of the Grand Cross of the Legion of Honour, nor yet a ‘sentimental journey’ in quest of an unmeaning sympathy, but rather a mission fit to be intrusted to such an envoy. This treaty is an act of the highest importance. Its execution will place a limit, once for all, to the encroachments of Russia in the north of Europe. The Baltic will be rescued from her aggression, and Sweden saved from her fatal influence. In those latitudes she can no longer expect an inch of territory, or shelter for her war vessels, or harbour for her fishing-boats. It is, indeed, a fatal blow struck at her maritime and commercial power. The treaty fixes no date for its expiration. It is for ever, then, that Sweden engages to resist Russian encroachment, and it is for ever the allies will support her in

her resistance, and it attaches indefinitely to the policy of Sweden to the policy and interests of the West. It is a proof of the confidence of a union, the community of interests, which subsists between the contracting parties for the mutual protection against the common enemy. It is an immense step in advance, if we consider that Sweden also had proclaimed neutrality, and, up to this, maintained it; and with whatever indifference Russia may affect to regard this act, or to reduce its importance, she cannot but feel that it is one of hostility against her, and, if words mean anything, the policy thus proclaimed will be transformed on the very first occasion into an open rupture. A *defensive* treaty is only yet before us; but it is more than probable that another part exists which provides for other ‘eventualities’ than those now mentioned. The services we engage to render Sweden by supporting her against Russian aggression are doubtless reciprocal. If we send our armies and our fleets to operate with those of Sweden in her own defence, it can hardly be without the certainty that Sweden will aid us when we call upon her. There would be no great merit in King Oscar employing his own forces with ours in repelling the enemy from his own territory. Were he single-handed against Russia, he would try to do so. If we engage to protect Sweden, it is because we intend that Sweden shall do something for us which will expose her to the hostility of Russia; and that something can hardly be less than co-operation with us next spring in our operations in the north. There is clearly an eventuality of a conflict in the treaty, and it is absurd to suppose that in such case a complete accord does not already exist, and that stipulations have not been agreed to in providing for events which may occur at any moment. That we shall try to strengthen in those parts next year is hardly to be doubted; and is it to be believed that, in the event of our needing assistance in the seas, or on those shores, we shall not have the aid of Sweden in return, for the defence we promise her? At all events, this treaty may justly be considered as among the most important of our times. In the north as in the south, in the Baltic as in the Black Sea, Russia has stopped short in her career of aggression; Sweden will be as fatal to her as Turkey, so long as both rely on the combined strength of England and France. For us the adhesion of King Oscar is an additional guarantee for the independence of Europe.”

In Paris the prevailing idea was that in spring an expedition to Courland would be undertaken by a Swedish and French army with the object of compelling Austria and Prussia to declare themselves. Both in France and England the restoration of Finland

Sweden became a subject of popular desire; the public press and the more advanced politicians did not, however, encourage the idea, knowing the jealousy entertained by Norway at any increase in the relative strength of Sweden.

Before the Swedish treaty was ratified, General Canrobert repaired to the court of Copenhagen. In that city also his reception was enthusiastic by the people, and was respectful by the court. The Danish king met the negotiator, however, with a decision that was conclusive; he would not only remain neutral in the war, but he would bind himself by engagements to the allies in reference to future policy; his heart was with the Emperor. He, however, dissembled as well as he could, and made various demonstrations of goodwill to the allied sovereigns, if not to the cause of the allies. At a banquet on the 1st of December, the day of the general's arrival, and given in his honour, the king ordered the ambassador to be seated beside him, and gave as a toast the health of the French Emperor.

After the treaty with Sweden, Austria seemed in a fever of anxiety to find terms of peace such as she might propose to Russia. Her difficulty in correspondence with the Western powers arose from the fact that England insisted upon terms more stringent than France was willing to accept. The latter country was jealous of England, and desired to humble Russia too much, but to preserve her in a condition to be a counterpoise to the power of England, especially in the East. Britannic majesty could not prosecute the war alone; and any attempt to go beyond France's demands, might throw her powerful ally into the arms of her enemy, and cause a European coalition against herself. Austria was compelled, therefore, to obtain better terms for Russia than she at first expected, and addressed the court of St. Petersburg in a tone which intimated that, unless these terms were accepted, Austria must for her own security and interests join her arms to those of the allies. Russia professed to support the Austrian demands, but her efforts were really directed to obtain still better terms for her beloved Russia. In the midst of these newly-opened negotiations the year 1855 terminated. The solicitation of Austria to effect a peace was obvious to all Europe; her position at that juncture was peculiar, and it was her urgent interest to bring the war to an end. It is necessary for the reader to take a comprehensive view of the whole political relations of Austria at the close of the year 1855, to penetrate her policy in making such determined exertions to restore peace to Europe. This great historic power, so famous as the "holy Roman empire,"

until Napoleon I., with sacrilegious hands, as popes and kasirs believed, stripped it of its title, and held its existence at his mercy, was, at the end of 1855, in the first throes and struggles of another great crisis. The revolutions in 1848 swept over it as a gale, which strips the forest of its foliage and branches, but does not uproot the trees. Austria lost in wealth and glory, but she survived the storm, stripped of much which conduced to her power, dignity, and influence. That rude ordeal had passed away, as the tempest passes, but, like it also, left its traces, long to abide, when it was itself no longer present, and its passage perhaps forgotten. Although short as was the time which had elapsed since 1848, and terrible as were the effects of the revolution upon Austria, the prospects and difficulties of the empire were as independent of the great political convulsions of that period as if they had never occurred. We guard ourselves from being supposed to affirm that Austria was not still very much influenced by the Vienna, Lombard, Venetian, and Hungarian revolutions. We mean simply to place the idea before our readers prominently, that, irrespective of the influence of those events, novel complications invested the Austrian empire with a network of difficulty. The transitions through which it had been passing were marvellously rapid; it appeared as if that empire were in the crater of a volcano, which was composed of all Europe. Austria seemed in the very centre of every new political embroglio, and her history had been for several years little more than a passage from one stupendous exigency to another. To the nationalities of her own empire her position was only changed in two respects, since the revolution of 1848 burst upon her dominions. Her central power and authority over the various nationalities which constituted the empire were much increased, and the hatred of these nationalities to the central government had increased proportionately. A successful revolt would entail consequences, beyond all calculation more destructive to the central government than in 1848 it possibly could have done. Then Hungary might have been in arms against the kasir, and Croatia, ambitious to be an integral part of the empire, have no sympathy with Hungarian grievances or claims; Italy might be in revolt for the purpose of forming an Italian republic; but the people of the Tyrol might be loyal, and Bohemia feel proud of the old imperial prestige. Even Vienna might be in arms for a red republic, and yet be jealous of a Hungarian invasion. How different at the close of 1855! One common oppression kept down all; all these several limbs of the empire were bound by the chain of a common thralldom. It became at last the interest of the Viennese that the central power should be

weakened by excisions of the remoter governments. It became rather a hope than a fear to the Vienna citizen who valued liberty, if Milan and Venice blazed—if blood streamed above the ruins of broken and pillaged Brescia—if Pesth was a garrison of insurgents, and Prague became a capital of revolt! The only hope of the Austrian was in the ruin of Austria! This was as novel as it was horrible, and proved to every observer that a terrible change was impending. He who “holdeth the winds in his fists,” seemed to be preparing the theatre of the storm for the hurricane he intended to hurl in desolating power upon it. The external relations of Austria were so complicated, that no statesmanship could steer her through their intricate passages, had war continued and involved her in its circle. Her relation to Prussia was pretty much what it had generally been, one of suspicion and rivalry; her relation to the pope was also very much the same as usual; concordats and disputes were parts of the old story told over again. Her relations to the Porte were very much like what they used to be, treacherous and selfish; she was not for the first time anxious to get the principalities. But the connections of Austria with the great powers, and with Italy, were most singular. All Italy was ripe for revolt once more: even Naples muttered the first rumours of popular insurgency. The King of Sardinia had the sympathy of Italy and of Western Europe, and would have proved a formidable foe to Austria in any struggle which Italian insurrection might invite. To France the position of Austria was very peculiar—her rival in the Roman states, her ally in eastern Europe, her enemy, dynastic and hereditary! England had been the great reliance of the Kaiser, his old and proved ally. Thence subsidies might be expected in any European war; conservative, aristocratic, legitimist England would be sure to hold up a power such as Austria, the *beau idéal* of these once fashionable virtues. But England had lost her first love in these respects, and was regarded by Austria as revolutionary, democratic, virulently heretical, the moral and political pest and ulcer of Europe. She could no longer find in England a counterpoise to France, the bugbear of Austrian policy. But it was her relation to Russia which most complicated her affairs, and which was most likely, if she succeeded in putting down the revolutionary mania, more than ever active in her dominions, to embroil

her in foreign wars. Russia was at once temptation and her terror: she had nothing to gain anywhere but in a war with Russia, and nowhere so much to apprehend. The partition of Poland was the doom of Austria, it advanced the Russian frontier, and in a reaction more dangerous than any other. There was no barrier left between Warsaw and Vienna; a single campaign in that frontier would bring the eagles of the czar to the gates of the capital. Maria Theresa was the only person at the court who appeared to foresee this at the period of the first partition. She reluctantly took part in the foul work, and when she considered that there was no strong military line of defence between the new Austro-Russian frontier and Vienna, she wanted to retrace her steps, but was overborne by the ambition and invidious nationality of her statesmen and counsellors. Her reply then was, “Place, because so many great and learned men will have it so; but long after I am dead and gone, people will see what will happen for breaking through everything holy and just.” Austria then obtained some territory from Poland, at some from Wallachia; the remaining partitions were even less to her interests, and as little to her honour; Russia chiefly profited. Austria feels this; Metternich and Schwartzenburg have deplored it; Buol did not less deplore it. Austria was not apprehensive of revolt in her own empire, her policy as a European power would be more anti-Russian than any other. Her critical case was, that the more she weakened Russia, the more hope she inspired in the nationalities who feared Russia and relied on her; and the more she strengthened Russia, the more she hastened the time when the Kaiser must become a vassal of the czar. If England had been the upholder of popes and Kaisers, as in days of yore, that would have been the solution of Austria’s difficulties; but that day was gone, beyond the power of Derby, Aberdeen, Graham or Gladstone, to restore. The dismemberment of the Austrian empire, a great central European revolution, seemed not far off. All nations desired that the Babylon of Vienna might perish. The court and cabinet knew this, and were impelled by such considerations to quench if possible a war, to avert unforeseen conflagrations of which might destroy the Austrian empire. A future chapter will record the success with which the diplomacy of Austria extricated herself from impending peril, and Russia from the consequences of the war which that power had provoked.

## CHAPTER CXVII.

ASSUMPTION OF THE COMMAND-IN-CHIEF OF THE BRITISH ARMY BY SIR W. J. CODRINGTON.  
—TERRIBLE EXPLOSION OF GUNPOWDER, AND GREAT LOSS OF LIFE.—A SECOND WINTER  
IN THE CRIMEA, TO THE END OF THE YEAR 1855.

“Fled is the blasted verdure of the fields,  
And, shrunk into their beds, the flowery race  
Their sunny robes resign.” THOMSON.

THE first matter of importance connected with the period to which this chapter will relate, was the appointment to the command of the British army by Lieutenant-general Sir W. J. Codrington. On the 12th of November he published the following “order :”—

“I have assumed the command of the army in obedience to her majesty’s orders. It is with a feeling of pride and with a feeling of confidence in the support which I know will be readily given to any officer honoured with such a commission.

“The armies of France and Sardinia are united with us on this ground. We know their gallantry well, for we have seen it; we know their friendship, for we have profited by it; we have shared difficulties, dangers, and successes—the groundwork of mutual esteem; and all will feel it our pleasure, as well as our duty, to carry on that kindly intercourse which is due to the intimate alliance of the nations themselves. Our army will always preserve a high character in the field. The sobriety, the good conduct, and the discipline which it is our duty to maintain, are the best sureties of future success, and I trust to the efforts and assistance of all ranks in thus keeping the army to be an instrument of honour, of power, and credit to England.”

The course of this officer had been very remarkable. He had never seen an engagement until the breaking out of this war, although he was over fifty years of age when he took upon himself the command of the army, fourteen months after he first came under the fire of the enemy at the battle of the Alma. Sir William was a son of Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, who commanded the allied navies at the battle of Navarino, one of the noblest deeds of the British fleet. Sir Edward then fought against Turkey, England being the ally of Russia; his son was eventually called upon to command an army in alliance with the forces of Turkey against that power. Sir William’s whole service had been in the Guards up to June, 1854, when he became a major-general. Upon the expedition to Turkey taking place, he went out as a volunteer; but on obtaining his promotion, he also obtained the command of a brigade, in the room of General Leake, to whom at that juncture the post of lieutenant-general was confided. The brigade

of General Codrington was in the light division, under Sir George Brown, and consisted of the 7th Royal Fusiliers, the 23rd Royal Welsh Fusiliers, the 33rd (Duke of Wellington’s Own), and the 2nd battalion of the Rifle Brigade. At the battles of Alma and Inkerman both the brigade and the brigadier distinguished themselves. When Sir George Brown retired from the command of the light division, Codrington was promoted to the vacancy. On the 8th of September, during the assault upon the Redan, he lost that presence of mind which had previously characterised him, and was deficient in that boldness and promptitude for which he had acquired reputation. Notwithstanding his acknowledged failure there, the feeling of the army was in his favour when he obtained the chief command. It was generally thought that he ought to have “another chance” of making a great military name, as well as of serving his country. Sir William was a favourite with the court, and it is probable that he owed his promotion so rapidly to that, rather than to any other circumstance.

General Codrington had various circumstances in his favour when he received the appointment of commander-in-chief. The army had been reinforced; the previous commander was not a man of brilliant parts, although painstaking, industrious, and honest. The winter had not yet set in with Crimean severity, so that he had time to finish the preparations which had been making to meet it; these preparations were on a great scale, and in many respects very efficient. The health of the troops was satisfactory, and the state of the hospitals and medical arrangements formed a happy contrast to the condition of matters in these respects the previous year. A correspondent of the *Daily News* gave the following concise and clear account of hospital affairs:—“I have taken some pains to gain an accurate knowledge of the present state of the Crimean hospitals, and the result has been in the highest degree satisfactory. Without pretending to any more minute or accurate information as to their proper medical stores than can be gleaned in conversation with very courteous and communicative doctors, I may say that, as far as the eye can guide one in forming an opinion as to their completeness in all points of space, furniture, cleanliness, creature-comforts, and attendance, there seems little that the most fasti-

dious friend of the sick soldier could desire to have altered or added. In the great majority of the regimental hospitals, warm, double-walled, and spacious huts have been substituted for marquees; and in those where the change has not yet taken place, it will be made before winter finally sets in. At the general hospital, Balaklava, where the patients are mixed—sick civilians being taken in as well as military cases—the arrangements and method in which they are carried out seem alike admirable; and under the assiduous medical oversight of Dr. Jameson, and the unwearying attentions of Miss Weir and her auxiliary Sisters of Charity, the patients seem most excellently cared for. At the larger establishment of the Castle Hospital on the Genoese Heights, where there are at present about 400 patients—all wounded men—the system appears to be equally complete in all respects, and its administration, under Dr. Matthews, if possible yet more efficient. This hospital consists of an aggregate of some fifteen or eighteen large, double-walled, and double-roofed huts, erected along the summit of the rocky height, at whose base the unfortunate ship *Prince* was dashed to pieces in the great November storm of last year; and, though perched on such an eminence, it is tolerably sheltered by still higher cliffs on all sides but that which faces the sea. To screen the huts in some degree from the wind from this last quarter, curtains of earth-filled gabions have been erected close behind the sea-gables."

At the period when General Codrington's command began, the Tartar population were less willing to convey intelligence of the enemy. They had suffered much; the destruction of forage in the Valley of Baidar rendered it impossible for them to support their cattle; those who had possessed plenty, and had given freely, were obliged to sell nuts and potatoes opposite their own doors, where abundance had been at their command. The czar, too, had ordered the confiscation of the property of that population, in favour of the Greek volunteers, whom furious fanaticism had brought to his ranks. The Tartar people were uneasy, timid, dubious of the allies, and became desirous to conceal, rather than disclose, as they had formerly so freely done, the movements of the Russian troops. The fears of these poor Tartars were but too well founded; after the preliminaries of peace were signed, the persecutions to which they were subjected increased, and, to the discredit of the allies, they lent no helping hand, and used no efficient mediation, to secure immunity to a population which had been so friendly. We shall take the opportunity to introduce here the remarks on this subject of a gentleman who had been in captivity with the Russians as a prisoner of war, and who relates what he saw of Tartar suffer-

ings, not only at the time of which we write but up to the period of his release:—"I have just returned to England after having had five months' experience of Russian prisons. I dwell on my hardships and the degradation of my feelings on a march of 133 days with convicts into the interior of that country is not the object of this letter. My desire is to fix instant attention on the pitiable condition of hundreds of the wretched Tartar population of the Crimea who are festering in Muscovite prisons, or on march to exile, guilty of no other crime than that of having supplied provisions to the allied troops. At Simpheropol I saw them lying in the loathsome cells of the town; on the road I saw them dragged from their homes, chained, beaten, wending their way, as I was informed to the horrors of Siberian exile. They looked for pity, not unmingled with hope, to the friendly tones of their English fellow-captive. Let not the sorrowful sighing of these prisoners and their trust in English sympathy be vain. Let these lines, supported by England's powerful appeal, claim regard to their suffering, and challenge remedy for their wrongs. The peace that has been signed will diffuse joy throughout Russia: let the magnanimity of their emperor, who has restored this blessing to his vast domains, give back the Crimean exiles to their hearths. No subjects in all the Russias have suffered more than the wretched inhabitants of that Crimea which war has made desolate. Then, let England and her allies plead that to these unhappy Tartars this land drop in the cup of their gall and bitterness may be spared which bereaves them of their fathers, their brothers, and their sons. An act of grace to these condemned men would be a monument more enduring than that of brass to the generosity of him who should extend to them his imperial favour, and restore them to the homes which may still be left where, around the family altar, they might implore a blessing on his head."

In November various promotions were made of superior officers serving in the East, as the following extract from the *Gazette* shows:—"Major-general Sir William John Codrington, K.C.B., who has at present the local rank of lieutenant-general in the Crimea and in Turkey. Colonel Lord William Paulet, C.B., brigadier-general in Turkey, to have the local rank of major-general in Turkey. Colonel Duncan Cameron, C.B., 42nd foot, brigadier-general in Turkey, to have the local rank of major-general in Turkey. To be lieutenant-colonels in the army—Major Charles John Woodford, Rifle Brigade; Captain and Brevet-major Charles Henry Morris, Royal Artillery; Brevet-major Henry Atwell Lake, of the Madras Engineers, for his services in the defence of Kars. Brevet-colonel William Fenwick Wi-

as, C.B., of the Royal Artillery, to be promoted to the rank of major-general in the army, distinguished service in the field; Captain Lieutenant-colonel Studholm Brownrigg, Grenadier Guards, to be colonel in the army, for distinguished service in the field."

Officers in the inferior grades obtained brevet promotion to a considerable extent, a measure which tended to promote the efficiency of the service, as well as to diffuse satisfaction among the officers and men. The command of General Codrington was not signalised by any increased activity of the allies, who continued rather to watch the enemy than to act against him. Notwithstanding the general opinion that there was deficiency of spirit, activity, and surprise on the part of the commanders of the allied armies, one very able observer, a civilian who, although a civilian, was content to pronounce an opinion upon military affairs (Sir Edward Colebrook), to some extent excuses this inaction, although on some grounds censures it as unsparingly as other critics would have done. Describing the condition of the Russian side of Sebastopol during General Codrington's command, and for some time after his departure, Sir Edward observes:—"There was a lull in the war, as if the great combatants had reeled in the struggle, and were unwilling to begin again. Meanwhile the Russians were active with the spade; working-parties were hard at work at various points, without any attempt on our part to molest them, until a few days later, when a mortar-battery was placed by the French at Fort Nicholas. The whole scene vividly recalled what I witnessed last October, when the enemy were allowed without the slightest interruption to raise those works that cost us a twelvemonth to subdue. Our neglect seemed unpardonable, and if it does admit of mitigation, it must be on the ground that the batteries already raised by the Russians were strong that we could not raise opposing works sufficient to cope with them, except at great sacrifice, and without the prospect of a solid advantage in return. It may have been considered that any small works raised by the enemy would have been crushed by the enemy's great guns, and great works would have led to no advantage. I presume such reasons had weight in deciding our chiefs. They do not appear conclusive to me, for powerful mortar-batteries would have increased the difficulty of taking that position very materially, and I think every effort should have been used to prevent this. His tenure as disagreeable as possible.\*

The Russian works appeared to consist (independently of Fort Severnaia) of a line of earthworks facing the sea; secondly, a number of detached batteries or redoubts facing the harbour, which line was defended by the works of Constantine and Alexander; thirdly, an intrenched position of considerable size towards the east. I am told

Any attempt on our part to harass the enemy in this quarter (for it was evident we could do little more) must, however, be subordinate to that far more important one which pressed on the consideration of the allies—whether any effective blow in the field could be struck against the enemy at this advanced season of the year. In discussing this I must assume two things, on neither of which can I pretend to speak confidently. First, that the Russian army, though weakened in numbers, was strong in efficiency, and anything but demoralised by their defeat. Secondly, that the allied force was also efficient, and that they had a large disposable force that they could have once put in motion. I see that the English papers (I am writing this after leaving Constantinople on my homeward voyage) assume that the Russians were not merely beaten but routed. Such an assumption is purely gratuitous, and is no way borne out by the facts of the retreat. They retired to a position of the greatest natural strength. The line of cliffs was unbroken, except at particular points where the roads were defended by batteries and redoubts, and it was not to be turned except at such a distance from our line of attack as to render any combination very hazardous.

"The same circumstance which placed a large force at our command, also disengaged a large army of the enemy, which, instead of being cooped up in the town, was disposable for the defence of the Crimea. To attack a position far stronger than that which had kept us at bay for a twelvemonth, defended by a force conscious of its strength, and with the prospect (supposing the heights carried at a sacrifice of life) of having siege operations to amuse us in the winter, and all the horrors of open trenches in such a climate over again,—such an enterprise would have been madness, except in the contingency that the Russians had been so neglectful as to have no fortified position to fall back upon, or that our chiefs had such certain information of their weakness and disorganisation as to justify the attempt. It is always to be borne in mind that we could not venture on an attack without the support of heavy artillery, and a week's rain would bring all such operations to a stand. I have said enough to justify our caution in not advancing upon Simpheropol; with regard to the other more specious alternative of transferring a large force to Eupatoria, much of the preceding argument will apply to this also. It surely will not be contended that we should move a large force into the heart of the Crimea for the purpose of moving back again; but this would

there is a line of works facing the north. The works that came under my own view were detached, and covered a great space of ground, requiring a garrison so large as to be an embarrassment in the winter."

have been the certain consequence of such a movement. According to the best estimates of the strength of the allies at the end of the siege, we had 120,000 of all arms; and as 60,000 or 70,000 were required to defend the line of the Tchernaya, some 50,000 might have been transferred to some other point. Such a force might have offered battle to the enemy on the steppes. But if the Russians, instead of repeating their error of the last year at Alma, had decided to remain on the defensive, our army must have retired on the approach of winter, for siege operations, or, indeed, any operations, were out of the question when the bad weather set in; and that reputation which we had established in the public opinion of Europe by our success would have been seriously compromised by such a movement. Prepared as I am to vindicate the decision of the allied generals in regard to any great operation, I cannot but believe that some use might have been made of our cavalry against the supplies of the enemy from Perekop, and it was a matter of surprise to myself and many others that it was not done. Our reputation would not have been compromised by failure, and something ought to have been adventured to increase the difficulties of bringing in the supplies of the large army in the Crimea, while the season admitted of it."

On the subject thus discussed by Sir E. Colebrook, the views of Colonel Hamley were given in the following terms:—"Two movements offered themselves—the one from Eupatoria or along the Bulganak, the other from Kertch. In advancing from Eupatoria, the want of water would always prevent other than a rapid movement, followed, if not at once successful, by as rapid a retreat. At the same time, with our force of cavalry, and with our fleet on the coast, besides Eupatoria itself to fall back on, there could be no great risk in case of an attack by the enemy, while even a very short interruption of the stream of supply to the garrison or army—such as the presence of a strong cavalry force on the road for two days—might have been fatal to the defence of Sebastopol. The advance from the peninsula of Kertch, involving the capture of Kaffa and Arabat, would have been a safer and more sustained operation, and its consequences more destructive to the enemy."

Thus, by civilians and officers competent to pronounce a judgment, and yet desirous to exculpate the allied commanders, it was admitted that before winter set in operations in the field might have been undertaken. The season was far advanced when Sir William Codrington assumed the command, but even then an energetic commander, gifted with genius, would have attempted some bold measure. The army burned for adventure,

and officers and men revolted in their action, leaving the enemy undisturbed. William threw a spirit of increased activity into the various departments, without changing the military policy of his predecessor. Thus matters stood when the explosion of the 15th of November caused such excitement at the camp.

About three o'clock in the afternoon of the 15th, the camps of the allies were startled by an explosion, as if all the magazines in the neighbourhood of Sebastopol had blown up together. Looking from the British camp towards the place whence the report seemed to issue, a huge column of smoke was seen ascending into the air, which then spread out like a fan, broke, and sent down showers of iron, steel, rubbish, broken side-arms, guns, gun-carriages, and every conceivable appurtenance of war. An eye-witness described the column of smoke and *débris* thrown up into the air as of a grey colour, flushed with red, and pitted over with white puffs of smoke, which marked the explosion of shells. The uproar of bursting shells and rockets, crashing of broken carriages and bounding balls, resembled that of the great bombardments; but all witnesses agreed that the din of this explosion was greater than the loudest thunders of artillery in the siege. Scarcely had the huge column collapsed, when dark masses of black smoke fretted with flame, gushed forth in many directions, attended by minor, but still violent explosions. The huts and tents caught fire, and a thrill of alarm spread through the camps. The first officer who seems to have hastened to the scene of destruction, was General Windham, who supposed that one of the French redoubts had been blown up by the action of the enemy. Sir Richard Airey and the British commander-in-chief followed General Windham, and all were guided in their progress by the smoke, flames, and duration of the explosions, to the French artillery park at Inkerman, commonly called Park Mill. It had contained 30,000 kilogrammes of powder, 600,000 cartridges, 300 charged shells, large quantities of rockets, carcasses, and projectiles of various sorts. From the locality the French were of course the first and worst sufferers. Six officers were killed, and thirteen wounded. Of the rank and file sixty were killed, and 170 wounded, of whom many afterwards died. The English encamped near to that part of the French position, sustained also heavy loss; one officer was killed, four officers were wounded. Twenty-one of the rank and file were killed, and 112 wounded. Of the rank and file killed and wounded were non-commissioned officers. The wounds were not so generally fatal as those inflicted

French. Such was the substance of the reports, but several men, both French and English, particularly the latter, were missing when the reports were made, and were afterwards discovered wounded.

The danger was much greater than the injury inflicted. The English powder-mill contained 180 tons of explosive *matériel*. The doors, and windows were blown in, and the cases were thus of course exposed. The danger was imminent, and had the mill caught fire the consequence would have been appalling. When the state of the English mill was ascertained, General Straubenzye called out to the men of the 7th Fusiliers to volunteer in an enterprise more hazardous than a forlorn hope; and was to climb the shattered walls of the mill, and cover the combustibles within with wet tarpaulins, while fire and explosion were raging all around. Lieutenant Hope and twenty-five men (all that were required) instantly volunteered. At the same time a sergeant and several men of the Rifle Brigade joined them, and a party of the gallant 34th as prompt as either fusiliers or rifles. While they were engaged in covering the place with blankets and tarpaulins, and throwing water over them, not only sparks and flakes of fire were drifted in all directions, but rockets were hissing in the air above them. Had any of these swift and fiery messengers of destruction torn its way through the covering thrown over the mill, the whole contents would have been exploded, and the daring volunteers would have been killed or scattered in charred fragments afar. The danger of battle is nothing to what Lieutenant Hope and his brave followers incurred. This young officer, the moment he perceived the fire, seized a bugle and led the parade, thus preventing panic or confusion among the men of his camp. He was the only son of the lord justice-clerk of Scotland, and a member of the family of Lord Eglinton, whose conduct in the Peninsula is well known to the readers of Sir William Napier's history. The escapes in the English army were extraordinary. Major Strange had stepped from his hut when two 13-inch shells fell through the roof, of course blowing the whole fabric to pieces: the major was left unhurt amidst the wreck. The roof of the canteen was penetrated by a shell; the wife of the keeper had a kettle in her hand, and was struck from it, she escaping unhurt: there were ten other persons within the canteen, and, except with some slight bruises, all escaped unhurt; the structure itself was blown into fragments. The casualties would have been much more numerous than they were, had the men been in camp, but for all the soldiers of the brigade quartered near to the scene of the catastrophe were

fortunately absent on working-parties, and thus escaped.

The cause of the explosion was variously stated. Some of the French soldiery nearest to the place attributed it to one of their comrades, who sat amusing himself with a Russian 13-inch shell, poking it with his bayonet, and by this means exploded it. Mr. Russell attributed it to the act of a French artilleryman, who, finding a piece of shell in a powder-case he was emptying, flung it to a distance, and the fragment, coming into contact with hard rock, struck fire, ignited the loose powder scattered about, the fire communicating itself rapidly to the cases, and to the magazine. The artilleryman himself, although in the focus of these radiating fires, escaped with slight injury. For four hours the fires continued to burn, and some explosions to take place: during that time the Russians crowded the northern heights and the hills overlooking the Tchernaya, making gesticulations of satisfaction at the havoc they witnessed. Towards seven o'clock, however, the French opened some masked batteries, and created confusion and some slaughter among the spectators, who precipitately fled out of range. Russian batteries, however, soon responded to those of the French. The next morning the divisions on the British right were very early under arms—General Codrington supposing that the enemy, hoping to profit by the confusion, would make an attack; none was offered, and the day passed in repairing the mischief which had been created. The following was the general's despatch, in which tidings of the calamity were communicated to the English war ministry. It was dated November 17th:—

“On the 15th instant, about 3 P.M., a terrific explosion shook the camp of the army, and spread heavy destruction in the immediate neighbourhood of its force; even here, at head-quarters, two and a-half miles, perhaps, distant, it burst open and broke windows; all felt the power of it, and the high column of smoke, with shells bursting in the midst and around it, told too well the cause, and showed the danger of all within its reach.

“It was not long before we were on the spot. To the sudden burst had succeeded a continued and dark drift of smoke, which told its tale of continued fire and of danger; constant bursting of shells was going on, and the ground was covered with bits of wood, musket-balls, and splinters of shells from the first heavy explosion, which had strewed the ground with destruction, and killed and hurt very many people: 100,000 pounds of powder had exploded in the French siege-train, set fire to all the stores there, and to our neighbouring English park, where all was fiercely burning; while

the tendency of the light air at first threatened a second and as serious an accident from powder, not eighty yards off, for the roof of the building had been damaged, and the door blown in by the shock.

"Some general officers had fallen in and marched part of their divisions down, others sent some in fatigue, some with stretchers for the wounded—all exerted themselves with the French with an energy and disregard of danger that was admirable; blankets were taken to the exposed store, placed and wetted on the roof by water being passed up in buckets; the doors were covered with wet blankets and sand-bags, and in a short time it was reported and looked safe, though the closeness of the fire and frequent explosions could not allow the feeling of security. Many detached though small fires were burning, and the ground of both the French and English parks, a space of 150 yards across, was a mass of large fires, some of fuel, some of huts, some of gun-carriages, boxes, handspikes, and ropes. The fortunately light air had rather changed its direction, and by breaking up and dragging away things a sort of lane was at last formed, the flames cut off, and gradually got under control, because confined to smaller though fierce fires, but manageable. I saw every one working well, and I know that French and English took live shells from the neighbourhood of danger to a more distant spot, and at a later period parties threw what earth the rocky soil could give, upon the fires, and helped much to subdue them; all was safe about 7 P.M., and a strong guard and working-party posted for the night.

"The army was under arms the following morning before daylight, and everything being quiet, I ordered the divisions to turn in, and continued the working-parties in the roads, which I had counter-ordered for that morning. The exploded powder store was situated in the ruins of some walls which had advantageously been made use of for the purpose of shelter; it had been the store of supply to the French attack on the Malakoff front, and it contained the powder which had been brought back from their batteries. It is at the head of the ravine, which, as it gets towards Sebastopol, forms the steep and rocky valley of Ravin du Carénage.

"The light division was on the ground which it first took up in October, 1854; the Rifles on the right, then the 7th, the 33rd, and 23rd; on their left the 34th regiment, which subsequently joined, was on the right front in advance; and the vacating of a spot of ground by the sapper's camp enabled me, when commanding the division, to place the artillery and small-arm brigade on the immediate right of the Rifles. The French subsequently

brought their main siege-train and stores to the position it has now for some time occupied.

"Daylight showed the damage, of which I have given your lordship an outline in another letter. But the more important and sad part is the loss of life, and the wounded who have suffered. One officer and twenty non-commissioned officers and men killed; four officers and 112 non-commissioned officers and men wounded, with seven missing,\* show the sudden and fatal power of the shock, which not only destroyed in its immediate neighbourhood but wounded, by shells and splinters, some at a distance of three-quarters of a mile. The loss of our allies is distressingly heavy.

"Nominal return of officers killed on the 15th of November:—Royal Artillery—field-train department—Deputy-assistant Commissary G. G. Yellon, by the explosion of magazines in camp (at the French siege-train).

"Nominal return of officers wounded on the 15th of November:—Royal Artillery—Lieutenants F. C. Roberts and W. J. Dawson, dangerously. Field-train department—Deputy-assistant Commissary H. Hodds, severely. Second battalion Rifle Brigade—Lieutenant W. H. Eccles, and Assistant-surgeon J. C. E. Reade, slightly."

During the week which succeeded the Inkerman explosion, nothing of moment occurred. On the 21st, symptoms of a severe winter were indicated; and on the 26th the fair weather broke up, with rain, storm, and sleet, affording some foretaste of what might be expected in another similar war with the climate of the Crimea. Rumours were wafted through the camps that the enemy would maintain his position through the winter at all costs, and that in the spring he would pour in fresh hosts to contend for the mastery of the Crimea. Cannonades were maintained from the Russian side, which did not inflict either much injury or disturbance, but proved the energy and vigilance which the enemy still possessed.

General Codrington exerted himself to secure to the soldiery such comforts as could be enjoyed in a camp; and plans were instituted by which the men might be encouraged to save their pay, and send it home to their families, of which they most extensively availed themselves. On the 4th of December, General Codrington sent home the following despatch with an inclosure from Dr. Hall concerning the health of the army:—

"The enemy continue to fire occasionally and sometimes heavily, on parts of the town. They must have expended a considerable quantity of valuable ammunition, without

\* "Six artillerymen since accounted for and alive."

ing us any loss or inconvenience. The  
ed casualty return is the first of the sort  
ve had occasion to report to your lord-

t may seem unimportant to refer to the  
of roads and weather here, but their  
tion affects the essential communications  
well-being of the army. The winter broke  
us suddenly, on the 26th and 27th, with  
and has varied with gales and rain; and  
y deep state of the ground has damaged  
communications. Constant presence of  
rers and constant attention are requisite,  
re being given to the road, which, from  
ilarity of soil and condition, was worked  
holes, but which is, and will continue to  
the greatest service to the army and its  
es.

beg leave also to forward the weekly  
of Dr. Hall, the principal medical officer,  
which your lordship will perceive that the  
al state of health of the army continues  
eable."

Hall's report:—

am glad to be able to point out a con-  
e of the favourable state of health of  
my. The weather has been boisterous,  
cold, and changeable, which has occa-  
an increase of catarrhal affections, and  
some cases of catarrhal ophthalmia to  
st; but the admissions under this head  
decreased nearly one-half during the  
at week, and, it is to be hoped, by care  
removal of those labouring under the com-  
to the Monastery, that the disease will  
tend."

the 10th of December, Dr. Hall's re-  
vas more full and circumstantial, and  
ed the hope that the army would con-  
healthy during the winter of 1855-6.  
octor's report entered minutely into the  
of divisions, brigades, and regiments,  
discussed the probabilities of the health  
e army during the severe season into  
it had entered. We make such ex-  
as will enable the reader to contrast the  
ber of 1855 with that of the previous

he army continues healthy, and there is  
variation in the number of admissions,  
ly one in the number of deaths this  
as compared with that of the preceding  
The weather has been wet and stormy,  
has occasioned some little variation in  
missions under the different heads of  
e. Dysentery and rheumatism, for in-  
have increased; but the following  
st will show how nearly the other classes  
ase assimilate to those of the previous

	This week.		Last Week.	
	Admitted.	Died.	Admitted.	Died.
Fevers .....	194	9	196	19
Pulmonic .....	177	4	172	2
Diarrhœa .....	167	6	173	4
Cholera .....	7	6	9	4
Dysentery .....	48	2	29	1
Rheumatism .....	65	0	56	0
Wounds and injuries	45	7	43	4
Ophthalmia * .....	41	0	31	0
Other diseases .....	349	4	350	3
Total.....	1093	38	1059	37

"The total number of deaths, though only  
one more than last week, shows some variety  
in its distribution; *e. g.*, the mortality under  
the head of 'fever' has decreased one-half,  
while that of pulmonic complaints and dy-  
sentery has been doubled, and that of diarrhœa  
and cholera increased one-third."

A correspondent of *Colburn's United Service  
Magazine* thus happily contrasted the two  
Decembers:—

"In the first December, nature and man  
appeared to combine for the purpose of inflicting  
the direst woe upon our unfortunate soldiers.  
The elements commenced the work; trench-  
digging, want of proper clothing and food,  
finished it. The hospitals were full, and the  
whole British army in the Crimea dwindled  
to 12,000 bayonets. The sick men were but  
poorly cared for, from want of surgeons and  
medical appliances, and the healthy mocked  
the term by their appearance. Great was the  
change our second December brought. The  
winter season commenced, as such periods do,  
with coldness, but not the bitter severity of  
the former year; and the cessation of the siege  
prevented an undue exposure to its hardships,  
whilst our brave fellows were so well clad and  
fed that any labour fell with the greatest light-  
ness upon them. Sickness certainly did occur,  
but it is a question whether it exceeded the  
ordinary average at home, and the poor in-  
valids were tended with as much care and  
were quite as comfortable as if they had been  
treated in the military hospitals in England.  
Surgeons were in plenty, in good health them-  
selves, and anxious to make the sick bed as  
cheerful as possible for the patient, a duty of  
little difficulty from the large supplies of stores.  
A liberal distribution of newspapers and books  
amused the minds of the inmates, while the  
frequent visits of the clergy showed that their  
souls were not uncared for. Thirty thousand  
was probably the lowest amount of duty-men  
in our army at this time, and the robust health  
that they were in gave satisfactory proof of the  
care that had been taken of them, and evinced,  
at the same time, what reliance might be  
placed upon them in the hour of need. There  
could not be a greater proof of the good policy,

\* Twenty were transfers from regimental to general  
hospitals.

and even economy, of thus taking care of the soldiers, than their martial look on parade; whilst the common maxim, 'Tis better to have a long bill from the butcher than the doctor,' exemplifies the case. The liberality with which government clad the troops may be shown by the following list of my servant's wardrobe:—

"COATS.—A tunic, a coatee, a shell jacket, a fur coat, a sandbag coat (a summer coat made of linen, called so, from its appearance, by the men), a great coat, a waterproof coat.

"HEAD-COVERINGS.—A shako, a forage cap, a fur cap.

"TROUSERS.—Two pairs cloth trousers, 1 pair sandbag ditto, 1 pair waterproof leggings.

"BOOTS.—One pair long boots to go outside the trousers, 2 pairs of ankle boots.

"HOSIERY.—Six woollen jerseys, 3 linen shirts, 2 pairs flannel drawers, 2 pairs worsted stockings, 1 cholera belt."

Notwithstanding all the advantages of roads and railroads, warm clothing, abundant provisions, good huts, and experience gained by past sufferings, the month of December very severely tried both men and animals. Many horses and mules perished; and the general feeling among the men was one of gratulation that Southern Sebastopol had fallen, as, from the severity of the weather, and the way it told upon the men, trench-work would have swept many thousands to an untimely grave during the winter, who were spared to see their homes and serve their country.

On the 7th-8th of December, an attempt was made by the enemy to surprise the French near the villages of Baga, Urkesta, and Savatka, in the Baidar Valley. General d'Autemarre's division had a semicircle of outposts formed on the Upper Tchernaya, on the lowest declivities of the wooded heights by which the Tchernaya is separated from the Upper Belbek. The Russians attacked these outposts, in the hope that by capturing them, or driving them in, they might circumscribe the space over which the French collected firewood, and, when the ground was not covered by snow, fodder for their horses. Between 3000 and 4000 men were put in motion to accomplish this surprise. The Cossacks of Colonel Zototteroff led the way, immediately supported by 500 picked marksmen from the line. The main body followed, consisting of about 500 cavalry, and the Smolensk regiment, which comprised three battalions of 800 men each, exclusive of officers. The enemy advanced cautiously and expertly, as they generally did, and succeeded in coming unheard upon an advanced party of twelve men, close by the junction of the Baga and Ourkust roads; these were made prisoners after a desperate resistance. The morning had not dawned when

they stealthily reached those villages, precipitating their chief force upon Baga. Notwithstanding the success of the surprise, the French at Baga rallied with great celerity. The troops stationed there were chiefly light infantry composed of Chasseurs d'Afrique, Chasseurs-à-pied, and the flank companies of the 26<sup>th</sup> regiment of the line. Chef de Bataillon Ribourg displayed fortitude, skill, and promptness in the great danger to which he was exposed, and by his able arrangements, and the courage of his soldiers, he soon cleared the village of the enemy, charging them through the little street at the point of the bayonet. While this conflict was proceeding at Baga, Ourkust was attacked, and with some success the garrison was completely off its guard, when the Russians fell fiercely upon it with savagery. It was with difficulty that Captain Pechose succeeded in rallying his men; and only by prodigious personal exertion was he able to make their charge upon the enemy effective; he was repeatedly surrounded, but cut his way out, on one occasion slaying three Russians with his sword.

General d'Autemarre soon became apprised of the danger; but before he could make any arrangement to bring up his cavalry, the gallant men assailed had recaptured the village and driven the Russians back with severe chastisement. One hundred and fifty slain wounded, and prisoners, was the penalty paid by the Russians for their temerity. The French reported a loss of two killed and eleven wounded; but a greater number were afterwards found to have sustained injury, and five of the wounded died.

The moral effect of this attempt was, on the whole, in favour of the enemy; for it encouraged his own troops by a show of activity which the allies had not displayed. An offensive movement by Gortschakoff, after the capture of Sebastopol, was not expected by the Muscovite soldiery, although looked for by the allies, and therefore, even when defeated, the attempt led the Russian soldiery to hope that extensive combinations against the allies were contemplated.

On the 12th of December, the breaking up of the ice at Kinburn and Kertch exposed the shipping to danger, but no very serious result occurred. A desperate skirmish at the latter place, under Major Macdonald, in which Captain Sherwood was killed, showed that the Turkish contingent, against which so much unjust prejudice had been entertained, was worthy of confidence; and that, led by British officers, the Turkish cavalry, as well as Turkish infantry, were superior as soldiers to the Russians—superior in courage, alacrity, individual enterprise, and enthusiasm, as well as in temperance and endurance.

the 21st, Major-general Sir Richard K.C.B., of the Royal Artillery was promoted to the local rank of lieutenant-colonel "in Turkey;" an honour deservedly conferred, and judiciously conferred, as it gave satisfaction to the army generally, but especially to his own arm of the service. Satisfaction prevailed on all hands as another year in the Crimea approached, and home-letters filled the hearts of officers and men. There is no season of the year that absence from home and its loved ones is felt so much as in the period of Christmas festivities. The images of kindred and friends come up around the bivouac fire, or in the lonely hut—not indeed to cheer, but to more desolate the heart, in the conviction that the imagination in vain struggles to reach those who are far, far away. Loneliness in the midst of crowds is one of the most painful states which hearts formed for social joys know; and at no time is this so much felt as on Christmas calls up the dear remembrances of other days, when those we loved were nearest to us. Many a brave heart lonely and sad in the British army around Sebastopol, in the midst of numbers, and the excitement of martial excitement, when the Christmas of 1855 reminded them of the homes they never revisit; and the bright faces were then wearing an ungenial sadness as the soldier—son or brother—was not in the festive board. The most "rollicking" of the British army was composed of natives of "the Sister Isle," and it is served that these were the most dejected, talked most pensively of "the family" when the wintry winds swept over the plateau of Sebastopol. Mr. Edwin Galt, a sparkling, pleasant, and clever little "The Camp and the Cutter," describes the scenes and temper of the Crimean camp at that time:—

How different to the Christmas-day at home in England, with its social, joyous, festivities, its reunion of families, when this allowed day marks another mile-stone of existence, and seems to be an epoch from which we remember events, and start again in our career—Christmas-day, with its merry games, the satiety of roast-beef and plum-cakes, its yule-log and misletoe; the time when juvenile ladies and gentlemen are dressed to the best, and each, with youthful ambition, makes a *début*, and tries to create a sensation—on the morning, when the kitchen is filled with servants and members of the family, busily striving to have one stir in that to-be-forgotten pudding—when, if the bells toll in torrents, or the snow is on the hills, in returning from church, you rush to comfort and luxury, and seek a change

of clothing to prepare for the enjoyment of the day.

"How different is Christmas-day in the Crimea!—attending church-service in furs, clothing and high overall boots, standing for one hour a foot deep in snow to listen to the prayers being read, dependent upon your friends at home, or the resources of Balaklava, or the skill and sobriety of a soldier, for your Christmas pudding.

"I turned out at eight; there had been some snow, and a very hard frost at night, but after breakfast the sun broke forth brilliantly, and I walked to church, which was held on the parade ground of the third division. The drums were inverted upon the snow for a reading-desk; six regiments formed a square, the standards of each regiment being held slightly in advance; the clergyman, in thick snow-boots, with his surplice, and his head bared, impressively read the prayers; the soldiers stood round with their heads covered; the service lasted forty-six minutes; there was a great deal of shivering before it was finished, and scarcely had the Prayer-book been closed, when the sharp voice of the commanding officer formed each regiment five deep, and they rapidly moved off the ground in double-quick step, and by ten o'clock they had reached their huts. The hoarse sound of the guns and mortars of the Russians broke in every minute during the service—in sad contrast to the peaceful teachings of our beautiful Liturgy.

"We were engaged to dine at five, at Lieutenant M——'s hut, and it was seven miles to Balaklava. We mounted our horses, and soon got into the great highway. The thought never occurred to us of the extreme difficulty of getting up a genuine Christmas dinner; but if the reader could only have been transferred to that roadside for one short hour, and have observed the numerous equestrians galloping home in their uniforms, bearing upon the backs of their ponies all kinds of *comestibles* to make up their dinner, he would have had a full appreciation of the anxiety displayed to do honour to, and keep up the established and home-hallowed character of the day. Men were rushing wildly by with geese on their ponies, with vegetables, with boxes just arrived from England containing the plum-pudding from home—with preserved meat tins, with champagne bottles, and each had something across his saddle necessary to make up the recognised idea out here of a sumptuous entertainment. Nor were the soldiers forgotten, for, as we passed by camp after camp, the cheers of the men resounded through the air. The colonels and officers had shown the greatest desire to see that their regiments fared well on this day, and there was hardly one

mess-table in the Crimea that did not groan beneath plums and dough, mixed together with what culinary science I will not attempt to say."

Such were the efforts to be gay and home-like among our heroes of the camp around Sebastopol; but no one who has read the letters from men of every grade in the service to their friends and families can fail to see that the prevailing state of mind was one of tender, home memories. The author just quoted ends his description of the festive attempts by this sentence:—"The Russian guns kept up their incessant booming, and the missiles that sent death and destruction to so many brave fellows lay scattered about not far distant, for we were encamped at the very entrance to 'the Valley of Death.'"

The year closed without any remarkable event. A French detachment came unexpectedly upon a Cossack post, killing or capturing the Cossacks; this was the only enlivening incident of arms, for the frequent cannonade of the enemy was monotonous, and annoying to the mind as well as to the ear of the soldiers. On the 26th, General Codrington thus addressed the minister of war:—

"Notwithstanding the recent severe weather, the thermometer a few nights ago having fallen nearly to zero, the general state of health of the army has continued good. The roads are in fair working order, and though the efficiency of the locomotive engines was impaired by the frost, the damage has been made good.

"The final operations on the docks have been somewhat delayed on our side by the influx of water, and by the freezing of the pumps.

"The fire from the forts on the northern side of the harbour continues, and it is at times heavy; but the casualties, I am happy to say, are few.

"There has been no movement of importance on the part of the enemy in our neighbourhood of late. A detachment of French troops surprised a Cossack post near Teilion a few days ago, killing several men, and taking the rest prisoners.

"The general drill of the army makes good progress."

On the 27th General Codrington wrote:—

"Your lordship has referred in several despatches to drunkenness in this army. Reports of all sorts seem to have been circulated, statements read, descriptions made, until it was apparently believed that this army was composed of drunkards, and immersed in riot and vice. I took the opportunity of expressing myself strongly to your lordship that this would prove not to be the truth. I now state, in confirmation of this opinion, that returns are in

my possession from every regiment of all of drunkenness tried by court-martial, as as those settled at the regimental orderly room for three months.\* It was during this that arrears of field allowance, more than each man, were received as back pay, by 10,000 men receiving additional working, and yet the result is that, including artillery, sappers, and infantry, the number of crimes of drunkenness (and these are many more than men drunk) is a little above one man in days per company, estimated at 100 men. I doubt there are many facilities in all these and crowded camps for drunken men to go without being seen. They do so, and escape observation. But suppose we double or triple the amount of these numbers, which are taken from official returns, I suspect the army would bear a comparison with many towns, many villages, many populations of Great Britain. It is easy to give, it is as easy to read, a more ludicrous, or even a filthy description of a drunken man, and it seems seized upon as a type of the whole. The fathers and mothers and wives and sisters in England, are persuaded we do nothing but drink, and the good character of the army is forgotten in a few sketches from nature. That such need not be the case with those who know anything about the matter, will, I think, be proved by the statement now made to your lordship.

On the 31st, Lieutenant-general Vivian sent the following despatch to Lord Panmure, at Kertch:—

"I have with much regret to report to you the death of Captain R. S. Sherwood, of the cavalry of this force. This officer was engaged in a skirmish that took place on the 16th between a detachment of our cavalry and a party of Russian cavalry; his gallantry in the affair was most conspicuous, as is reported to me by the officer who commanded the detachment. Captain Sherwood was severely wounded and was carried off by the Russians, and, I have since learnt, died on the 19th from his wounds. I deplore his loss, for he was a intelligent and very promising young officer; I have reason to believe that the treatment he received from the Russians was most humane and considerate."

The last official paper for the year 1855 from the seat of war, was from Dr. Hall; an interesting paper, giving the reader a insight into both the physical and moral condition of the army to some extent. It appeared from this report that drunkenness was common and mischievous in the British army, more than General Codrington's despatch would lead its readers to believe. Mr. Russell's letter had complained of this besotment of the

\* For September, October, and November.

a soldier, and General Codrington was more cautious than discreet when the correspondents of the London press were concerned. He was therefore hasty to confute such representations. Mr. Russell had made, and did not take sufficient care to ascertain the correctness of his statement. Dr. Hall's report of the health of the army at the termination of 1855 was thus written:—

"I have the honour to report the weekly state of sick to the 29th instant. The health of the army continues very satisfactory; there is an absence of serious disease, and although the admissions under the heads 'chest affections' and 'frostbite' are numerous, it is satisfactory to know that the former are, for the most part, merely simple catarrhs, and the latter slight vesications of the fingers, toes, and tips of the ears. The few serious cases were all occasioned by exposure when unsheltered."

"The Land Transport Corps does not enjoy the same health that the troops do, and more than one-half of the deaths which have occurred during the week have taken place in that corps alone. Under the head of fever, one-third of the admissions and two-thirds of the deaths were in the Land Transport Corps—namely, sixty-five out of 182 admissions, and seven deaths out of fifteen, leaving only four in the whole army, which is as great an exemption from serious febrile disease as can well be expected."

"The diminution of bowel complaints in the army is equally remarkable; and here again three out of the seven deaths which occurred took place in the Land Transport Corps. It is difficult to account for this disparity of health between the corps and the military, as they are as well fed and clothed as the soldiers, and of late they have certainly not been overworked. Numbers of men have recently joined the corps; and as they get better organised, matters will doubtless improve. Nearly one-half of the force is composed of natives, not of the Crimea, but of Asia Minor and other places, and they bear the winter ill. The following abstract shows the admissions and deaths during the week, and those during the previous week:—

	This week.			Previous week.	
	Admitted.	Died.		Admitted.	Died.
Fever	182	15		173	16
Head affections	9	2		2	2
Chest ditto	279	0		221	1
Diarrhoea	117	3		204	4
Cholera	3	3		12	7
Dysentery	8	1		40	0
Rheumatism	44	2		58	1
Frost bites	98	0		269	1
Wounds and injuries	72	4		48	6
Ophthalmia	37	0		22	0
Other diseases	425	6		374	2
Total	1274	36		1423	40

Having arrived in our narrative at the close of the year, opportunity may be taken to notice an alleged error in our account of the conflict in the trenches on the 22nd of March. Our readers will remember that we animadverted upon the liability of English troops to be attacked by the enemy in unguarded moments, and to be imposed upon by some *ruse* that was transparent. On that occasion all the accounts to which we had access described the Russians as obtaining an entrance to the English trenches by pretending they were French, and uttering the clumsy phrase *bono Francez* to effect the imposition. It will be remembered that the 34th regiment distinguished itself on that occasion by extraordinary gallantry—a gallantry not surpassed throughout the war. An officer of that intrepid corps, present on the occasion, wrote assuring us that the Russian phrase above quoted did not impose upon the men, who repelled the attack as promptly as its suddenness allowed, regardless of the *ruse* attempted, or the awkward means by which it was supported. The following letter to the author, from the same officer, will throw additional light upon the events of that night:—

"DEAR SIR,—I perfectly understand the difficulty you must have had, to give anything like a correct account of what occurred in the trenches on the 22nd of March, 1855, as, although present, and within only a few hundred yards off when the first attacks were made, yet, in consequence of the darkness and wind, I am totally unable to give any correct account of it; and it is only the attack led by the Albanian, as I stated in my last letter, that I can answer for. This attack was about twelve o'clock, and the last the Russians made. Immediately that Colonel Tylden, R.E., perceived that the Russians had succeeded in entering the trenches, he collected the working-parties of the 7th and 34th, and, in company with Captain Brown, proceeded to the Mortar Battery, and drove the Russians before them, till they made a stand for some minutes at the first traverse, and here it was that Captain Brown was shot by the Albanian, and fell to the rear; but then thinking that the men were being driven back by the Russians, in spite of being severely wounded, he again rushed to the front, and led on the men, and fell mortally wounded, with no less than five bayonet wounds, and the men then regularly pitched the Russians over the parapet with their bayonets, and which concluded the fighting of that night. With regard to my last letter, concerning the sentinels having been taken in by the Russians answering '*Bono Francez*,' and their want of vigilance and soldierly alertness, you are quite at liberty to make what use you

please of it; but I should of course much prefer that my name should not appear in print."

It is suitable at the period of the struggle to which our narrative has now brought us, to offer a brief general review of events up to this period, especially as at the close of the year those negotiations for peace were opened, which resulted in a treaty a few months later. It cannot but be admitted that throughout the year and throughout the war, so far Russia had put forth prodigious exertions; but instead of this exciting surprise, the like ought to have been expected, from the long preparation which she had been making for such a war. It is not, however, generally known that, but for the peccolion of her people and officials, the Russian resources for the war would have been much greater, and more easily made available. The Russian system of commissariat and of public works is such, that in garrisons, fortresses, or campaigns, the power of the empire is abridged, and the resources wasted. All public works, civil and military, proceed in a constant struggle of speculators and robbers. We believe that the chief cause of the emperor being anxious to terminate the conflict was, the cost it imposed upon every state department. No Englishman who has not been in Russia could form an idea of the robbery and extortion, in every form, by which public works, contracts, and engineering of all kinds are beset. This, of course, dries up the sinews of war in times of peace, and impedes the progress of every work bearing upon war in time of actual conflict. We may observe, *en passant*, that this fact should deter Englishmen from investing their money in enterprises upon Russian soil, which are ostensibly industrial, and to abstain from loans, purchase of stock, contracts, civil or military, in Russia.

The Russian government has found it necessary to guard itself against the speculations of its engineers, and the contractors employed to carry out engineering and architectural works, by every means that the fullest consideration could suggest. The most important step to effect this has been the adoption of a form of regulations, called in Russian, *ourochnaya polozhenie* (meaning task-table), of quantities of materials and men required to perform any given quantity of work, in masonry, carpentry, painting, glazing, lime-burning, brick-making, stone-quarrying, earth-work, turf-cutting, and conveying materials, by carts, barrows, or on men's backs. In consequence of the existence of this work, the most conscientious person is deprived of the power (however much he may wish to serve the government) of reducing the high estimates that are generally made for all government works required to be constructed; and even where, by the consent of people in

authority, an opportunity has been afforded of making estimates, without keeping to the task-table, the object in view has been completely thwarted in another way; for while the quantities are decided by the infallible task-table the prices are fixed by the local civil authorities, consisting of a mayor and corporation, several of whom are appointed valuers of oath, with the understanding that if they fix the price lower than the articles can be obtained when required, they are bound to procure them themselves at the price named. Nothing can be more useless than a regulation of this kind, as it affords them an opportunity of obliging favourites by naming prices unusually high, and has no control over them, supposing they should ever happen to fix the price too low, as they have been known to do, when questioned concerning their valuations, that their prices refer to the day of their valuation. Most estimates are generally doubled by such a system of valuation, and contractors having this in view, frequently take government works at less than half the value estimated. At other times, one contractor buys off all the rest, and gets the building at a trifle under the estimate, by which he would make 10 per cent., if it were not for the sums he has to pay to other contractors, and the bribe to the authorities; so that the government loses by such a transaction an amount equivalent to the real cost of the building. Where needy contractors cannot get a contract at a remunerative price, they frequently throw up the respectable bidders by taking it at a losing price. In doing this they depend upon some alteration being made in the project during the progress of the work, in which case they make no objection at the time, but sue the authorities afterwards, when, with a little judicious bribery, they succeed in getting sufficient overcharge to remunerate them in every way. In such means, men that have been considered bankrupts for years, continue to take contracts, and at length, by some fortunate undertaking, emerge from their state of bankruptcy. To the officer appointed to superintend the construction of works by government means, the task-table is handed; for in sending in his monthly accounts, he must be guided by it. To do this he notices how much of the building has been executed; he then shows, as expended, the exact amount required by the task-table, without any regard to the quantities really used. As the task-table always allows of a superfluity, this becomes the perquisite of the district officer, except, as is frequently the case, all the members of a community of engineers agree to divide the spoil, when the surplus gain is put into the (*obschie krooshki*) cup of the community.

Such is a true picture of the obstructions

which the corruption of the Russian people offer to the efficiency of all industrial undertakings, for peace or war, and which must properly enter into our calculations when opposed to that power.

Reviewing our own progress, success had comparatively attended our arms; but our successes had not been unattended with faults, and some disasters. The Russians, expelled from the Danubian provinces in 1854, had been invaded in turn; but as a set-off they were still invaders upon another province of Turkish territory in Asia. For every mile of Russian ground yielded by the allies, the Russians held a mile of Turkish territory as a counterpoise. The most prominent field of conflict had been the Crimea. There the armies of the czar had severely suffered; whatever cold, or hunger, or fatigue, was experienced by our soldiers, the enemy suffered the like with terrible aggravation: the loss in men to the Russians in the Crimea had been three to every one lost by the allies. Southern Sebastopol had fallen; Kertch and Kinburn had suffered the same fate. At Eupatoria the allies threatened the Russian army of the Crimea in flank, and were in a good strategical position, whence to march upon Simpheropol, and ultimately upon Perekop, might be practicable. The Liman of the Dniester was in the hands of the allies, and all the salient points upon the Sea of Azoff. The great Russian Black Sea fleet was no more. The loss of material to the enemy was enormous. At Odessa, property, private and public, suffered to a vast extent under the bombardment; in the Euxine and Sea of Azoff havoc had been made of nearly the whole Russian commercial marine; at Sebastopol, cannon, powder, military stores, docks, and public buildings had been consigned to ruin; along the whole of the coasts of the Sea of Azoff, great stores of grain had been destroyed, barracks, boats, granaries, buildings, and private buildings, had been subjected to bombardment and fire. There is no estimating the Russian losses as to material—they were overwhelming. Still the czar had not lost the Crimea. Northern Sebastopol was stronger than Southern Sebastopol had been; the McKenzie Heights were fortified most skilfully, the grand Russian intrenched camp was formed by prodigious labour, and with thorough military skill; Perekop was a mass of fortifications; the Spit of Arabat was but partially commanded by the allies; the allied troops at Kertch were literally hemmed in by a superior Russian force. Notwithstanding the destruction of provisions and *matériel* of war, the Russian camps and strongholds in the Crimea and neighbourhood were provided with supplies. Nicolaieff had been fortified, and still fortifications were added, so as to make it a

second Sebastopol. An embryo navy was in its docks, from which, in a very short time, a naval squadron could issue forth, if the war were over, far superior to anything Turkey and Egypt could send into the Euxine for a quarter of a century to come. Odessa, the grand depot of Russian supplies, was allowed to stand, and to feed from its vast stores the army of the czar. In Asia Minor, Omar Pasha, at the head of an ill-clad and starving army, was in winter-quarters on the coast, which he might as well have never left. The Russian general, Mouravieff, although he had not conquered Turkish Armenia, the protracted resistance of Kars having impeded his progress, yet that city, with its noble garrison, had submitted, Lord Stratford having, to use his own favourite cant phrase, “left them to Providence.” The wild tribes of Asia Minor were awed by these successes, although the battle of Kars had humbled Russia throughout the East. Persia once more truckled to the czar; the ambassador of the shah was a popular man at St. Petersburg. In the Baltic the fall of Bomarsund and the bombardment of Sweaborg had seriously stricken Russia; but the latter, with much show of reason, she claimed as a victory. The British Admiralty had proved itself unfit to organise a fleet; gross ignorance prevailed at its board. The alliance of the Scandinavian states checked the power of Russia; but she almost preserved unscathed her Baltic fleet. It could not be lost sight of that peace was not probable, until, at least, another campaign altered the aspect of affairs. As to its future character, it was not likely to be (at all events, in the usual sense of the term) a naval war. Ships and gun-boats must be employed (the latter had already performed good service at Odessa, Kinburn, Kertch, and Sweaborg), and should the war continue, the summer of 1856 would necessarily witness the severest contests ever carried on by ships against stone; but still the war never could become naval: no fleets would meet in the grand array of maritime conflict, as in the days of St. Vincent and Nelson. It would be a war of armies, in which the rifle and cannon would play the most conspicuous part. Whatever glory was won by the English name during 1855, as to generalship and the genius of her chief commanders for war, was achieved amidst treachery and starvation by William Fenwick Williams at Kars. Everywhere that British soldiers fought they did all that soldiers could do, and were surpassed by their officers in the competition of desperate valour, and in many instances British general regimental officers distinguished themselves by skill as well as daring; but among the chief commanders one only gained an illustrious reputation—the “hero of Kars.” Thus closed the struggle of arms for the year 1855.

## CHAPTER CXVIII.

HOME EVENTS BEARING UPON THE WAR DURING THE CONCLUDING MONTHS OF 1855.—INITIATION OF A NEW COALITION BY DISRAELI.—RECEPTION OF THE IMPERIAL GUARDS, AND OTHER TROOPS, ON THEIR RETURN TO FRANCE FROM THE CRIMEA.—VISITS OF THE KING OF SARDINIA TO NAPOLEON III. AND QUEEN VICTORIA.

"Without party we can have no liberty; without liberty, life is not worth possessing."—  
SIR WILLIAM FENWICK WILLIAMS, BART., OF KARS.

AFTER the autumnal prorogation of parliament, and more especially after her majesty's return from France, party politics ran high in England. The indications afforded by the Tory leader in the Commons of a desire to coalesce with the Peelites and the Manchester school (a coalition which was ultimately accomplished for the purposes of opposition after the war terminated\*) gave great offence to the country, was received coldly by the Conservative party, and opposed by some of its most prominent men. The conduct of the Tory leader of opposition was warmly denounced, even by men who had no favour for Lord Palmerston's government. It was not a time in which the truth of public men was very conspicuous, either in Britain or abroad; but no politician had a greater contempt for it than Mr. Disraeli. He never went out of his way to sacrifice it, as Sir James Graham did, who often prefers its opposite, where veracity would have served him as well. He never set up an ingenious and jesuitical prevarication, nor pleaded for "non-natural" acceptations and meanings, of doctrines and terms, like the member for the Oxford University. Mr. Gladstone was sincerely jesuitical, his metaphysical and logical subtleties mystified his own mind. He believed that truth was only to be got at by a roundabout, such as Mr. Newman or Dr. Pusey used to adopt in interpreting the thirty-nine articles. It was this solemn sincerity, together with a much superior knowledge of economics, which gave Mr. Gladstone the victory in the great prize-ring of the House of Commons, when the financial plans of Mr. Disraeli had on a former occasion been subjected to the criticism of his rival. Disraeli would not take the trouble to profess a metaphysical hypocrisy, or humbug himself into the belief of any creed, religious or political, or any dogma or doctrines whatsoever. We don't think he would alter a despatch, or open letters, or betray refugees to foreign courts, simply because such things would be ungentelemanly; that sort of work was only fit for such men as Sir J. Graham. We do not think even that Mr. Disraeli would follow the example of Earl Grey, in denying the receipt of despatches which

were actually in his possession, and the contents of which he knew. He would prefer an ingenious evasion of their consequences, or making them a pretext for attack upon those who fancied them a good ground for attacking him. He is too bold a man to practice such dishonest shifts as Lord Grey or Sir James resorted to. So entire is his contempt for principle, that he would in no form render it the homage which vice is said always to render to virtue. It is not in his opinion worth while to cover the abandonment of a principle with a plausible pretext. He abandoned or adopted what others called principles, as matters of policy, and vehemently dashed the *tu quoque* in any one's face who impugned his conduct. His mode of procedure resembled that of a statesman to whom he had no other resemblance whatever—Lord John Russell. Lord John, for instance, turned out the Peel ministry on "the appropriation clause," declaring it necessary to the peace and good government of Ireland; and then, in office, carried Sir Robert's own measures without the clause which he had so recently declared to be essential. Lord John stirred up all England on the ground of the assumption of ecclesiastical titles by the pope's bishops, and when he secured a political turn by it, he quietly connived at the undisturbed use of these dignified designations. He declared the war with Russia to be just, on the ground that Turkey could only be safe by the annihilation of Russian power in the Black Sea; he then went to Vienna, and negotiated peace on the principle of compromising what before he had affirmed to be a *sine quâ non* coming back again, he denounced the possession, by Russia, of what he had himself been covertly endeavouring to secure her! This is just the game Disraeli used to play at, without any of the pompous moral assumption of the Viennese negotiator. Accordingly we find the tutelary leader of the Commons at his old tricks of setting aside, with unblushing effrontery everything and anything he had said before, for a present political object. He had denounced coalitions, as in their own nature corrupt and impolitic; the Derbyite organs, the *Standard* and *Herald* (no doubt sincerely as well as ably upheld him in such a course; yet the eloquent tergiversator afterwards coquetted for a couple of months with the Gladstonites for a new coalition! There were few more eloquent

\* The history of this transaction, and the series of events which led to it, may be seen by the reader in the continuation of Hume and Smollett's *History of England*, by the author of this work.

invectives uttered against the mode in which the Aberdeenites carried on the war than those of Disraeli. With the exception of those of Lord Lyndhurst and Lord Derby, there were no more powerful declamations against any compromise of the ostensible objects of this war than those of the great "British Caucasian;" yet he afterwards strained every nerve to secure the relics of the Aberdeen government in co-operation with him in a grand parliamentary move to put out Lord Palmerston, on the ground that his ministry was too warlike! That any one could be found impudent enough to take up such a course, in a country where some decent deference to principle is demanded, is wonderful: but "Coningsby cares for none of these things." Palmerston was in, and he was out; and Palmerston was likely to stay in, as the ablest exponent of the war-feeling and opinion of the country. There was no chance of the opposition leader becoming leader of the right-hand benches, unless upon this war policy Palmerston was beaten. To attack the sagacious viscount on the ground of his incompetency would have been hopeless; the peace principle must, therefore, become the Disraeli hobby for the next session, if the Manchester school and the dregs of the Peelites could be collected around him. To obtain power, *per fas et nefas*, was the object of the ambitious and unprincipled leader of his party. Happily, they would not follow. Sir Bulwer Lytton sounded the alarm; he would not place himself on a moral level with this new exemplar of the notable line—

"And to party give up what was meant for mankind."

After the statesman-like, eloquent orations of Lord Derby, in favour of a vigorous prosecution of the war, on the very principles and in the mode in which Lord Palmerston conducted it, he could hardly, it was believed, so blot his escutcheon, as to sanction this last profligate move of the great political harlequin of "the house." The party refused to follow such leading, and be thus dishonoured; but Disraeli did not give up the game, he only deferred it until a more promising opportunity.

However varied and important the incidents of French and English history during the autumn of 1855, they did not bear so directly upon the war as to make a relation of them suitable to these pages. November and December witnessed, in both countries, events which had a direct and ostensible connection with the struggle. On the 1st of November the French emperor put forth a decree, conferring, or confirming, the promotion of fifty-seven non-commissioned officers of the army of the East to the rank of commissioned officers. One thousand two hundred and eighty-four special medals were sent for distribution

to the Crimea, and 572 of the heroes of France were exalted to the rank of knights of the Legion of Honour. The decree gave great satisfaction to the people, whose military pride, devotion, and genius it flattered. This measure was followed by another which was satisfactory to the army, and which the large number of troops at the disposal of the emperor enabled him to effect—an exchange of regiments, relieving a certain number of those on duty in the Crimea, and enabling those at home to display their ardour for the public service. The Imperial Guard, and certain other portions of the army were, according to this arrangement, ordered home. Great preparations were made in France, especially in Paris, to give them a triumphal welcome. Before that opportunity was afforded, another event exciting to the popular feeling of France occurred—a visit from the King of Sardinia to the emperor.

The visit of Victor Emanuel was well known to be in the interests of the alliance, but at the same time prompted by the aspect which affairs began to take between the allies and Russia, through the officiousness of Austria. The Sardinian court perceived that Austria was desirous of bringing on a peace that she might herself take advantage of "the situation," and therefore determined to cement the alliance between the court of Savoy and the courts of France and England; or at all events to sound their intentions towards Sardinia, as her interests might be affected by a closer alliance of the Western powers with Austria. It was hoped also by the Sardinian cabinet that such a demonstration of good-will would be made by the French and English people, particularly the latter, as would give a decided tone to the friendship professed by their governments for the only free Italian state. The policy of this movement was attributed to Count Cavour, but by whomsoever originated it was wise, and crowned by complete success. The *Piémonte*, a Sardinian journal reputed to be semi-official (at least, so the Vienna press represented it), declared that the visit of Victor Emanuel was not to form any new treaty, nor for any real or ostensible political business, but nevertheless it had a political signification, and was intended at once as a demonstration of the policy of Sardinia, and as a means of evoking the feeling of the Western governments and peoples. Perhaps ambition had some part in the breast of the royal tourist upon this occasion, for the *Piémonte* ended an article on the subject of his journey by the significant declaration:—"Italy and her future destinies will be solemnly honoured in his person, in the face of all Europe."

On the 20th of November his Sardinian majesty left Turin for Genoa. His departure

was regarded with deep interest by the citizens of the metropolis, who offered to his majesty every token of respect which might be expected from their well-known good taste, loyalty, and patriotism. At Genoa, the debarkation of the sovereign was regarded with deep interest by all classes, and by foreigners, who, in so large a proportion, reside in that far-famed city. Prayers and blessings followed the sovereign, and he had reason to be proud of the devotion of his people. He set sail in the *Carlo Alberto* frigate, and on the 22nd arrived in the port of Marseilles. The frigate and the forts exchanged salutes, which circumstance gave the signal for the people and officials of Marseilles to throng forth to honour the royal guest. He landed, dressed in the uniform of the royal regiment of Sardinian Hussars: the prefect and the general commanding the garrison received him with the formalities usual on such occasions; the people with respect and enthusiasm. The crowd remained uncovered while the staff passed along the lines, and loud *vivas* greeted his approach; the ships in the harbour were covered with flags, and many also floated from the windows of the principal streets of the city. Notwithstanding the satisfaction which so hospitable a reception must have afforded his majesty, that of his own subjects resident in Marseilles, where they were numerous, must have been much more so. They thronged around his carriage, and offered the warmest tributes of devoted loyalty which the occasion permitted. His majesty left the same day for Paris, visiting Lyons *en route*, where his reception was equally agreeable to him and to his nation. On the 23rd he arrived in Paris. At the station of the Lyons railway, he passed under a gay profusion of Sardinian, French, British, and Turkish flags, arranged with that artistic faculty which in so high a degree characterises our Parisian neighbours. The decorations of the waiting-room and its approaches were truly elegant, especially a canopy of crimson velvet, fringed with gold, over the door of the waiting-room. The Imperial Guards and the Cent Guards (the latter a cavalry escort employed on all state occasions), and seven of the imperial carriages, were ready to conduct his majesty and suite to the Palace of the Tuileries. As soon as his majesty alighted at the railway terminus, Prince Napoleon received him, while the band of the Guides played the "*Marche de Savoie*." As the *cortège* proceeded to the Tuileries, the eagerness of the multitudes to get a glimpse at his majesty was manifested, and acclamations hearty and continuous resounded along the line of his progress. At the foot of the grand staircase of the palace he was received by the emperor, and, at the top of the staircase, the empress and her suite awaited him. Apart-

ments had been prepared for him at the Pavillon Marsan, whither he retired after his reception. The king remained six days in Paris, where festivities and entertainments of various descriptions, in the elegant and hospitable style always maintained by Frenchmen, did him honour. On the evening of the 29th of November, he left for London.

Before noticing his reception in England, the reader's attention will be directed to the only notable incident bearing upon the war, at all events unconnected with diplomacy, which occurred during the remainder of the year, and which closed it with a peculiar fitness. The 29th of December was appointed for the public entry into Paris of the Imperial Guards, and the other troops recently arrived from the Crimea. Perhaps on no occasion—not even that of the visit of Queen Victoria—had Paris witnessed such vast multitudes in her streets during the generation then living. The efforts of the inhabitants were put forth with spontaneity and taste to grace the line of the procession. Flags waved, and drapery floated from balconies and arches, and the windows were filled with the beauty, fashion, and gaiety of Paris. Two triumphal arches were erected by the order of government, one on the Place de la Bastille, and the other near the Porte St. Martin. On the frieze of the former were inscribed, "*A la gloire de l'Armée de l'Orient!*" A shield, surrounded with military insignia, bore, in gilt letters, the word "Sebastopol;" the imperial arms, beneath a canopy of standards, surmounted this arch. The sides were decorated with large, gilt, spread eagles. Two gilt statues, intended to represent Victory, holding in their hands crowns of laurel, were placed by the façades of the monument. The names of the different *corps d'armée* appeared upon the frieze. A bas-relief adorned the arch, which was intended to emblemize the Genius of France, and the Muse of History. Battles gained over the Russians were recorded on the sides. In front of these decorations, four poles of great elevation were placed, and from their tops oriflammes floated.

At half-past eleven o'clock the emperor left the Tuileries, accompanied by the Prince Napoleon, Marshals Vaillant, Baraguay d'Hilliers, and General Canrobert. A brilliant staff attended his majesty. The troops who were to make their triumphal entry were marched to the Place de la Bastille, where they were met by the emperor and his suite. The appearance presented by the heroes of the Crimea was such as could not fail to excite emotion among any people; and the French have a taste too military, and a sensibility for military glory too acute, not to have been deeply impressed with the aspect of those weather-beaten and war-stained soldiers. The uniforms of the



VICTOR EMANUEL III.

*King of Sardinia*



men were faded, their flags in tatters, the eagles perforated or broken; the visages of officers and men bore scars, some were maimed, and all betrayed, by their bearing and bronzed countenances, that they had incurred the privations, toils, and dangers of the camp, the bivouac, the siege, and the battle. The excitement of the people was boundless when the emperor, mounted on a beautiful bay charger, rode along the lines, and placed himself at the head of his scarred but unconquered heroes. His majesty stood by the statue of July, 1830, and there addressed the troops in a clear, distinct voice, the modulations of which were skillfully adapted to the situation and the audience. The capacity of catching his voice properly in a very large assembly had been strikingly shown by the emperor on the 15th of November, when delivering his speech at the close of the great Paris Exhibition, but, in the present instance, he proved himself still more signally to be the possessor of this power. The following was his address to the troops:—

“SOLDIERS,—I have come to meet you as on other times the Roman Senate went to the gates of Rome to meet her victorious legions. I have come to tell you that you have deserved well of your country.

“My emotion is great: for with the happiness I feel at again seeing you are mingled painful regrets for those who are no more, and deep sorrow that I could not myself lead you on to battle.

“Soldiers of the Guard, and soldiers of the line, I bid you welcome.

“You all represent that army of the East whose courage and whose perseverance have invested with new lustre our eagles, and won for France the rank which is her due.

“The country, alive to all that is accomplished in the East, receives you with all the greater pride, that she estimates our efforts by the obstinate resistance of the enemy.

“I have recalled you, though the war be not terminated, because it is only just to reserve, in their turn, the regiments that have suffered most. Each will thus be able to take its share in glory; and the country, which maintains 600,000 soldiers, has an interest in maintaining in France a numerous and experienced army ready to march wheresoever necessity may require. Preserve, then, carefully the habits of war, and fortify yourselves in the experience you have already acquired. Hold yourselves in readiness to respond, if I need be, to my appeal; but yet, on this day, forget the hardships of a soldier's life, return thanks to God for having spared you, and march proudly in the midst of your brethren

in arms and your fellow-citizens whose acclamations await you.”

The speech of the emperor was received by the troops with acclamations. His majesty then proceeded to the Place Vendôme, where the veterans were to defile. Thither they followed in heavy marching order; the wounded were in undress uniform, and marched immediately after the bands of the corps to which they belonged. It was a spectacle to command sympathy; and “fair women and brave men,” from every window, balcony, and platform, waved kerchief or hat as these pale and stricken companies advanced. Marshal Magнан was in command of the returned troops. General Mellinet was an object of especial notice, as he bore upon his countenance a deep scar, which the public knew he had received on the ever-memorable 8th of September. Brigadier-general Cler, who fought so well at the battle of the Tchernaya and in many other encounters, was also an object of much interest. General Canrobert rode at the head of the division, and was received with vociferous *vivas* by the multitude. At two o'clock the defile was over, the empress re-entered her carriage, and, the emperor riding by its side, they returned to the Tuileries, the crowd making the air ring with cries of “*Vive l'empereur!*” “*Vive l'imperatrice!*” In the evening the boulevards and public buildings were brilliantly illuminated, and the streets were filled with exulting multitudes. The eagerness of all classes to bestow some kindness on the soldiers was very great.

An incident occurred during the procession which was very characteristic of French taste and feeling; the populace afterwards talked of it with great gusto. A little drummer boy, who had beaten his drum in several of the Crimean actions, although only ten or eleven years of age, advanced to the emperor, and presented him with a bouquet of violets; his majesty desired the little fellow to take it to the empress. Thither he was conducted; her majesty received the present, and caressed the child, who was so excited by the honour conferred upon him, that he could not for some time cease to exclaim, “Her majesty embraced me!” Thus terminated one of those military pageants in which France, elated with her glory, so much delights.

The King of Sardinia left Paris for England, *via* Calais, on the 29th of November. His reception at Calais was warm, and his stay short. The British steamer *Vivid*, and the yachts *Firefly* and *Osborne*, awaited him. His majesty, accompanied by Count Cavour, and attended by the following suite, went on board, and set sail for England:—The Duke Pasqua, prefect of the palace; Baron Nigra,

superintendent of the king's household; Major-general Count Morozzo de la Rocca, first aide-de-camp of the king; Major-general Marquis d'Angrogna, aide-de-camp of the king; Major-general Chevalier Carderina, aide-de-camp of the king; Count Cigala, colonel of cavalry; the Chevalier Persano, captain of the navy, commander of the port of Genoa; Count de Robillant, captain of artillery, officer of ordnance of the king; Count Valperga Barone, officer of ordnance of the king; and Professor Riberi, first physician of the king. At half-past seven o'clock on the morning of the 30th the little squadron reached Dover; the *Blenheim* (a line-of-battle ship) fired a royal salute, and the Drop Redoubt, on the heights, discharged a salvo of artillery. The troops, consisting of the Lincolnshire Militia and the Swiss Legion, were drawn out as a guard of honour for his majesty. General Grey, Lord Byron, Lord Chelsea, Mr. Rice, M.P. for Dover, the naval and military authorities, the mayor and chief citizens, were in attendance, with the Sardinian minister and his secretary, Baron Marochetti (better known by his eminence in sculpture). His majesty proceeded to the Ship Hotel, where the mayor and corporation waited upon him. Mr. Bodkin, the recorder, presented him with an address. The reply of his majesty was delivered through the Sardinian minister. As the first public words addressed by the king to the English people, they are worthy of record:—

“GENTLEMEN,—You are the first who have offered to me, on landing on the hospitable soil of England, words of congratulation and of welcome. Those words are more highly appreciated by me on that account; and I am most happy to receive through you the first marks of sympathy at the moment I am realising a wish long entertained by me of visiting the sovereign of this great country. The expressions you have adopted in pronouncing a eulogium on the Sardinian army in the Crimea are most grateful to my ears, and I am sure the approbation of the countrymen of those who combated so well at Alma and Inkerman will be highly valued by our soldiers. I accept the expression of your good wishes as a happy omen of my journey, and I beg that you will convey to your fellow-citizens, whom you represent, my most sincere sentiments of gratitude.”

At ten o'clock his majesty left for London, and reached the Bricklayers' Arms station soon after twelve o'clock, where Prince Albert and an escort of cavalry awaited him. The Lord Mayor of London and the sheriffs, with many military officers of distinction, were presented to his majesty at the station. The

royal carriages conducted the party to the railway station at Paddington. The morning was piercingly cold, and the carriage in which his majesty was seated was an open one, yet the king persisted for some time in sitting uncovered, but the prince succeeded in inducing him to put on his hat, and to wrap himself in a warm fur coat; he looked pale, and traces of both sickness and care were on his countenance. His reception by the people must have been gratifying to him in the extreme, for it could not have been more cordial. The day was clear as cold; and all the profusion of decoration to be seen in western London on occasions of public pageant, met the eye of the visitor. The journey by railway from Paddington to Windsor was rapidly performed. The queen received her royal guest at the grand entrance of the castle. In the afternoon he accompanied her majesty on a visit to her royal mother's residence at Frogmore. At half-past four the Lord Mayor and sheriffs of London arrived at the castle to pay their respects, and invite his majesty to visit the city. A grand dinner-party in St. George's Hall closed the occupations of the day. On the following day the king visited Woolwich, inspected the Arsenal and Dockyard, and reviewed the artillery of the common. The next day being Sunday, his majesty and suite attended worship in the Sardinian Chapel, Lincoln's Inn Fields. Cardinal Wiseman received him there. On Monday the king went to Portsmouth to inspect the dockyard and the fleet at Spithead. Six hundred marines, who had only arrived from the Crimea two days before, were drawn up to honour the royal suite. These bearded war-worn veterans attracted the king's notice greatly, who seemed to gaze on them with most profound interest. The naval display also deeply impressed him, so large a fleet having never before been seen by his majesty. One incident more than any other afforded pleasure to all present, British and Sardinians. A visit was paid to the new screw steamship *Repubblica*, 91 guns, which much pleased his majesty. Prince Albert gracefully told the first lord of the Admiralty, as they retired, that it was his majesty's pleasure that the ship should henceforth bear the name of *Victor Emanuel I.* Vice-admiral Sir Thomas Cochrane, the mayor of Portsmouth, on behalf of the corporation presented to the king an address, and received a gracious reply. During his majesty's stay in England most of the principal cities sent deputations and addresses.

On the 4th of December he left Windsor and arrived early at Buckingham Palace, where various addresses were presented to him by civil and ecclesiastical bodies. Among these some were of a very peculiar character. The first from the Protestant dissenting deputies of “the

three denominations"—Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist—in and around London was very striking, and the reply of his majesty by his ambassador still more so.

*Address of the Protestant dissenting ministers to the King of Sardinia.*

"To His Majesty Victor Emanuel II., King of Sardinia.

"May it please your majesty,—The general body of Protestant dissenting ministers of the three denominations (Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist), residing in and around the cities of London and Westminster,—a body from its earliest origin identified with the maintenance and progress of religious liberty, and enjoying the privilege of admission to the residence of the successive sovereigns of these realms,—hail the visit of your majesty to this metropolis as the honoured guest and ally of our sovereign, Her Majesty Queen Victoria, and regard it as an assurance of continued amity and the free intercourse of the people of both nations in promoting commerce, liberty, and the best interests of society.

"We have been warmly interested in the recent history of the kingdom over which your majesty has been called to reign. To Italy, her kingdoms and republics, has the civilised world looked as the early homes of learning, refinement, and liberty; but Sardinia, under our majesty's reign, has alone generously responded to the expectations and necessities of the times. Her people and her rulers have, with a calm moderation, sought her prosperity. The establishment and administration of constitutional government, the recognition of the independence of the churches of the Waldenses, and of the freedom of conscience and worship of all your subjects,—the emancipation of our people from the wide-spread influence of monastic establishments, and the maintenance of civil government unrestricted by ecclesiastical domination,—have been regarded by the members of this body as auguries of the highest good for all Italy and Europe; and they would thus express their admiration and gratitude for the noble and persevering adherence to the principles of liberty evinced by your majesty.

"We have not been unmoved by the severe afflictions which, under the providence of a gracious God, your majesty has been called to endure, and our prayer is that prolonged life may be granted to your majesty, for the welfare of your people and the prosperity of your kingdom—that your majesty's reign may be prosperous—and that your heart may be cheered by the purest consolations of true religion as revealed in the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ.

"Signed, by order and on behalf of the

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general body, this 3rd day of December, 1855.

"J. HOWARD HINTON, M.A., *Chairman.*

"JOHN KENNEDY, M.A., *Secretary.*"

*Reply of the Sardinian Ambassador to the Chairman of the general body of Dissenting Ministers, &c.*

"MR. CHAIRMAN,—In granting to his states constitutional government, King Charles Albert intended to establish the perfect equality and the civil emancipation of all religious professions.

"His successor has worthily followed his example. I am satisfied, consequently, that I convey to you the sentiments of the king in thanking you for the congratulations and good wishes which you have addressed to him on the occasion of his visit to England; and I am confident that it is with great satisfaction that his majesty has seen the course of impartial toleration which, from the commencement of his reign, he has proposed to himself, so perfectly approved by the public opinion of this country.

"Be pleased to accept, Mr. Chairman, the assurance of my high consideration.

"MARQUIS D'AZEGLIO,

*"The Minister of Sardinia."*

The lord provost of Edinburgh presented an address, as the representative of that community. For bad taste, impolicy, and sectarian folly, this composition could scarcely be exceeded; it drew from his majesty a just and indignant rebuke. They are documents too remarkable to exclude from any history of those events. The address was as follows:—

"In common with the enlightened millions of Europe and of the civilised world, we have contemplated with admiration the magnanimous efforts made by your majesty to establish the great blessings of civil and religious liberty in your own dominions. In particular, as Scotchmen, we cannot fail to regard with peculiar interest and satisfaction the freedom of worship so fully accorded to our brethren of the Waldensian Church—a freedom which we fondly trust will be extended to all your majesty's subjects; and we are convinced that the blessings thus extended to them will be returned a thousand-fold in the increasing temporal and spiritual prosperity of your majesty's dominions. From the past history of the world, we were quite prepared for the kind of resistance to which your majesty's enlightened efforts would be exposed; and the mimic thunders of the Vatican did not in the least take us by surprise. But, holding as we do, that every kingdom is entitled to the exclusive

management of its own internal affairs, and to repudiate all interference from without, we could not contemplate without admiration the merited contempt with which your majesty treated an uncalled-for effort to arrest the progress of improvement on the part of a power whose right to dictate in such a matter is not only unfounded but preposterous. Your majesty may find abundant encouragement to pursue your noble course in the approval of your own conscience—in the support of a brave people—in the enlightened public opinion of Europe—and in the certainty that ‘the curse, causeless, shall not come.’

“Your majesty is now cordially welcomed to a land whose rulers and inhabitants have passed through precisely similar struggles to those in which Sardinia is now engaged, and which has prospered just in proportion as those struggles have been successful. Great Britain has risen from comparative insignificance to occupy the foremost rank amongst the nations of the earth, in consequence of the blessing of the Most High upon the energy of our ancestors in throwing off the yoke of ignorance and superstition, establishing civil and religious liberty, introducing an open Bible, and the universal preaching of the glorious Gospel of the grace of God. All this has been done, also, in opposition to the strenuous resistance and hearty denunciations of the same papal power. Our monarchs, too, have been excommunicated, and those excommunications have never been withdrawn. But ample experience has proved, not only that they are utterly powerless for evil, but that the blessing of God has descended upon Britain just in proportion as, by her fidelity to truth and liberty, she has been found worthy of the curses of the pope.

“We earnestly trust that our own rulers will learn an important lesson, in reference to the unaltered intolerance of the papal system, by the presence of your majesty among them; and that the measures of improvement, so happily introduced into Italy under your majesty’s prosperous reign, may not only be maintained and extended, but may spread until the whole Italian peninsula has been restored to the possession of the same privileges in which your majesty’s subjects so happily rejoice.

“Signed in name, and by appointment of this meeting, this 3rd day of December, 1855, by

“JOHN MELVILLE, *Lord Provost.*”

When it is remembered that the King of Sardinia is a Roman Catholic, and that nine-tenths of his people are of that communion, the impropriety of such an address is at once obvious. Its impolicy was also clear; for had his majesty passed over without some expres-

sion of disapproval the attack upon the Church of Rome, which, whether true or otherwise, was not called for on such an occasion, would have involved his kingdom and him in political trouble, and fierce ecclesiastical agitation would have raged through his dominions. As it was, advantage was taken of the occurrence, and the press of Italy, Austria, Belgium, Spain, and Portugal, in the Roman Catholic interest, poured forth columns of fierce invective against the king and his entertainers for weeks after. The following was the reply given through the ambassador:—

“GENTLEMEN,—The king could not but be very happy to learn, by the address which you have sent to him, the wishes that you entertain for the prosperity of his reign, and his alliance with England and France for the defence of European liberties. His majesty could not but feel deeply gratified by the manner in which you have praised the Sardinian troops who share in the Crimea the common dangers of the allies, and, happily, also the laurels which are their reward. I cannot, however, dissemble that it is with extreme regret that his majesty has learned the expressions of contempt with which your address stigmatises the court of Rome. The king, like his ancestors, has considered it a duty to maintain his hands intact the civil power. He has deeply deplored the line of conduct which the Holy See has believed it its duty to adopt these long years towards him; but, the descendant of a long line of Catholic princes, the sovereign of subjects almost entirely Roman Catholics, he cannot admit words of reprobation so severe and especially so hurtful, to the chief of the Church upon earth. He cannot share in the sentiments of contempt, which not only could never find an entrance into his heart, but above all, could never find their place in a reply such as that which I have the honor to address to you. Your address expresses further the hope that his majesty may extend to his subjects of every creed the same privileges conceded to the Vaudois. I am happy to inform you that your wishes are already accomplished. The king, Charles Albert, in emancipating the Vaudois, wished to extend this measure, not only to the Protestants of various denominations, but even to the Jews, who, in the states, enjoy in common the same civil and religious rights. In rehearsing thus the well-known sentiments of the king, I do not doubt that I have secured to him a further title to your esteem; for, a Roman Catholic sovereign, he has proved that in his eyes religion was a symbol of tolerance, of union, and of freedom, and that one of the principles which formed the basis of his government was liberty of conscience.

Accept, gentlemen, the assurance of my consideration.

"MARQUIS V. E. D'AZEGLIO."

When the addresses were all delivered, and deputations withdrawn, his majesty held a somatic levée. That terminated, he proceeded to the Guildhall, to meet the citizens of London. On the line of route he was received with acclamations. At the Guildhall, a superb one was erected upon a dais covered with red velvet, with the Sardinian knot, and the initials F. E. R. T. (*Federe et religione tenet*) embroidered on it, after the fashion of the serial bee in France. Various other emblems and mottoes afforded gratification to spectators, and proved the skill and good taste with which the whole was designed.

The recorder, aldermen, and common council preceded to the foot of the throne, and the recorder read the following address:—

"May it please your Majesty,—We, the Lord-Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in common council assembled, desire to offer to your majesty our grateful congratulations on your majesty's arrival in this country, as the honoured guest of our beloved and most gracious queen; and on behalf of our fellow-citizens, and for ourselves, humbly tender to your majesty the warmest expressions of our gratitude for the welcome you bring to our city with which you have deigned to honour us this day.

"We hail the arrival of your majesty as a happy proof of the extension of those friendly and intimate relations which it is the wish of your people to cultivate with all nations, and which are daily drawn closer by the cordial intercourse of sovereigns, the interchange of mutual courtesies, and the progress of unrestricted commerce.

"We see in your majesty the representative of a long line of illustrious sovereigns, and rejoice to find the throne filled by one who, in the present momentous epoch, has joined his name to those of France, Turkey, and England; and who has not only avowed his desire to participate in the triumph of the principles which the allied powers are now resolutely defending, but, animated by the generous sentiments of his Sub-Alpine people, and the tradition of the house of Savoy, has heroically thrown himself into the cause of justice and civilisation, with a resolution to persevere until a durable peace, guaranteeing to every nation its legitimate rights, shall be obtained.

"It is with solemn gratitude to the Almighty disposer of events, that we reflect upon the broken success which has proved the superiority of power and bravery of the allied armies and fleets, supported as they have been under most incredible privations by a lofty sense of

the righteous cause in which they are engaged, and in which the arms of Sardinia have borne so generous a part.

"Our most gracious sovereign, and her illustrious allies, undazzled by the splendour of repeated triumphs, and the continued progress of victory, seek no more than to vindicate the rights of nations, and secure a lasting and honourable peace.

"In the contest for this high purpose, our beloved queen, acting in concert with her allies, may firmly rely upon the strongest and most cheerful efforts of the loyal citizens of London, and of all her people, united as they are in duty and affection to her majesty's person and government, and in a determination to defend the cause of national independence and of civil and religious liberty."

His majesty, the king, read his reply in Italian. The following is a translation:—

"MY LORD MAYOR,—I offer my heartfelt thanks to you, to the Aldermen, and to the Commons of the city of London, for the cordial congratulations which you present to me on the occasion of my visit to her majesty the queen, and to the British nation.

"The reception that I meet with in this ancient land of constitutional liberty, of which your address is a confirmation, is to me a proof of the sympathy inspired by the policy I have hitherto pursued—a policy in which it is my intention constantly to persevere.

"The close alliance existing between the two most powerful nations of the earth is honourable alike to the wisdom of the sovereigns who govern them, and to the character of their people. They have understood how preferable is a mutual advantageous friendship to ancient and ill-defined rivalry. This alliance is a new fact in history, and is the triumph of civilisation. Notwithstanding the misfortunes which have weighed upon my kingdom, I have entered into this alliance, because the house of Savoy ever deemed it to be its duty to draw the sword when the combat was for justice and for independence.

"If the forces which I bring to the allies are those of a state not vast, I bring with them, nevertheless, the influence of a loyalty never doubted, and supported by the valour of an army always faithful to the banners of its kings.

"We cannot lay down our arms until an honourable, and therefore durable, peace has been secured. This we shall accomplish by seeking unanimously the triumph of true right, and the just desire of each nation.

"I thank you for the good wishes you this day express for my future happiness, and for that of my kingdom.

"While you thus express yourselves with respect to the future, it gives me pleasure to

speak of the present, and to congratulate you on the high position attained by Great Britain. This is to be attributed to the free and noble character of that nation, and also to the virtues of your queen."

In returning from the city, the king paid a token of respect to Lord Palmerston, for he proceeded to the mansion of the noble premier, and held an interview with him before returning to Windsor.

On the 5th her majesty held a Chapter of the order of the Garter, for the purpose of investing the king with that insignia. In the evening a grand banquet was given to the knights in St. George's Hall.

On the morning of the 6th, at five o'clock, the king left Windsor, her majesty rising to bid him adieu at that early hour. Many of the people of Windsor assembled in front of the palace, to pay their parting respects, although the morning was cold and dark, notwithstanding that the stars shone out clear. The king returned to his dominions *via* France, embarking at Folkestone for Boulogne. Prince Albert and the Duke of Cambridge accompanied him to the place of his embarkation.

The impressions left by the royal visitor were favourable, and much speculation as to his policy and the prospects of his kingdom was indulged in after his departure. The hopes of the liberal and enlightened, in the various provinces of Italy, were directed to him; but the *kasir* was the king's enemy. Ever since the battle of Novara, the royal house of Turin and the imperial house of Hapsburgh had been at bitter enmity—more bitter than is usually the case between crowned heads in open hostility. The ambition and safety of the house of Sardinia alike required a bold and astute policy, and the king was equal to the emergency. The security of the Sardinian throne was continually endangered by the encroaching policy of Austria, which aspired to the domination of all Italy; to possess it by conquest, if possible, but at all events to control the weak princes who nominally ruled within its confines, and by their means to crush out the last spark of Italian liberty. Thus the Duke of Tuscany was an Austrian grand-duke; the duchy of Parma was all but an imperial appanage; Venice, like Lombardy, had politically ceased to be; they were alike Austrian provinces. Naples was ruled by a prince who consulted Austria in everything. The States of the Church were in part occupied by Austrian troops. The *kasir* interfered with the internal government of Switzerland: no wonder that Sardinia should be alarmed for national independence, and for civil and religious liberty, which, without national independence, can never be secure. Under such circumstances it

was necessary for the house of Piedmont to win the support of powers which could threaten Austria and her allies:—France, by her proximity to Italy, and England, from maritime ascendancy, were the powers whose friendship Sardinia required. As long as Napoleon III. could march an army into Italy, Austria would never invade Piedmont without his consent. As long as England had a fleet in the Adriatic, and ascendancy in the Mediterranean, Austria would never dare to plant her flag upon the turrets of Genoa. In forming an alliance with the great Western states, the Piedmontese monarch established his throne in defiance of Austria—the only power from whose rapacity he was in danger. It was said, "Could he not as a Roman Catholic prince claim and obtain the protection of the Church, and of the pope the head of the Church, against another Roman Catholic power obviously a wrongdoer?" His people were jealous of an invasion of their freedom from the papal chair as from the imperial throne. Besides, the pope could not afford protection being himself dependent for protection upon the bayonets of both France and Austria. The moral support of the pope was therefore likely to be given to the stronger Roman Catholic power, from which he himself derived support. He would deem it impolitic to cut off his right hand, because a lesser member of the body ecclesiastical was in pain. The king of Sardinia had no hope but in the two chief naval and military nations; for England—taking into account her colonial troops, her militia, and her general military resources—is obviously a greater military nation than either Austria or Russia. Fear of England and France alone prevented the vengeance of the courts of Vienna and Rome from falling upon the enlightened prince who had so bravely defied them. The Piedmontese monarch had no ambition, however, as well as other kings. If it be "the glorious fault of angels and gods," the monarch of these Italian hills, famed in history, was a participator in the error and the glory. He undoubtedly aimed at being king of Italy, his capital in Rome, and the pope, divested of all temporal power, merely permitted to reside there with spiritual jurisdiction. This was a grand ambition, which pope and *kasir* will ever resist to the uttermost. It was, therefore, rather the interest of the king to embroil the emperor and the queen with the *kasir* and the pope, and to preserve the alliance between Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon, and his own alliance with both. To be the ally of Turkey also helped him. Turkey was a frontier empire to that of Austria. A united Italy, under a constitutional monarchy, the pope's temporal power blotted from the European system, the chosen monarch

Emanuel,—was the most practicable for remodelling Italy discussed among us. There were great difficulties in any, even if the Italians alone were to be aided; but arms and address might conquer. With such projects of ambition, his country could not but bring upon himself the hostility of pope and kasir; hence his efforts to conciliate the West. Whatever might

have been the personal objects of the king, our interests and duty constrained us to court his alliance, and sympathise with his constitutional principles of government.

No other events, in either France or England, bore so decisively upon the war as to require a separate notice. Thus the home incidents connected with the great conflict closed for the year 1855.

## CHAPTER CXIX.

THE YEAR 1856 IN THE CRIMEA.—INERTNESS OF THE CONTENDING FORCES.—A TERRIBLE SHOT FROM THE NORTHERN FORTS, AND UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPT BY THE FRENCH TO FIRE A RUSSIAN STEAMER.—UTTER DESTRUCTION OF THE DOCKS OF SEBASTOPOL.

“Destroy the rookeries, and the rooks will depart.”—JOHN KNOX.

The year 1856 opened with negotiations and preparations for war. Much joy and some anxiety were felt in Western Europe as to how Russia regarded her prospects in the contest, and what feelings she entertained in the retrospect of the campaign which the frosts and snows of the closing winter of 1855 had terminated. Whatever might have been the real feelings of the Russian government and people, the mode in which the war was desired to have matters represented was betrayed by an article in the *Northern Times*. “Leading articles” seldom appear in newspapers, but this in the *Northern Times* is made very prominent as far as type position could make it, and showed that a special hand had moulded it to the taste and policy of the government. It was headed, “War beginning in Earnest,” and had for its opening words of Kutusoff—“The loss of Sevastopol is not the loss of Russia.” In the article it laid down as indisputable the allegation that on the 8th of September, 1855, the French had not conquered an entrance into Sevastopol, which, on the contrary, was strategically abandoned. The article then ended thus:—

“From which side and at what time did the enemy enter the city? Which Russian fort was compelled to lay down its arms? What? Where are the trophies of victory, the hundreds of cannon, heaps of standards, and of prisoners? Of all this there is not a word; and the truth is, that the allies were intimidated, that they did not venture into Sevastopol, after it was evacuated by the Russian army, for three whole days, and then only for the greatest fear and trembling. It was for the purpose of no longer serving usefully as a target to the enemy, who were demolishing the walls every day more and more, so that the Russians crossed over to the Crimea, just as one changes one’s dress or takes another path. To be sure, it was a

pity to put aside the beautiful purple dress of Sevastopol, but it is only for a time, and the czar will soon give it another one far more magnificent than the former, and the genius of Todtleben and his companions will weave it at their leisure, and without a seam. No joy has been expressed at the so-called victory by the Western powers—neither by the English, who were completely beaten, as they have been in every action since the commencement of the war; nor by the French, who are now in a condition to quote the well-known words of Pyrrhus. The sole trophies of England and France are black crape and mourning dresses. The armies of both fought without any reason, and solely by order of their respective sovereigns, who give them no protection or consolation under their misfortunes, by which they are reduced to the verge of despair; while Russia, on the other hand, attacked without any cause, fought gallantly for honour and self-preservation.

“Such a difference in the moral element of the two contending parties cannot fail to terminate eventually in favour of the Russian arms, which was only at a momentary disadvantage, because it had not sufficient railroads, nor guns of such extreme range as those of the enemy. Whoever puts forth other reasons for the misfortunes that have hitherto befallen us is worse than a traitor to his country, for even the enemy acknowledges the heroic bravery of the Russians, and the superiority of our artillery, and the scientific attainments of our engineers.”

“At first it was supposed in the West that, by obtaining possession of the south side of Sevastopol, they had gained everything, and they are now the more surprised to find out their error, and to see that the war has in reality only just commenced—a war which cannot possibly reflect any glory on the governments which brought it on, and can only end in their total prostration. Even now the

blood of their own subjects is not sufficient for their insatiable ambition, and they are obliged to have recourse to all sorts of shifts to obtain men from other nations. With Sardinia the contract of sale has been concluded, and Olzaga will, no doubt, be easily purchased, but it is still a question whether the brave Castilians will allow themselves to be sold. The loan of 1,500,000,000 francs is no proof of patriotic sentiments, for it was nothing more than a jobbing speculation of mostly Jewish bankers to suck out the resources of France, and leave her bound hand and foot, when she will find out to her cost that the empire, instead of the promised peace and plenty, has brought nothing but war and desolation on the unhappy country. England has sunk low both in the estimation of Russia and France. Turkey is unable to move under the weight of the French and English and pro-consuls. How different is the case in Russia, where the emperor never abuses his power, and the people never suffer from tyranny and the cold egotism of their rulers. The czar and his people are indissolubly united, while the first reverse of fortune will not fail to break up the alliance of the enemy. But it is not only behind stone walls that the Russians can fight; their present circumstances in the field are just as favourable. Our troops are now in the open country, for that is the natural scene of action for their valour, but the enemy do not dare to attack them, preferring to sit down and intrench themselves. The enemy are not able to undertake anything of importance, and their position is far from being so favourable as they would make the world believe.

"In the beginning of the war a great part of Europe was no doubt unfavourably disposed towards Russia, which has, however, now no enemies except Louis Napoleon (who ought to love Russia, which is the natural ally of France), and England, and the Democrats, who also hate the French emperor. Prussia and the whole of Germany stand firm on our side. Austria is become cautious, and the other states will come to their senses in time, for Napoleon's overbearing conduct in Greece, Turkey, Rome, Sardinia, Spain, Naples, and all Italy, as well as towards England, whom he leads by the nose, shows sufficiently that he follows the traditionary policy of the first empire.

"The Russians are still in possession of the north side of Sebastopol; and even if we should lose it, the enemy have gained nothing by it, and would not be able to march into the interior of the country. A few attempts may be made to effect a landing at points of no importance—such as Kertch and Eupatoria—but the more important places on the coast are effectively protected and perfectly safe from

any attempts of the enemy. They may again with more ships, but they will be deceived by the Russian gun-boats, and will wait their coming without any alarm."

The new year opened at Sebastopol very severe weather. Winter assumed its utmost rigours; and notwithstanding the characteristic variability of the climate, frost and snowstorms continued to prevail through the remainder of the winter. The allies, however, were well prepared for the English especially. The forces of General Codrington's command for operations when spring should open were as follows:

#### LIGHT DIVISION.

*First Brigade* :—7th, 23rd, 33rd, 34th, 2nd Bn. Rifles.

*Second Brigade* :—19th, 77th, 88th, 90th, 97th.

#### FIRST DIVISION.

*Guards' Brigade* :—3rd Batt. Grenadier Guards, 1st Coldstream Guards, 1st Batt. Fusilier Guards.

*Second Brigade* :—9th, 13th, 31st, 56th.

#### SECOND DIVISION.

*First Brigade* :—3rd, 30th, 55th, 95th.

*Second Brigade* :—41st, 47th, 49th, 62nd.

#### THIRD DIVISION.

*First Brigade* :—4th, 14th, 39th, 50th.

*Second Brigade* :—18th, 28th, 38th, 44th.

#### FOURTH DIVISION.

*First Brigade* :—17th, 20th, 21st, 57th, 63rd.

*Second Brigade* :—46th, 48th, 68th, 1st Battalion

#### HIGHLAND DIVISION.

*First Brigade* :—42nd, 79th, 92nd, 93rd.

*Second Brigade* :—1st, 71st, 72nd.

The artillery force consisted of eleven batteries, two heavy brigades, two and a half troops of horse-artillery, twenty-nine companies of the siege-train, and nine companies of Engineers. There were two regiments of infantry, and eighteen artillery companies at Balaklava, the Turkish contingent was at Kertch, a force of British cavalry at Scutari, and the British German legion at Kululi.

Nothing was undertaken against the enemy throughout January, nor did the Muscovites attempt an attack. Their sharp-shooters, however, hung about the northern slopes above Tchernaya, and wasted much time in watching, and much ammunition in endeavouring to pick off straying officers and soldiers. Their eagerness to effect these desultory feats was unworthy a great army and a great nation.

The chief occupation of the allies during January was the destruction of the celebrated docks. This work began soon after the capture of Southern Sebastopol, but was not actively pursued in December, 1855, until January, 1856. It was a great work, requiring immense charges of powder, and frequent affording sublime spectacles. The Russians on these occasions generally fired shells, without doing any mischief. Several officers

commissioned officers, and men, were killed or wounded by the pieces of rock, which were flung to surprising distances.

The English provost-marshal at Balaklava exercised great tyranny at this juncture, which excited feelings of insubordination among the transport captains. The bullying and brutality of this functionary was permitted to exercise a disgraceful influence on the government of the British army.

Various amusements, especially theatricals, were resorted to, as time hung heavily on the hands. The chaplains of the English forces made laudable efforts to establish public lectures on temperance and educational subjects. James Alexander, colonel of the 14th Regiment, exerted himself for this object.

When the weather allowed, drill and parade occupied the time of the men, and conduced to increasing fitness for a spring campaign. The fortune of war demand such service of them.

The 18th was memorable for the great exertions of French and English in destroying the rocks and piers; but the work was imperfectly performed, from various causes which hardly have been foreseen.

A little worthy of note occurred up to the middle of the month, that the following summary of proceedings by the correspondent of the *Daily News* affords as complete a history of the events at Sebastopol as could well be desired:—

During the last three or four days the operations on the extreme right have been on the order in the expectation of an attack from the enemy. Rumour fixed upon the 12th (that is, the Russian New Year's Day, as the probable date of this event. Nothing more unusual transpired, however, nor did observation of the enemy's position indicate any change of movement. In the course of the morning of the 12th General Codrington rode out towards Inkerman to reconnoitre, attended by two of his staff, and, as usual, by a single orderly dragoon. The limited number of his escort forms a striking contrast with the brilliant cavalcade which generally announces the approach of Marshal Pelissier, even with the escort which ordinarily accompanies a French general commanding a corps d'armée or division.

There has been a sudden and remarkable change in the weather. When the last mail was sent it was difficult to believe, judging from the temperature and appearance of everything around, that spring had not already arrived. On Saturday, the 12th, the sun shone brightly, the weather was so mild and fine, that the winter clothing was universally laid aside. The following day we had mists and constant rain until evening, when the wind, which had

been previously blowing from the west, changed to the northward. The thermometer fell rapidly, and yesterday morning at nine o'clock indicated only ten degrees Fahrenheit above zero. The temperature continued very low all day, and, being accompanied with a strong wind from the north, the cold was felt very severely. Snow found its way through every crack and crevice of the wooden dwellings, and every precaution was necessary in the open air to prevent frostbite. The roads, which were previously in an exceedingly muddy and uneven condition, became suddenly congealed, and have since been trying enough to the transport animals and passengers from their hardened, irregular, and slippery surface. The troops everywhere appear very healthy and vigorous, notwithstanding these sudden variations of climate. Some of the French troops in the plain are reported to be suffering from a form of scorbutic disease.

"No occurrence of note has taken place in the camps. A few days ago, a French officer, wandering too near the Tchernaya River in pursuit of game, was shot dead by a Russian sharp-shooter. Two English officers, who had managed to get in front of the French sentries in the same valley, had a narrow escape of a similar fate the day before yesterday. They were wandering on, and had got some distance in advance towards the position of the Russian sentries. A French sentry, who had called in vain, at last hit upon the expedient of discharging his musket to attract their attention, and fired over their heads. This roused them quickly enough, and, on looking round, they discovered a group of three or four Russians, partly concealed, and apparently awaiting their nearer approach, among some rushes at the opposite edge of the river. They at once turned back toward the French lines, and regained them, not without some risk, for the Russian shots grooved up the ground about them near enough to prove the necessity of the sentry's warning. The Russian sharpshooters line the whole length of the Tchernaya on the north side, and omit no opportunity of firing a shot at a casual straggler.

"A very important change has been made in the constitution of the Land Transport Corps. The sections of the corps which have hitherto been designated divisions, and have been under the direction of 'captains of divisions,' subject to the control of the director-general of the land transport, are, in future, to be regiments, each under the command of a field officer, and subject to the orders of the general of the division of the army to which it may happen to be attached. There can be no doubt but that this arrangement will lead to stricter discipline among the men, better security of public property, and facilitate the

necessary arrangements, in case of one or two divisions being detached from the main body of the army. The details of this plan have been published in an after order.

"The fourth division is going to arrange a new theatre near Cathcart's Hill, and two small packs of harriers are daily expected out—to follow drags. On Saturday afternoon, eleven of the previously unexploded twenty-five charges were fired—three by electric wire, and eight by Bickford's fuse. All went off; and although the explosion would be pronounced by engineers a complete demolition of the left side of the east dock, still persons ignorant of these matters might not consider it complete, as the coping, &c., at the top of the *revêtement* still remains.

"Yesterday No. 3 general order was to the following effect:—'All officers are desired to complete themselves with pack-saddles and field equipment with as little delay as possible. General officers will be so good as to see that this order is attended to in their respective divisions.' This looks like a move in the spring.

"*January 19th.*—There is little to record during the past week but the various rumours with which the camps have been agitated respecting the chances of a cessation of hostilities, and the plans of the future campaign in case the negotiations for peace should be unsuccessful. These rumours are so contradictory, that they are scarcely worth repeating.

"The whole army is now going through a regular course of target practice. Detachments from every regiment are daily engaged in this exercise. The new system of instruction in the use of the rifled musket, as taught at the government school of musketry at Hythe, is strictly carried out, and thus, before the winter terminates, the men of the whole army will be fully trained in one uniform method of using their firearms. Colonel Clarke Kennedy, who formerly held an appointment at the school at Hythe, and who now occupies a situation on the adjutant-general's department of this army, superintends the whole. The Land Transport Corps is reported to be fast regaining its efficiency, under the active surveillance of Colonel Wetherall, who is acting as director-general in the absence of Colonel M'Murdo. Thus, the prospects of the British forces, so far as the army in the Crimea is concerned, being found in an effective condition at the ensuing spring, are now on all sides exceedingly favourable.

"An unfortunate accident occurred on the 15th instant. Lieutenant J. Homdon Messenger, of the 46th regiment, was engaged with a few men in blasting some rock near the main military road, not far from the iron huts. He had been some time employed as an

acting engineer, and was then superintending the repair of a portion of the road. The method for obtaining the fragments of stone 'metal,' as it is technically called—for filling up the depressions caused by the rain and constant traffic, is by blasting the limestone which is found everywhere at a moderate depth in the superficial soil of the plateau. In the present instance the explosion of the charge did not take place so speedily as was anticipated, and Lieutenant Messenger at once ran forward to examine the cause. A non-commissioned officer who was present warned against approaching the blast so quickly. He thought, as no doubt was the case, that the lighted slow-match might be burning more slowly than usual on account of damp or some other accidental cause. Mr. Messenger had just stooped to see if the slow-match were ignited, when the explosion took place, and some of the detached fragments of rock were projected with full force against the unfortunate officer. He received some dreadful injuries about the head, which proved immediately fatal. The non-commissioned officer who was standing near, was severely scorched and bruised; he was removed to the neighbouring hospital of the 55th regiment, in the second division.

"On Wednesday an armistice was declared till four in the afternoon, up to which time the Russians and the French amused themselves by walking about in the Tchernaya Valley in front of the outposts. They were so near together that they could distinctly see each other's countenances.

"Since the last mail left the English engineers have blown up the entrance gate to the east dock, and to day there will, in all probability, be another small explosion; but, at the present rate of proceeding, the whole of the English half-portion of the docks will not be destroyed till the middle of next month."

On the 24th news arrived in the camps that Russia had accepted the Austrian ultimatum, which in our next chapter on diplomacy and treaty count will be given. The tidings were welcome to the older officers, non-commissioned officers, and men who had won promotion, and whose persons bore scars of honour, as well as decorations of merit; but the younger officers were anxious to find opportunity to distinguish themselves, and the general feeling of the army was that England ought not to make peace while the Russians remained in the Crimea, nor until the military superiority of England had been incontestably established in the judgment of all the world. The intelligence that the Austrian ultimatum was accepted did not prevent our troops from maintaining the advantage, nor did the acceptance of these proposals prevent the Russians from opening, on the 29th

formidable cannonade, the most impressive which had been heard since the capture of the north side. It appeared as if the destruction of the docks had occasioned this outburst, the fire was chiefly directed against the Karabelnaia suburbs, and the vicinity of the old ruins. Probably the enemy supposed that new and especial operations were about to be undertaken there. The cannonade began half-past nine o'clock, from a battery at the head of the harbour, and soon extended to all the forts and batteries on the north, from which fire could be opened with any prospect of effect. At the opening of the cannonade an English sentinel declared that he saw a number of boats crossing the harbour. This statement is confirmed by other soldiers on guard, so that the British opened a musketry fire in the direction which it was supposed the boats were passing. Nothing, however, could be seen through the darkness, as the night was one of pitch darkness." It is extremely difficult to account for this affair. On that night two boats were sent out by the French for the purpose of setting fire to the last remaining steamer, which was moored at the entrance of Soukhaya Creek. Possibly the Russians, detecting these boats, suspected their real object, or some other, and opened fire. The French returned without accomplishing their purpose, one of the boats was sunk with a shell, so that she scarcely arrived ashore when she sunk; some men were also drowned. The crews reported that they pressed seven Russian boats, which, however, did not molest them; but the French deemed it prudent to put back. Probably those boats were sent out on a reconnaissance, and gave alarm by some signal which might be easily heard, that the French were on the alert, the guns of the forts in consequence opened. The French were engaged on the same night in storming Fort Nicholas, and their lights were probably seen. This would account for the Russian boats having been sent upon reconnaissance, and the discovery of French boats upon the harbour, together with the lights shown, probably led the enemy to suppose that some serious enterprise was at hand, and hence the effort to frustrate it by a heavy fire, and by a formidable demonstration that the Russians were prepared. The scene during this bombardment was magnificent, the darkness of the night conducting to its grandeur. So incessant were the flashes, and the light of the burning shells, that forts, harbour, and the hills beyond appeared lit up by continuous momentary fires. On the side of the allies all was darkness,—the crash of the artillery and the crash of falling buildings added to the sublimity of the occasion. At length the cannonade gradually ceased, and finally died away. The results produced by it were—the frustration of the

French attempt to burn the steamer, the delay of the works of the French mines, the further dilapidation of the ruined buildings of the Karabelnaia suburbs, the temporary excitement of the allies, and a few men of the French boats and English regiments wounded.

January passed away without any further incident to enliven its monotony or cheer its gloom. The French operations connected with the destruction of the docks took place on the 1st of February. The entire of these once splendid structures were reduced to heaps of rubbish, and masses of broken gates and stone. How could a Russian look upon the destruction of these magnificent constructions, and perceive the battered stores and barracks, and the masts of the sunken navy of the Euxine just above the water, without indignation at the transparent imposture attempted to be played off by the Russian government and press upon the Russian people and upon Europe, that Gortschakoff only retired to the north side as a strategical measure, leaving nothing worth defence behind? All the glory of Sebastopol had departed when, on the 1st of February, 1856, the last shattered remnant of the noble docks fell in rubbish, upheaved by the miner's art. No conquest could be more complete—a fleet sunk, a city captured, an arsenal in ruins, and vast docks, built to shelter conquering navies, torn up and flung in divided masses around! The army that could look on and see all this evil inflicted by an enemy, when to escape that enemy their own hands had anticipated a part of the destruction upon which it looked, and know that all this transpired on ground which it had occupied and defended, or in the vicinity of that ground, and commanded by its salient points, and yet talk of successful strategy and humbled foes, must be more audacious in effrontery and falsehood, more given up to self-deceit, or have more faith in bold and improbable imposture, than ever before could be predicted of any collection of human beings.

The following despatch of Sir William Codrington, with the inclosure of Lieutenant-general Lloyd, the British engineer officer, will furnish all the detail necessary. This despatch and its inclosure are remarkably interesting, as giving a clear idea of these tremendous works, and the destruction which was effected. On the 2nd of February, Sir William Codrington sent home a despatch in reference to the great operation of blowing up the last portions of the Sebastopol docks:—

"The destruction of the docks of Sebastopol is now completed; the sides of the last dock were blown in yesterday morning, small parts of the wall here and there only remaining. Thus the whole of the canal of entrance and north docks in charge of the French, the basin

in our mutual charge, and the south docks in English charge, are separate but shapeless masses of dirt—heavy broken stones, split beams of timber, and shattered gates protruding from the heap of confusion.

“The labour of destruction has been difficult; these fine works were formed in the middle ravine at its outlet in an inner and sheltered part of the harbour, one of the natural watercourses from the plateau on which we are encamped. This end of the ravine, about 700 yards from its mouth, seems to have been filled in so as to create a great artificial dam of earth, which, with the banks on each side, form three sides of a raised inclosure looking down upon the docks. A solid stone wall, much struck by shot, crowns this sort of natural square; the fine but shattered barracks standing still higher on the left, with the sheds and dockyard buildings, the masting sheers, and a long quay to Fort Paul in front jutting into the harbour, show how well adapted all was for its purpose. It is now a picture of destruction, desolation, and silence; there lies against the quay the half-sunken hull of a vessel, and in the harbour beyond, the only things breaking the surface of the water are the lower masts of sunken ships of war.

“The drainage of the water of the middle ravine must, however, pass through to the harbour somewhere, and it was this that so much impeded the shafts; for the water from rains often stood two feet high over the floor of the docks, and thus of course filled the shafts themselves. Some details of the execution of these are given in the inclosed summary from Colonel Lloyd, commanding the Royal Engineers, the immediate executive officers being Colonel Gordon and Major Nicholson.

“Amid great difficulties of cold and wet, very severe frost at one time, and perpetually recurring pressure at another, the work went steadily on, and great praise is due to all those concerned—the engineers and sappers, parties of the Royal Artillery, the 18th regiment, and latterly the 48th regiment. These parties return to their duty to-morrow, after constant and laborious work.

“The casualties have been but six, of which two only have been fatal, and one man of the 48th regiment was lost by foul air in a shaft; after several vain attempts by Major Nicholson, other officers, and men—themselves descending at great risk—the poor fellow's body was brought up, but life was gone.

“Your lordship will see that Colonel Lloyd expresses his obligation to Mr. Deane and the chief engineer of her majesty's ship *Royal Albert* for their assistance.

“The voltaic battery, we must confess, did not always succeed; it seems to require great nicety in preparation; but in those cases in

which I saw it succeed, the effect was perfect—ignition and its results, the shake of ground, the heaving up of the mass seemed to be instantaneous. The destruction of other things will continue.”

The report of Colonel Lloyd, referred to in the foregoing despatch, was dated February the 1st:—

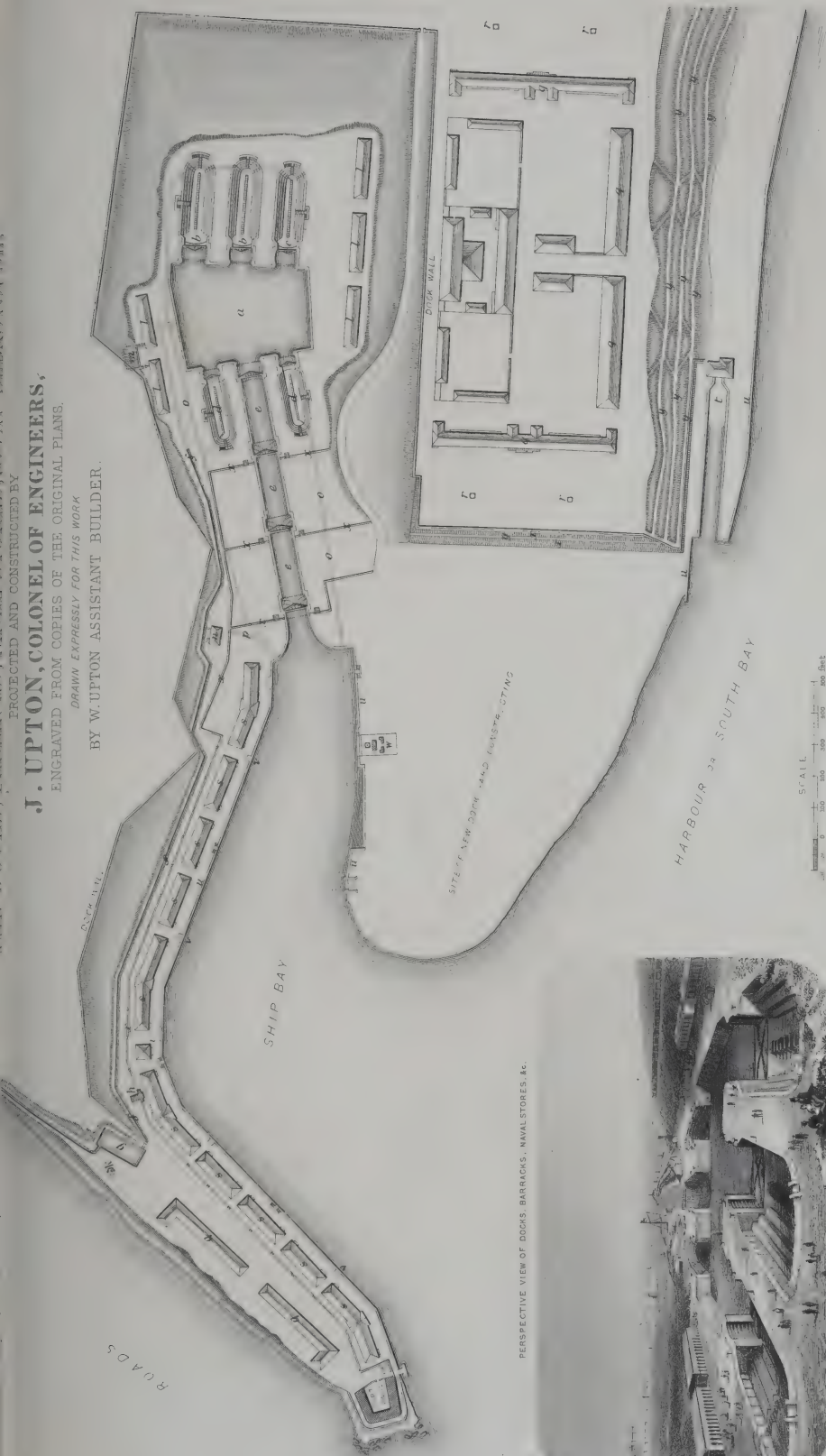
“After a period of three months' unceasing labour in the dockyard, for the destruction of the docks, in compliance with Lord Panmure's orders, it affords me very great satisfaction to report, for your excellency's information, the termination of our exertions in the demolition of that portion allotted to the English, which consisted of the three docks on the south side and one-half of the east and west sides of the basin.

“The result of our operations has been the perfect destruction of the whole, the foundations being completely torn up. The length of time occupied in effecting the above object, I regret, far exceeded what had been anticipated, owing to many circumstances over which no human being could have any control. Your excellency, I believe, is aware that on the morning of the 16th of December, 1855, after a very heavy and continuous fall of rain, the shafts which had been sunk behind the *vêtement* walls of the docks were found to have twenty feet of water in them, the shafts being thirty feet deep; and the shafts along the bottoms of the dock, which had been sunk to a depth of twelve feet, were not only quite full of water, but had two feet six inches of water above the floors of the docks themselves.

“A very large party was employed day and night endeavouring to reduce the water, and effected this object but slowly, as the water continued to find its way in by percolation. At this stage of the work the wet weather suddenly succeeded by intense frost, which for some days rendered our pumps useless, thus causing a further delay, and obliging us to bale the water out of the shafts, resuming the pumping as soon as the pumps would work again, which has been continued to the very last. It was the intention to have destroyed one entire dock at a time, but owing to the influx of water such an arrangement was obliged to be abandoned, and such charges on as could from time to time be prepared were fired, the pumping in very many cases being kept up day and night until the last moment. The bottoms and sides were blown up before the sides were destroyed, which enabled us to be satisfied that the former were thoroughly demolished.

“I must observe that, as the demolition of the northern portion was carried out by the

PROJECTED AND CONSTRUCTED BY  
**J. UPTON, COLONEL OF ENGINEERS,**  
 ENGRAVED FROM COPIES OF THE ORIGINAL PLANS.  
 DRAWN EXPRESSLY FOR THIS WORK  
 BY W. UPTON ASSISTANT BUILDER.



PERSPECTIVE VIEW OF DOCKS, BARACKS, NAVAL STORES, &c.



- a. Dock Basin.
- b. Dry Dock for Ships of 120 Guns.
- c. Dry Dock for Frigates.
- d. Dry Dock for Frigates.
- e. Locks.
- f. Canal from Clerralia 12 Miles long.

- g. Filtering Basin.
- h. Filtering Cistern.
- i. Taps for supply of Filtered Water.
- j. Mill houses along the Canal.
- k. Workshops and Timber Sheds.
- l. Drains for emptying the Docks.
- m. Drain for supplying Engine Pumps.
- n. Naval Baracks.
- o. Ventilators.
- p. Mortars Slip.
- q. Quay.
- r. Cranes.
- s. Shears.
- t. Wall facing.



rench, it is incumbent on me to explain why our operations were not subjected to as many difficulties as fell to our lot. Their docks were four feet higher in level than ours, and in no instance had they, I understand, any water to contend against, or, at least, so small a quantity as to be scarcely appreciable. Their charges on the bottoms were not more than six feet deep, whereas ours averaged ten feet six inches depth.

"Though the external effect of some of our explosions may not appear great, I am happy to say that every portion of the masonry is either absolutely torn down or left in so dangerous a condition that it will add very much to the difficulties of rebuilding.

"I was extremely anxious that the facilities afforded by her majesty's government for the employment of voltaic batteries on a large scale, as sent out by the Admiralty under Mr. Deane, should be fairly tested under the most favourable circumstances. I applied to Vice-admiral Sir E. Lyons, who kindly offered the services of Mr. Deane, submarine engineer, to carry out the voltaic operations, and this gentleman had every assistance in skilled labour afforded him from the Royal Sappers and Miners.

"Many failures having taken place in firing the charges of electricity, owing to different causes; I am inclined to doubt its advantages as applicable generally to military purposes.

"The pair of dock-gates ordered to be taken down and sent as trophies to England were removed with considerable difficulty, being very massive and strongly put together with bolts, nuts, &c., which had become rusty.

"I cannot say too much in praise of the exertions both of officers and men, including a party of 350 of the 18th and 48th regiments, in addition to the Royal Sappers and Miners, amounting to eighty-five, in the destruction of the docks, though they had to work, for the greater part of the time, day and night, during the severest weather; and in having brought this service to a successful issue, after so many drawbacks, which, instead of causing despair and dispiriting those employed, only stimulated them to renewed exertions.

"I should be remiss in my duty were I to omit acknowledging the very valuable assistance I have received throughout from Colonel Gordon, C.B., the executive officer, Major Nicholson, who was the resident engineer, and Lieutenants Cumberland, Graham, and C. Gordon, Royal Engineers; their unremitting zeal, attention, and devotion to the work, in accomplishing this troublesome task, under difficulties of no ordinary nature, claim my warmest thanks. I am also much indebted to Mr. Deane, submarine engineer, whose valuable services in repairing and firing most of the mines by

voltaic action were kindly placed at my disposal by his excellency Vice-admiral Sir E. Lyons.

"I must not omit to acknowledge the professional aid received from the chief and assistant engineers of her majesty's ship *Royal Albert* (until that ship sailed for Malta), in the taking to pieces of the dock-gates. In connection with this service, the assistance afforded by a large party of the Royal Artillery, placed at my disposal by Lieutenant-general Sir Richard Dacres, and under the superintendence and direction of Lieutenant-colonel Bent, Royal Engineers, I cannot but appreciate."

On the 4th of February the French utterly destroyed the great Fort Nicholas. Originally this fort mounted nearly 200 guns, ranged in three tiers, the highest being on the roof. It was situated on the promontory which separated the south harbour and Artillery Bay; the batteries swept the entrance to the roadstead. Its form was that of a horseshoe. To this place the women and children had been brought for safety at the beginning of the siege. Afterwards General Osten-Sacken and General Todtleben took up their quarters there. Most of our officers knew that the French engineers had resolved to attempt the demolition of Fort Nicholas on the 4th, and accordingly they crowded up from the camps to the city on that morning. At half-past twelve the commanders-in-chief were on the scene. Many officers of the Sardinian staff and of his own rode with Sir William. Pelissier was too stout to ride, and came up in a small phaeton, drawn by four greys, and attended by a cavalry escort. At one o'clock the French engineers began their operations, for which careful preparations had been made by the sappers and miners throughout the morning. Perceiving the generals and their staff, the Russians stood to their guns, from which they discharged shells, all of which fell short, or broke harmlessly wide of the groups at which they were thrown. The extremities of the fort were first destroyed, and then followed the demolition of the whole of the fine structure thus doomed to perish. Sublimely and awfully the progress of the work developed scene after scene in rapid succession, and finally the entire of the stupendous pile of masonry was in total ruin. Seven mines were fired, and these exploded successively, causing the earth to tremble, their thunders reverberating along the ground, while the smoke, in thick and struggling waves, rolled slowly over Sebastopol. The enemy ceased firing at the first explosion, and for some time after the smoke cleared away, gazed in stillness at the low bank where, scattered and smoking, lay the ruins of that once proud fortress.

Afterwards a dropping fire against the town and suburbs was maintained, as if the chance of some officer falling by a stray shot would repay the loss of Fort Nicholas.

On the same day General Codrington directed a despatch to Lord Panmure describing the occurrence:—

“ Marshal Pelissier informed me a few days ago that this day Fort Nicholas would be destroyed, and he sent again to say that at 1 P.M. the mines for this purpose would be fired. The view over the whole harbour is well obtained from the interior of the slope of the Redan Hill, and from other points within the Russian lines. The day was magnificently clear; every sentry on the opposite side could be seen, every working-party watched, every soldier that was lounging in the sun; occasional shot and shell were sent from the enemy to the Karabelnaia and the town, but otherwise nothing disturbed the usual appearance of quiet, almost of desolation. On our (the south) side we looked down on the large ruined barracks in front, on the inner creek of the dockyard, the quay, and the remains of Fort Paul, the spacious inlet from the harbour on our left, beyond which stand the roofless buildings of Sebastopol itself. There also is the well-remembered long line of pointed arches, the casemates of the interior of Fort Nicholas, of which the embrasures in double tier pointed to seaward and away from us. It juts out into the harbour built on an inner tongue of land; Fort Constantine forming a similar but more outward defence for the sea approach on the north. The scene and feeling of expectation were of great interest, for another tangible proof of power and success was to take place, and 106,000 lbs. of powder were in the several mines. At the hour named, a burst of smoke, dark and thick, rolled from our left of the building; it was followed by another; the heavy sound arrived—the stones were shot into the air and into the sea: the explosions of the extreme right and the centre mingled at little intervals into one drifting cloud, which veiled the destruction below. The light of the sun played beautifully on the mass of smoke, of which the lower part lay long and heavily on its victim. The breeze passing it away over the remains of the town, showed that a low line of ruin was all that remained of the pride of Fort Nicholas, and one standing menace of the harbour lay buried under its waters. The state of the docks has been given in detail in my letters. They are all destroyed, whilst the earth surrounding them is shaken into cracks,—basin, docks, masses of broken granite, capstans, gates, beams of iron and of timber, are tumbled into one mass of destruction.”

Although, as Sir William Codrington's despatch affirmed, the destruction of the docks was completed on the 1st, several fortifications remained, of which Fort Nicholas was the chief; Fort Alexander was also a formidable erection, and on the 11th the French engineers proceeded to its demolition. Ninety guns had been mounted on this bulwark, and commanded the approach and entrance to the roadstead. It was blown up by Russian gunpowder—a part of the captured stores after the events of the 8th of September. The same day the English destroyed the Barrack or White Buildings.

Lord Panmure published on the 14th a missing report of General Dacres, which had been written to Lord Raglan in May, 1855. The omission of papers of this kind produced a bad effect upon the army, and frequently there was great carelessness in this respect during Lord Raglan's command. Accordingly there appeared in the *London Gazette* the following, dated from the War-office:—

“ Lord Panmure has received from the field-marshal commanding-in-chief a letter, calling his attention to the omission from the *London Gazette* of the 2nd of November, 1855, of a report from Lieutenant-general Sir R. Dacres, K.C.B., to Field-marshal Lord Raglan, written upon an earlier occasion than the report therein published, and in which the services of Colonel Edward C. Warde, Royal Artillery, who commanded the Royal Artillery of the siege-train from the 6th of February to the 3rd of August, 1855, were brought to the notice of the field-marshal.

“ An extract from the above-named report is now published in extension of the report previously given:—

“ In forwarding Lieutenant-colonel Warde's report on the conduct of the artillery officers during the second bombardment of Sebastopol, it is only left for me to express my entire concurrence in all he has said; but let me in addition say how much I am indebted to Lieutenant-colonel Warde for his unwearied exertions in arming the batteries, and his great attention to all the duties he has had to perform; nor can I speak too highly of Lieutenant-colonel Dickson, Captain Oldfield, Brigade-major Reilly, and the two adjutants, Lieutenants Lyons and Ruck-Keene. These have all come under my immediate notice. I must, in conclusion, not omit to mention the gallantry of the non-commissioned officers and men, which could not be surpassed.”

On the date of the above publication in the *Gazette* Sir Colin Campbell, whose absence had been caused chiefly by illness, rejoined his division, and was welcomed by his gallant Highlanders with delight.

A grand competition in rifle-shooting was useful to the British army, as calling up some emulation in the use of that important weapon, as well as engaging the soldiers in a manner to prevent the bad consequences of idleness or dissipation. Four of the infantry divisions were the only troops that entered the lists—the Guards, the light, the second, and the fourth. The reason of this was that the men selected to represent these divisions were so expert as to render any attempt to emulate them by the rest of the army hopeless. After the trial shot by each competitor, to see that his weapon was serviceable, he fired four rounds. The rivalry between officers and men was great, but indulged with good temper and generous feeling. The men won. The best of them was a sergeant of the 20th regiment, a corps that went to the Crimea with the Brown Bess, and were not supplied with the Minié until after the battle of Inkerman. The second man in the order of success was a corporal of the 77th regiment; the third was a private of the Guards; the fourth was Colonel Blane. It had been generally expected by the army that the victory would have fallen to Captain Ponsonby, but he was not successful, although supposed to be the best rifle-hand in the service.

On the 24th of February a review of the British army took place, in which 25,000 infantry appeared in line, and commanded the admiration of our gallant allies, who looked upon the scene with interest. Four Spanish regiments, attached to the French head-quarters, attracted much attention by their appearance. Pelissier, as usual in his carriage, was present. Scarcely were the troops drawn up, when a Russian shell burst high in air over the Tcherna Valley. It was probably thrown up to intimate that our enemies were spectators of the scene. After the inspection in line, the troops marched past the general in open column; the general of each division, while his division was passing, took post beside the general-in-chief. As the band of each brigade reached the spot where General Codrington stood, it halted, and continued to play until the brigade passed by. The music of these bands could not be praised; the band, in compliment to Marshal Pelissier, played *Partant pour la Syrie*. As the regiments passed, the foreigners assembled,—French, Spanish, and Sardinian,—and made animated comments upon their qualities and appearance. The Guards, by their stalwart forms, aided by the red uniforms, which give such an appearance of breadth of chest and shoulders to our infantry, were objects of great interest. The Rifles, with their slung pieces, and easy gait, wore an appearance of which any army might be proud. But the Highlanders chiefly attracted attention. They had

suffered less than any other division of the army, except by sickness; they had not borne the brunt of war. Their chief service in the hostile field was at Alma. These veterans had a stern, manly, well-disciplined aspect, which drew forth murmurs of applause from the beholders. They seemed best where all appeared excellent. The performances of their bands excited smiles which nearly rose to laughter on the part of our allies.

Amidst all the pomp of war presented, the proudest sign was the colours of the regiments: those of the 77th and 97th were terribly rent and riddled by the shot of the enemy, but that of the 23rd Welsh Fusiliers, was chief in glory—it hung almost in tatters from the staff; it had indeed been gallantly upheld through fierce and unequal struggles, and borne with honour through them all. Yet there were regiments whose banners were even more shattered, so that they had literally to tie them, or keep them furled. A second *défilé* in close column took place, and then the troops marched away to their divisional encampments. Marshal Pelissier complimented General Codrington upon the fine appearance of his infantry, for it was strictly an infantry review; no artillery, and no cavalry, except the Hussar escort in attendance upon General Codrington. The effect of the review upon the army and upon our allies was in every respect salutary.

On the 25th, the commander-in-chief directed the following order of the day, signed by General Windham, chief of the staff, to be issued to the army:—

“The queen has been graciously pleased to give orders for the appointment of the following officers of her majesty’s forces to be ordinary members of the military divisions of the second and third classes of the most honourable Order of the Bath respectively, viz.:—Second class, or knights commanders: Sir George Maclean, commissary-general; Dr. John Hall, inspector-general of hospitals. Third class, or companions: Colonel Charles Trollope, 62nd regiment; Colonel John St. George, Royal Artillery; Lieutenant-Colonel A. St. G. Stepany, Coldstream Guards; Lieutenant-colonel W. W. Turner, unattached; Lieutenant-colonel George Bent, Royal Engineers; Lieutenant-colonel E. F. Bouchier, Royal Engineers; Major H. F. Strange, Royal Artillery; Major H. C. C. Owen, Royal Engineers; Major J. F. M. Brown, Royal Engineers; Dr. David Dumbreck, deputy inspector-general of hospitals; Dr. William Linton, deputy inspector-general of hospitals; Dr. John Forrest, deputy inspector-general of hospitals; Mr. Thomas Alexander, deputy inspector-general of hospitals; Mr. John R. Taylor, deputy inspector-general of hospitals; Dr. Archibald Gordon,

deputy inspector-general of hospitals; Mr. James Mouat, staff surgeon, 1st class; Mr. George Adams, deputy commissary-general; Mr. J. W. Smith, deputy commissary-general; Mr. W. H. Drake, deputy commissary-general."

The publication of this order gave great satisfaction to the army, but it was followed, on the same day, by a series of orders which created as much dissatisfaction among the correspondents of the English press, and when the "order" reached England, caused the press universally to attack the general's discretion, and to make very free with his style of writing; eventually the public shared the feeling of the conductors of the press, and Sir William was much censured.

"No. 1.—The commander of the forces congratulates the army on the appearance of a large portion of its infantry yesterday.

"The winter is hardly past, yet the efficiency and good health of the men were apparent to all. This result is due to the exertions of the general and regimental officers; to the attention, obedience, and discipline of the non-commissioned officers and soldiers; and must be as gratifying to them as the commander of the forces is sure it must be to their country.

"This order will be read to the troops.

"No. 2.—The notice of the commander of the forces has been brought to the publication in a newspaper, by a correspondent at Kertch, of minute details of lines and works, strength of garrisons, and various military arrangements;—all, however old and incorrect they may be, published for our enemies, under the supposition that such things are necessary for the interest or amusement of the people of England. "The people of England have more common sense. They do not want to see the interests of the army betrayed by the thoughtless activity of a correspondent, or by the wish of any one else to see himself in print.

"The commander of the forces has referred General Vivian to the details published from the district he commands. He authorises him to arrest the individual and send him away at once, unless he has reason to believe that such folly will not be repeated.

"The commander of the forces has occasionally seen similar things from this camp. Strength of regiments, sickness, batteries, guns, quantity of ammunition, the state of preparation, means of transport, the very situation of concealed batteries, the strength of pickets, the best means of attacking them,—all recklessly detailed, as if on purpose to instruct an enemy.

"Common precaution, for the sake of the army, requires that this should cease.

"The commander of the forces appeals to the right sense of duty in the officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates of this army. He is sure that to them the appeal will not be in vain. It is our pride, as Englishmen, to feel that we may write everything to our friends: it need not be that we should publish everything about our strength or our weakness, of ditches and guns, of resources and disadvantages; for to print all such things is simply to make our enemies wise by our own folly. The commander of the forces trusts therefore, that private friends in England will imitate the caution he asks in camp.

"There are also known correspondents of newspapers, not belonging to the army, permitted by passport to reside in several of the camps here. Generals of division will by means of their assistant adjutant-general bring the tenour of this order to their notice for a course dictated by common feelings of patriotism must be followed by all who, being under the protection of the army, are equally liable to the observances necessary for its safety.

"No. 3.—The following appointments are made, until her majesty's pleasure is known:—

"Acting quartermaster-sergeant W. Cooke Grenadier Guards, to act as adjutant of the 7th regiment.

"Quartermaster-sergeant J. Dwyer, 46th regiment, to act as adjutant of his regiment vice Lieutenant Cross, who resigns the adjutancy.

"No. 4.—Leave of absence is granted, and the recommendation of a medical board, to Lieutenant G. H. Waller, 7th regiment, and until his retirement from the service, to Captain Armit, 47th regiment, to proceed to England. On their arrival they will report themselves to the adjutant-general."

The English papers vindicated their patriotism at the expense of Sir William's prudence and the *Times* declared that the only imprudent letters in its columns—if, indeed, any could be considered indiscreet—were such as had been written by military officers, whose minuteness of military detail gave to the information a peculiarity which did not belong to the civilian who regularly supplied the intelligence from the seat of war. The article in the British newspapers reached the army, and "squibs" upon Sir William were pretty freely flung about through the camp. The love of unfettered discussion, characteristic of the present generation of Englishmen, pervaded the ranks of the army as well as "the ranks of the people."

The health of the army now assumed a more favourable condition, so that the report of Dr. Hall, for the week ending the 23rd

February, declared that *no death from disease had occurred during the week.*

On the 28th of February the electric telegraph brought to the generals of the allied armies the tidings that an armistice had been signed, which was to last until the 31st of March. Before the allies received the intelligence the Russians were in possession of it, and hoisted a flag of truce, which was answered by the allies. Communications took place, and the morning of the 29th was appointed for a conference. Immediately before the hour arranged for that purpose, a group of Russian horsemen advanced into the plain, and were twice fired upon by the French before they halted. After some confusion the mistake was corrected, and the French and British officers, selected for the duty, advanced to meet the Russians,—General Martimprey on behalf of the French, General Windham on behalf of the British, and Colonel Count Petilli represented the Sardinian army: these were attended by officers and escorts. The place of rendezvous was occupied by two tents at the allied side of the Traktar Bridge, which was surmounted by a white flag. The generals entered the tents; the allied officers in attendance crossed the bridge, and made such attempts as they were able to converse with the Russians. Cigars, riding-whips, and other tokens of good-will were exchanged. The Russians verily even there, and in little things, the aphorism of Napoleon I., that “a Russian is a man without faith,”—for they took care only to exchange whips and sticks that were worthless, or the excellent or ornamental articles of that nature possessed by the English, and on subsequent occasions of interview they attempted to pass off the worst of the English sticks and whips, or such as had been injured, for new or superior ones. The English at last learned to decline these interchanges, as well as to despise the petty impositions attempted. The French were more suspicious of Russian manners, and while they conversed with such as could speak French, and deported themselves very politely, they avoided such exchanges of souvenirs as the English conceded.

There were some difficulties in arranging the truce between the belligerents, these regarded the Black Sea and the Sea of Azoff; but were eventually arranged, rather in the interest of the allies, but not unfairly. The allies sought, however, to take an unfair advantage, by insisting upon the right to embark men or *matériel* from the southern side of Sebastopol. The object of this was to send off in boats the captured guns and stores. The Russians perceived this object, and observed that the sea-board was not in the possession of the allies, that no boat would leave but under the fire of the northern forts, and that no boat should

leave while Russian guns could command its range. After some energetic disputation on this point, it was given up by the allies, and the truce was arranged.

During the month of March the intercourse between the allies and their late enemies was frequent, and the former learned many facts connected with the past events of the war which threw considerable light upon the deeds and misdeeds of all parties. Perhaps the most important facts which they learned were, that had the allies followed the advice of the gallant general of the fourth division, and attempted Sebastopol by a *coup de main*, they would have found the enemy in confusion and spondency, and unprepared to resist.

The health of the English army continued excellent during the month of March; that of the Sardinian army was not so good, the average deaths being double those of the English; but the French suffered severely, and had suffered unceasingly from the beginning of the closing winter months of 1855 to the treaty of peace. So many as 120 a day were said to have died during the month of March. The causes of this were various; many of the soldiers were young, not the men who had borne the brunt of the war. The food arrangements were not so substantial as those of the English, nor the clothing so suitable to the climate. Some of the French camps were in the vicinity of places where recent and extensive burials had taken place; these and some other causes were assigned as operating to the detriment of the physical condition of the French army.

Notwithstanding the previous arrangement of armistice some difficulties arose, and another conference took place on the 14th of March, on which occasion the generals-in-chief participated. The Army-works Corps did not enjoy the good health of the rest of the British army, neither did the Land Transport Service. This Dr. Hall attributed to the men being very young, and recently sent out from England. On the 17th of March a fire broke out in Balaklava, by which sixteen of the Army-works Corps occupying one hut perished.

The debates in the British parliament, raised by Sir de Lacy Evans on the subject of purchase of commissions, excited animated discussions in the English camp, when the newspapers recording these debates reached the Crimea. The general feeling of the non-commissioned officers and men was in favour of the opinion of Sir de Lacy Evans; but the officers, in a majority overwhelming, were opposed to the abolition of purchase, and by many the warmest indignation was expressed, not only against General Evans and Lord Gode-rich, and other of the gallant general's supporters, but also against Lord Palmerston, for even

his small concessions and qualified admissions. It was observable that the officers most opposed to the abolition of the purchase system were the sons of rich tradesmen. Amongst the aristocratic officers there were some who advocated the scheme of General Evans, and all the poor gentlemen were on that side; but among the class of rich men, sprung from the middle or lower classes, nearly all were hostile to any change of system. Perhaps no subject connected with home discussions excited so acrimonious a feeling towards a change in a liberal direction among the officers of the army as this.

Early in April the conclusion of peace was known in the armies north and south of the Tchernaya. It is necessary to introduce our readers to other scenes, and to show how this peace was accomplished, before we re-conduct them to the armies in and around Sebastopol.

During 1856 to the period of the peace, nothing occurred at Kinburn to require notice. The French performed their dreary routine duties, troubled only by occasional rumours of attack, which was, however, impracticable. The enemy, meanwhile, continued to labour at the defences of Cherson and Nicolaieff, especially the latter, which they made very strong.

At Kertch, the Turkish contingent, under General Vivian, preserved their position. Very little information was given by the general to his government, probably because he had very little to communicate. When the winter was breaking the following letter was written by an officer of the contingent, and gives a more correct, and, at the same time, lively picture of events there and in the neighbourhood than we have elsewhere met with:—"The ice having at length broken, on account of the prevalent strong southerly winds, we are now enabled to continue our landing of stores, and the transport fleet in the bay are obliged (much to their dissatisfaction) to have recourse to their boats and lighters once more, after having amused themselves for the past month in discharging their cargoes daily on the ice. We all hail with delight this change in the weather, for between the various daily reports of an expected attack from the Russians in our rear, and the channel frozen over to the Taman side in our front (almost sufficient to allow the crossing of an immense army), our situation has been anything but comfortable, and, with the exception of our transport skippers, who rejoice in anything like demurrage, especially in government employ, everything seems in high glee. We have received almost daily for the past month accounts from Tartar spies that a large body of the Russian army are intrenching themselves at Argin—the place where the 10th Hussars and Chasseurs d'Afrique had a skirmish with the Cossacks in September last. From this we

can draw two inferences—either that an attack is meditated on this place, or that, the navigation of the Sea of Azoff being now rendered impracticable by our gun-boats, the Russians are availing themselves of the 'tongue of Arabat' in forwarding their supplies into the Crimea. The latter suggestion is thought most probable, for since the Kinburn affair the enemy will prepare themselves for the loss of Perekop, and, having determined to 'make hay while the sun shines,' are thus taking advantage of the inclemency of the season. In the meantime, should their object be attained upon us, they will find that General Vivian has not been idle, and, with the limited means at his disposal, has rendered this place, in a military point of view, perfectly capable of resisting an attack of an army of 30,000 men. The only obstacle heretofore has been a want of siege guns to put into position, which deficiency has been in a measure attended to by the commander-in-chief before Sebastopol and the seraskier at Constantinople, the latter having sent up some beautiful long 32-pounder brass pieces from the foundry at Tophané. The Turkish soldiers, as you are aware, have the reputation of being the most capable in the world at throwing up earthworks and digging intrenchments; and certainly, in this instance, they deserve a great deal of praise, for, under the able guidance of Major Stokes, the commanding engineer officer of the contingent, they have completed works which might well be shown as examples to other nations. Fort Paul is now a second Malakoff, and, should necessity oblige us to evacuate Kertch and fly back upon that place, we could well defy the whole Russian army to effect a dislodgement. On the 6th instant (the Russian Christmas) the Cossacks paid us a visit, and approached in large numbers (supposed 5000) to within four or five miles of this place. The alarm guns having been fired, every man was at his post with wonderful alacrity, the batteries of artillery taking up their respective positions in the town and on the Yenikale and Fort Paul roads. His majesty's gun-boat *Weser*, although frozen hard and fast in the ice, was prepared for action, being in a position to command the Yenikale Road, and by the elevation of his great guns, to throw shot and shell far beyond the town in the direction of Arabat. Should the services of this vessel not have been required in either of these points, Lieutenant Ross had already volunteered to place himself and his crew under the general's orders, and work the batteries if required. The Land Transport Corps were on the alert, and prepared to convey ammunition to the different magazines, and the commissariat turned out a large force of Tartar labourers, armed with axes, &c. to prevent the firing of any of the govern-

ment stores, which had been well filled with provisions previous to the setting in of the ice. Our cavalry having been ordered out, under the command of Major M'Donald, the Cossacks fell back, but in the evening returned and burnt the Spanish farm, about six miles distant, from which the contingent had been receiving large supplies of forage. The health of the contingent has been excellent, and Brigadier Holmes, the commandant at Kertch, with his able assistant, Dr. Gunn, leaves no means untied in regulating the sanitary condition of the town; in fact, everything has been done to guard against disease which might be brought on through negligence in not removing the filth which naturally collects in a place of this kind. With the exception of the land transport, which requires increasing, since 8000 more men have been added to the contingent force, every department is in thorough order; and the commissariat at the present moment have four months' provisions in advance, already landed and stored. No exertions have been spared on the part of Commissary-general Adams to provide everything in his power for the comfort of the contingent; and considering the late season of the year before it was determined where should be its field of opera-

tion, as well as the difficulty in making contracts, I consider the commissariat has accomplished wonders. Two companies of the 71st regiment are in Kertch, and the remainder, under command of Colonel Ready, are at Yenikale. Part of a company of the Royal Artillery, under the acting command of Lieutenant Woolfe, are at Fort St. Paul. These, with the 4th regiment d'Infantry de Marine, divisions of the Chasseurs d'Afrique, and 10th Hussars, and about 16,000 of the contingent, constitute the force under General Vivian's command, and who occupy the posts of Kertch, Yenikale, and Fort St. Paul. At Yenikale I am informed that the men of the 71st regiment have established a capital theatre, and perform one day each week before a well-filled house. With the exception of an occasional *soirée* at one another's barracks, I think the Turks are without amusement; but, being naturally a very steady race of men, they are contented by sitting at their own firesides nightly, and listening to the recital of oriental tales. They all appear well contented with the discipline, &c., established by the English officers who command them, and their wants being supplied in food, pay, and clothing, they have no cause of complaint."

## CHAPTER CXX.

### TURKEY FROM THE FALL OF SOUTHERN SEBASTOPOL UNTIL THE TREATY OF PEACE.

"It is to be feared that the next time we go to war on account of Turkey it will be for the spoils."

MAJOR-GENERAL SIR W. F. WILLIAMS, BART.

In a previous chapter the effect produced by the fall of Sebastopol upon the Mohammedan and Christian races of the Turkish empire, and especially at Constantinople, was described. For a long time after that event the Greeks caused uneasiness by the malevolent spirit they evinced towards the allies, and their sympathy with Russia. Their grief and rage were boundless when they heard of the allied successes in the Sea of Azoff following rapidly upon the capture of Sebastopol. These feelings were increased by the taking of Kinburn; and as the cavalry skirmishes and reconnaissances in the neighbourhoods of Kertch and Eupatoria were exaggerated by the Turkish press into grand battles, in which the Russians were defeated with great slaughter, the Greek mind had constant food for its regrets and exasperation. So vehement was the defence of the Russian cause by Greeks of respectability in steamboats, cafés, and bazaars, and so outrageous their insults of the allies, especially to the French, that the *gens d'arms* established by the latter at Constantinople made numerous arrests, and the sultan's government took such steps as led these persons to apprehend the

penalty of treason. This policy imperfectly served as a warning, for fanaticism mastered all other influences in the Greek mind. The Turkish government behaved with the greatest decency and tolerance throughout this agitation.

The state of the Christian communities, and their relations with the Turks mutually, were constant sources of irritation and weakness to the allies; for Russia found a pretext for assuming a superior moral position in the struggle as the friend of Christianity, and the defender of persecuted races, whereas her only motives for interfering in Turkish affairs were bigotry, avarice of territory, and ambition of conquest: unless it be allowed that certain Russian statesmen and the Russian court really regarded the dismemberment of Turkey as inevitable, and taking "time by the forelock"—and Turkey also—resolved to secure the largest portion of the prey. That events will ultimately necessitate the dismemberment of the Turkish empire we have little doubt; and that such an opinion forces itself upon the mind of the remarkable man from whose words the motto for this chapter is selected, the motto itself sufficiently indicates. The state of Turkey at this

juncture justified these apprehensions, and furnished Russia with a plausible argument to excuse her doings. The conduct of the Christian populations subject to Turkey, and of the Christian allies of Turkey, was not calculated to soften the asperity of the Turks to either. When British officers and visitors urged the wisdom of a more tolerant policy, the reply was, "Behold, O great English lord, this war arose from a quarrel between one sect of Christians and another, and Greeks and Armenians are only prevented by the followers of Islam from cutting one another's throats." When the toleration practised by the allies was referred to as an example for Turkey to follow, intelligent Turks pointed to the jealousy which France and Austria evinced to English and American missionaries; and with still more force reminded the English of the persecutions carried on by the chaplains at Scutari against the Scripture-readers sent out by voluntary communities in England to assist in ministering consolation to the sick. A writer from Scutari pithily remarked—"Christianity, in her several aspects, at present is doing harm—deep, deadly harm—to the mind of the Turk; he cannot recognise her as of God." Still, in commerce and general intelligence, the traitorous Christian subjects of the Porte were increasing in influence and power; while in every department the Turks were declining,—even in the military art; for, notwithstanding the heroism of the Turkish soldier when well led, the Turkish government seldom intrusted the care of its troops to able or skilful men, nor amongst native officers were these to be often obtained. "The fiery valour of Khaled" was often to be found in the armies of Turkey among the common soldiers—seldom or never among their leaders, and the spirit of the caliphs had departed from her palaces. Almost all her successful officers were foreigners; those who were not, received their education in foreign lands. Englishmen planned and executed nearly all her arsenals and docks; English, French, and Germans trained her armies; and officers of the first-named power disciplined her navy. Still she effected to despise the Giaour, even as she hated him. When the people of Turkey heard that France and England had become allies, and that fleets and armies were to be sent by these powers to the sultan's aid, their impression was that these resources were to be placed at the sultan's absolute disposal—that he would, in fact, command the auxiliary forces of the West. Great was their disgust when they found it otherwise; indignation and rage were added to that feeling when they found that the allies were perfectly masters of their own movements. But when, at last, they found these armed hosts interfering in the policy of Tur-

key, and, above all, in its domestic policy, and with bold language, a strong will, and even high hand, blank astonishment and despair took possession of the Turkish mind. Every fresh concession as to his treatment of his own subjects, wrung, by what the Turks regarded as an armed diplomacy, from the sultan, was received as a new omen of the decline of the state. Every statute which the allies insisted upon as necessary to the regeneration of Turkey, the Turks themselves considered the harbinger of her ruin. They wished nothing changed but their weakness; they desired an accumulation of strength to repel the Russian and to work their will upon the Christian populations of the sultan's empire.

The treaty with Greece, forced upon the sultan by the Western powers, did not work well; its effects were not at first seen; but at the time of which we now write it was generally regarded as injurious to the welfare and even to the security of Turkey. The right of the rayahs to assert an acquired Hellenic nationality against the authority of the Turkish courts was certainly pernicious, notwithstanding the modifications and restrictions by which that privilege was restrained. According to the general relations of Turkey with other powers, the privilege of consular trial existed, which removed the subjects of foreign nations resident in Turkey, from the caprices, fanaticism, prejudices against Giaours, and inequitable maxims, prevailing in Turkish courts. According to the Greek treaty, Greece was to be put on a level with the most highly-favoured nations, and therefore the right above specified belonged to her subjects. It had, however, been the practice of the Greek subjects of the Porte to cross the frontier, reside a certain time in Greece, adopt an Hellenic nationality, and then return to Turkey, claiming all the immunities of foreigners; so that within the sultan's dominions vast numbers of his subjects were thus throwing off their allegiance to him, and adopting allegiance to another sovereign, that notoriously sought to revolutionise the sultan's dominions, and extend his own at their cost. The King of Greece impudently sought to continue this right; and a clause to that effect was originally inserted in the treaty, but struck out at the remonstrance of Turkey. Nevertheless, the vast numbers of the sultan's subjects who had adopted Greek nationality previous to the treaty, and obviously with purposes hostile to the sultan's government, were allowed to continue their claims to the immunity, leaving, as it proved, an element of disunion and disorder in the country. The treaty in no respect did justice to Turkey; it was an illustration of the time-serving, trimming policy of the allies; they desired to cover Greece in her wrong-doing, and, upon prom-

of repentance, allow her to escape all the penalties of her faithlessness and animosity to the allied cause. There were reasons for this which were satisfactory to France and Austria, but could not give satisfaction to England, and did not give redress to Turkey. There were men among the Greeks, natives of Turkey, who, when assured of the fall of Sebastopol, and the series of successes gained by the allies after that event, perceived that no hope of religious ascendancy, or even of religious immunity of any kind, could be promoted by Russia, and foreseeing a peace disadvantageous to Russian influence in Turkey, politically assumed a fear of Russian ascendancy at Constantinople as more dangerous to the pure Greek rite and to Greek nationality than the rule of the sultan; but there were none who disguised their greater apprehension of religious disadvantage from the ascendancy of French and Austrian counsels at the Porte in favour of the Latin Church, and the ascendancy of England in favour of Protestantism and religious liberty.

The Armenians sympathised with these Greeks. What this section of Greeks professed, the Armenians generally and sincerely thought. They were adverse to a Russian conquest, which would coerce them to the Greek rite, but preferred that to the abject subjection which Turkey imposed upon them, and to the ascendancy in any degree of Mohammedanism; but they were very willing to coquette with the czar, to act as Russian agents for Russian gold, and, by an ostensible friendship, obtain for their patriarchs and prelates, through the Muscovite embassy, titles and honours. At first the hopes of the Armenians turned much to America, but the American influence was not exercised with an astute policy, nor their services to the Armenian people gratefully appreciated. The following singularly interesting letter on the state of the Armenians was written from Scutari, and accords in most respects with the opinions which are here expressed:—"Twenty minutes' ride out of the Asiatic portion of the metropolis of Turkey opens to view an immense waste of hills, mountains, flats, and ravines nearly desolate; a large flock of sheep and goats may be met with, or a herd of cattle picking out what groweth of itself; or in yon ravine is a small village of Turks, and in another more distant a larger village of Armenians; all look rude and uncultivated, in a natural state, except here and there a spot exposed, for want of fencing, in the most fertile valleys; and these spots are green, with corn springing out of the earth, that was but half-mowed, of late, by a rude plough, and trodden nearly all over by the pair of hard-shinned oxen that drew that simple instrument: yet everything is full of interest to the intelligent Christian as he rides freely,

and inhales the soft air that breathes upon this fertile but rude country. Many sweet, lowly, and lovely flowers spring and bloom unnoticed among the contemptible scrub and heath, that are all stunted and crippled till they spread, fixed in the fertile soil, only to defy the growth of articles more suited to the comfort of man for support and pleasure, when light has been diffused to raise the fragrance of cultivated plants, and to cut up and consume the vile and give to the useful the genial rays of sunshine, or the shade of fruit and timber trees, where all before was desolation. The historical memorials of this land are exceedingly interesting; but, above all other people here, the Armenians are, as a nation, most interesting for their remote antiquity; yet, like the sweet, lowly, lonely, and lovely flower upon the heath-down, they are now spreading their influence unostentatiously. When Abraham wandered in Padan-Aram, or Mesopotamia, he found there an hospitable people; and, excepting the single despot, Cushan Risbathaim, we read of no Armenians who made war for the extension of their dominion. At a later period the two regicides who slew the blasphemous despot in the house of Nimrod, found an independent monarchy and an asylum in the land of Armenia. This people retain the same disposition as their hospitable forefathers. They have no soldiers nor sailors; but they are distinct from the Turks and the Greeks by language, by customs, and by many lovely traits of character. It is not necessary to speak of generosity after the old style in Britain, especially in writing of a people long trodden down, and suffering extortion and oppression, with persecution that may have induced an avaricious spirit under a state of compulsory ignorance; but it is worthy of our admiration that we find them kind-hearted, especially to the '*Ingliz*,' polite, intelligent, industrious, and entertaining. Very little attention to their very fair, and smooth, and intelligent faces will enable the stranger to pick them out from the Turks and Greeks, who are inferior to them in these things; and the only danger of a mistake would be in meeting with a Jew amongst them, for many of the Jews resemble them here in the fair smooth skin and high straight forehead,—the foreheads of the Greeks and Turks being more inclined, and the Armenians and Israelites, being unquestionably descendants of Shem, and both alike are very distinct from the others. The Assyrians, as a people, against whom the Armenians had to contend for the independence of their nation and country, are now unknown and extinct, but the latter are everywhere found, as a people who are looking out for Scripture light from Britain, and animated with patriotic feelings for the prosperity of their nation.

They are without a king, as a people, and at the same time they have a very high regard for the sultan as loyal subjects. They have national administration allowed in some points; their priests exercise the power of a magistrate; and though these priests exercise that power to persecute, they would rather endure it for a time, in hope of reformation, than suffer the contention of foreign sects to break the harmony of their existence as a nation. These priests have hitherto maintained a jealous regard for the customs of antiquity, as conservatives, so far as to retain the formalities of heathen times as to dresses, chanting, decorating the altar, bowings, prostrations, &c., in their worship professedly as Christians. But there are many who hope for a change, and with good reason, for the priests are paid by the people, as by families, each family choosing its priest; hence, as the light gets diffused, the priests must improve also, or they will not be sustained. Here we may also state a fact in proof. An English doctor has recently had much intercourse with these people, and the result is, even the priests begin to preach from the Scriptures as they never were known to do before. Several influential laymen amongst them are, by the same influence, beginning to spread the Gospel from house to house, and within a few days it is expected they will have a Sunday-school opened. It is with much grief of heart we have to say these people are out of confidence with the Americans. They say—'Some of our own people that have been educated preach Christ, but the Americans preach theology, and make disputes about questions; which will make us divided, and we do not like such things. If some English will come and give medicine to the sick, they can instruct us, and we can do for ourselves. We do not like the Roman Catholics, and we do not want different sects amongst us. Give us Bibles and Bible-teachers, who can heal the sick, and who love our nation.' From the Turks we have met with ignorant haughtiness and stolid barbarity; from the Greeks, coarseness, perfidy, fraud, and drunkenness; but from the Armenians, gentleness, sincerity, and kindness; from all we find just the same things we had understood before from history. In conversation they are free and easy; in their habits, the most cleanly of orientals that have come under our own personal observation. They are highly delighted to entertain an English *hokim* (doctor), who can speak to them of Christ, and all the wisdom of the '*Ingiliz*.' While being amongst them we have given every facility to the diffusion of the Gospel, not sparing expense, though unable to labour much personally in this way, not having leisure, hoping it will find more support from friends in England,

where the matter is better known, as we hope to make it known shortly, in various ways more at large." We know of no description of the general spirit and condition of the Armenian population of Turkey, as compared with Greek and Turk, which presents so faithful a picture. At the same time it must not be forgotten that in the north of Asiatic Turkey, along the Russian frontiers, the Armenian people have been corrupted by Russian gold, and deceived by the czar's promises, and, in consequence, are not loyal to the sultan, but rather hope for the advance of Muscovite conquest, in the expectation that it will give them freedom from Mohammedan persecution.

Thus matters stood between the Porte and the people of Turkey, when, before the close of 1855, Austria with great earnestness pressed renewed negotiations upon all the belligerents. As soon as France and England perceived that a new peace conference was likely to ensue, they worked to disarm Russia, if possible, of her strong weapon of moral contest—the condition of the Christian population of the Turkish dominions. A good deal had been done, and, as the reader saw in the chapters on the defence of Kars, the effect produced upon the Christian sects of Asiatic Turkey was considerable. But much more remained to be done if Russia, in a new conference, were to be deprived of her specious pretext for interference. Accordingly, the ambassadors of the allies and of Austria pressed such concession upon the sultan, as would leave little to be discussed on the "fourth point" in any new conference. The ministers of the allies having drawn up a note, representing their desires for reform and concession, presented it to the Sublime Porte on the 22nd of January. The first point insisted upon in this document was the recognition of equality among all subjects of the sultan, irrespective of creed, and the protection alike of the persons and property of all, as a consequence of that recognition. It referred to the position of foreigners in the Turkish dominions, as to their legal incapacity to hold real property. The second point treated of the maladministration of justice in the Turkish courts. As the prejudices of the Mussulman judges were not likely to give way, separate courts for Mohammedans and Christians were proposed, when the prosecutor and defendant were of the same creed. Mixed courts were suggested for mixed cases. The right of Christian testimony in all courts was demanded. This was a great difficulty; for the Greeks had so little probity or veracity in their dealings with Turks, that the latter were not likely to place the smallest reliance upon their evidence. The third point referred to police. A great many suggestions were offered concerning internal improvement, commerce, and

other matters, which seemed very inappropriate in such a document. A lecture was read to the sultan and his government which, had it come from Russia, all Western Europe would have resounded with the outcry of our politicians and diplomatists. In fact, there was scarcely a subject connected with the management of the internal affairs of the sultan's empire in which, in a tone of demand, some suggestions were not presented. The fourth point referred to the army. The document recorded that the loyalty of all classes should be relied upon for armed support to the sultan's throne. The sultan and his government knew well that the Christians of his empire would evade enlistment and conscription if they could, unless they had some political object in view adverse to his rule, for which they would probably arm. The last point demanded a repeal of the law prohibiting Christians from filling civil and military offices.

With these concessions, it was evident that Mohammedan ascendancy was gone for ever. Neither in race nor religion could the Turks possess any distinctive power. The races and religionists in whose favour these concessions were sought could not be conciliated, except the Armenians, who had no taste for arms. The Greeks would never be satisfied with anything short of the ascendancy of the Greek name and race, religion and language, alike above Turk and Armenian.

When the Turkish cabinet received this astounding series of proposals, it returned them to the ambassadors, and begged them to reconsider demands so sweeping, and so likely to humble the sultan's sovereign power. The ambassadors admitted the reasonableness of this request, and modified the proposals, but vaguely and indefinitely, preferring to leave their ulterior shape to the result of personal conferences.

The Christians did not receive these proposals as favourably as their patrons expected, or as favourably as did the Turkish government. The payment of a tax for exemption from military service would be abolished upon the new plan, whereas the Christians, having no ambition to be drawn in the conscription, would prefer the tax. The light in which the Greeks chose to take it at last was a demand for the abolition of the conscription tax, originally substituted for a conscription, and to consider themselves entitled to exemption from both. Thus did they turn every effort made in their behalf into a grievance, except it came from Russia, as of like faith with themselves, and unless it tended to subvert the sultan's power, and exalt their own ambition on its ruin.

After much discussion, and close urgency on the part of the ambassadors, their large demands were in the main conceded. Lord Stratford de Redcliffe was resolved to follow up

this success promptly, and with a boldness that startled all. He invited the sultan to a fancy ball! The sultan, according to Mussulman ideas, is the representative, and in a certain sense the successor, of the Prophet. He is above all kings, and must recognise no equal. His presence should be guarded from all approach, unless admission be vouchsafed as the greatest favour. To go as a guest to the house of an ambassador—to see ladies expose themselves in the familiarities of the fashionable dances, from which so many of their sex shrink with disgust in their own countries—was horrible to Turkish notions of the sacredness of their sultan. Whatever surprise the offer of such an invitation from the chief of the Giaour lords might cause, the sultan's acceptance of it caused much more. The wisest Turks shook their heads sadly, and stroked their beards, saying that "Allah was great, but Turkey was fallen;" they murmured like the prophet in his plaintive song, "God hath shown his people hard things; he has made us to drink the wine of astonishment."

On the 31st of January, Pera was filled with multitudes of persons in the highest excitement, hurrying to every point of view from which the great wonder of the visit of the great padishaw to the great Giaour might be viewed. Not only was the sultan to be there, but all the dignitaries of his capital and government were to be there to receive him. The approaches to the palace were guarded by British Guards and Highlanders, some detachments of both being then at Constantinople. This circumstance increased the pomp, and the strange associations of the scene. There stood the red infidels, with their gigantic statures and plumed hats, in all the pride of power, as if every man felt that a greater victory was gained over the East that day than had been gained for the East when the tricolour of France floated above the Malakoff. The band of the first battalion of the German Legion performed various airs. At eight o'clock at night a signal-fire blazed on the heights above the imperial palace of Tcheregan, and on the instant the booming of cannon from Galata Serai proclaimed that the sultan had left his palace. Before nine o'clock he arrived at the embassy, the troops presented arms, and the band struck up the "Sultan's March" and "God save the Queen." Lord Stratford received his majesty at the foot of the great staircase. The guests had assembled in the ball-room. A throne had been prepared for him, upon which he took his seat, the representatives of foreign powers standing at one side, and the dignitaries of his own empire at the other. The ladies of foreign ambassadors, and other distinguished foreigners, were presented to him. After such ceremonials as were in-

tended to mark the homage of the company for the sovereign of the country in whose capital they were assembled, dancing began. It was the first time his imperial majesty had witnessed the dances of Northern and Western Europe, and the expressions of his countenance were of surprise, alternating with disapproval. He stood up to observe the forms and evolutions of the dances, and only once seated himself during the hour he remained. At the termination of that period he ordered his attendants to show him to the refreshment-room. His majesty is extremely enervated by his mode of life, and is unable to bear any fatigue, much less practise any manly exercise. He intended to return to the ball-room, but found his strength insufficient. On his withdrawal, he took Lord Stratford's hand—a departure from custom, as only the pashas of highest dignity are allowed to touch the sultan, and then only his feet.

The French, ever emulous, were desirous to see an equal honour paid to the French ambassador, who addressed an invitation to his majesty of a similar nature to that of Lord Stratford. It was accepted. M. Thouvenel seemed determined to improve upon his English diplomatic cousin, for very splendid preparations were made for the sultan's reception. The palace of the embassy was brilliantly illuminated, and on the sultan's arrival, Bengal lights burst forth, showing the sultan the grandeur of the scene through which he was passing. The pyrotechnic displays of M. Thouvenel surpassed anything in the way of exterior preparation made by Lord Stratford. In the interior of the embassy there was the usual fault of all French official receptions—the affair was too military. There was a chasteness and massive grandeur in the interior preparations of the palace of the British embassy which were in better taste than the dazzling brightness and extreme military pomp of the French embassy. Zouaves, cuirassiers, dragoons, and Chasseurs d'Afrique were crowded in the palace, wherever a soldier could be placed with any supposed propriety. The general effect of all this military display was exaggerated, and exceedingly out of keeping.

The sultan seemed to have learned his lesson by his visit to the English embassy. He bore himself with more dignity, and on beholding a portrait of the Emperor Napoleon, he turned to the ambassador, and said, "I am happy to behold the features of my august and faithful ally. I experience the most lively satisfaction at being *his* guest to-day." His majesty was more splendidly attired for this ambassadorial visit than the former—his apparel was resplendent with jewels. He was also more lively and self-possessed. The arrangements were altogether more showy and less tasteful

than at the English embassy. The usual happy aptitude for receptions in good taste, at all events where no temptation to pompous military parade exists, seemed to have forsaken the French on this occasion. Nothing could surpass the grace and ease of the sultan, who won the regard of all the guests of the evening.

Such were the doings of the Turkish capital while negotiations were going on with great activity in the other European courts, and while the belligerent armies were confronting one another, and preparing to stain the flowery fields of the Crimea with carnage, when spring should set them free for action.

On the 18th of February Constantinople passed from the tradition of centuries to a new phase of political existence. On that day the promulgation of the vast concessions acceded to all the races and religions in the Turkish empire, constituted a new era in the Moslem history. The day was cold and wet—one of those cold, miserable days so peculiar to that city, when winter begins to soften into the first indications of spring. Never before did the capital of successive empires witness such crowds congregated together. The Turkish soldiers exerted themselves with exemplary patience and energy, especially the sultan's guards, to keep the line; but such was the throng, that their efforts were inadequate. It was an occasion of grief to Abdul-Medjid; one of his daughters was buried that day, and the ceremonial of her funeral retarded the proclamation of the political concessions some hours. From the funeral rites of his child he proceeded to bury the ascendancy of his race and creed. What emotions must that day have passed through the heart of the lord of a thousand races and tribes, and the head of a people, the strangest and most romantic in its history which the world ever witnessed, except the children of Israel. All day the multitudes of every creed and race which are represented by the motley inhabitants of Constantinople, stood beneath the drizzling rain, bitten by the piercing cold. At three o'clock the chief of the chancellerie (the grand-vizier) read the firman. The Sheikh-ul-Islam offered a prayer, it was believed, much against his will. The grand-vizier delivered an address. Copies of the firman and of the grand-vizier's speech were distributed among the excited multitude, and the firman was ordered to be translated into all the languages of the empire, and sent into every province. The pageant dissolved, and the people dispersed.

Few who knew Turkey believed in the sincerity of the chief actors in this drama: sultan, vizier, sheik, and the multitudinous crowd of officials concerned, intended the firman to be a dead letter—and a dead letter it remained, except as the importunities and threats of the embassies compelled some semblance of conformi-

to its provisions. Although one of the most important political documents of the age, it is not necessary to insert it entire. It was addressed to the grand-vizier, and contained certain preliminary declarations customary to the formalities of Turkish state papers. Our readers will perceive that it is drawn up with consummate ability, disguising in generalities of language the force of the concessions made. For instance, the fact that the testimony of Christians should in future be admissible is conveyed, not by an express declaration in plain terms, but by an implication, which, however, necessarily involves the fact. Thus, in reference to the proceedings of the mixed courts, it orders that all the witnesses shall take an oath according to the forms binding in his religion.

*Copy of the Firman of the Sultan, granting civil and religious equality to all his Subjects.*

"By the efforts of my subjects and those of my allies, the external relations of my government have acquired a new force, and I wish now likewise to augment its strength in the interior, and to make all my subjects happy, for, united as they are by their common sacrifices and their patriotism, they are all equal in my eyes; my will is therefore that the following points be rigorously enforced:—

"I confirm all the assurances given by the Hatti Scheriff of Gulhané, as to the security of the lives, the property, and honour of all classes of my subjects, without distinction of rank or religion, and I will that these assurances be minutely observed.

"All the privileges and immunities which have been given to the Christian and other communities which are under my sceptre are again confirmed. A revision will be effected without delay of the privileges, and improvements made according to the spirit of the age and the actual state of society, and with my sovereign sanction. The councils which will be expressly established at the patriarch's, under the inspection of the Sublime Porte, will have to discuss these improvements and submit them to my government. The power given to the patriarchs by Mohammed the Conqueror and my other glorious ancestors will be combined with this new position created for them by me, and when the mode of election of the patriarch will have been ameliorated, the patriarch will be named by diploma for life.

"According to a method devised by the Sublime Porte, the patriarch, and the chiefs of the Christian and other communities, the patriarchs, archbishops, vicaries, bishops, and rabbis, will have to take an oath of allegiance.

"All contributions and casual profits levied by the clergy from the communities are forbidden. Fixed revenues will be assigned to the patriarchs, archbishops, vicaries, and bishops,

and a sufficient salary apportioned to the lower clergy, according to their rank and functions. The movable and immovable goods of the clergy will not be touched.

"A council chosen by the clergy and laity of the Christian and other communities will be intrusted with the direction of the national affairs of the community.

"No objection will be made to repairing the churches, schools, hospitals, and cemeteries in the different towns, villages, and hamlets according to the primitive design which may still exist. If it becomes necessary to erect new ones, and the patriarchs or the chiefs of the communities approve it, the plan will be submitted to the Sublime Porte, in order that I may give my sovereign approbation for its erection, or else that the objections to which it is open might be made against it.

"If in some places there is a community quite isolated—that is to say, without people belonging to another religion—such a community may celebrate publicly its religious ceremonies. But in the places inhabited by people belonging to different religions each may in its own quarter, adapting itself to the above-named principle, repair its proper churches, schools, hospitals, and cemeteries.

"As to building a new edifice, the patriarch and synod will demand the permission of the Sublime Porte, which will be accorded, if there are no internal political considerations which prevent it. But whatever is done in these matters should be always done in a spirit of charity and tolerance. Energetic measures will be taken to insure the freest possible exercise of every religion. All epithets and distinctions which could tend to show a difference between one class of my subjects, as the lower, and another as the higher one, are forever abolished from all the documents of my imperial chancellery. It is likewise strictly forbidden to officials and private individuals to use offensive and dishonouring terms, and the offenders will be punished.

"As all religions can be exercised freely, no one will be molested on account of his religion, and no one forced to change his religion. As the choice of those employed depends on my imperial will, all my subjects will be received for offices according to the existing regulations, and according to their capacities, and if they satisfy the conditions demanded by the regulations of the imperial schools—namely, if they are of the proper age, and pass the prescribed examinations—they will be admitted likewise into the military offices. Besides, each community is free to erect schools for arts and sciences. Only the studies followed there and the choice of teachers will be subject to the inspection of a mixed commission named by the Sublime Porte.

"All commercial and criminal causes between the members of two different religious communities will be subject to a mixed court, whose sittings will be public. The accuser and accused will be confronted there, and the witnesses will take the oath, according to their religion, to tell the truth. Civil causes in the provinces and sandjaks will be examined in the mixed courts, in the presence of the vali and the cadi. The sittings will be likewise public. Causes between two of the same community, or those relating to successions, will, according to the wish of the parties, be brought before the patriarchs or the medjlids. A commercial and criminal code, as well as regulations respecting the proceedings of the mixed courts, will be as soon as possible completed, and published after being translated into all the languages in my empire.

"In order to combine humanity with justice, the state of the prisons and other places of detention will be ameliorated, and regulations made as to the detention of those condemned for smaller crimes. With the exception of the police regulations of the Sublime Porte in this respect, all ill-treatment and corporal punishment or torture are completely abolished, and whoever should dare to inflict them will be severely punished. The police in Constantinople, as well as in the provinces, must be so established as to protect most efficiently life and property.

"As equality of taxation will be introduced, it will be justice that the Christian and other subjects should furnish, as well as the Mussulmans, their contingent of troops; they must therefore submit to the decision which has been lately taken in this respect. But in these questions the system will be followed to give an equivalent in money—that is, to give money, and be thereby exempt from active service.

"Regulations will be made shortly for employing all the subjects in the ranks of the army, independently of the Mussulmans, and when made these regulations will be published.

"The medjlis will be reformed in the provinces, in order to place the election of Mussulmans and non-Mussulmans on a good footing, and to insure the free and true manifestation of opinion; and energetic measures will be taken that the Sublime Porte may know the result of these opinions, and on which side the right is.

"As in commercial affairs, and as regards the possession of landed property, the laws are equal for all my subjects; when the Sublime Porte shall have made an arrangement with the foreign powers, to the effect that foreigners should submit in this respect to the laws of the country, and pay imposts at the same rate as the natives, the right to possess landed property will be conceded to foreigners.

"As the taxes are levied equally on all subjects, one must think of the means to prevent the abuses in the collection of these taxes, especially of the tithes, and to establish, as far as it is possible, a direct system of collection instead of the system of farming the revenues now pursued. In the meantime, any public functionary who should let such revenues at public auction, or even take a share in it, will be severely punished. The local taxes must, as much as possible, be distributed so as not to do harm to the production and to the development of commerce. Imposts will be levied in the provinces for generally useful purposes which will be applied for the benefit of those provinces, which will have the advantage of the roads for their communication inland and their connection with the sea.

"As the Sublime Porte has lately made a budget of its revenues and expenses, this budget must be followed up and developed. The pay of each public functionary ought to be fixed. An *employé* will be appointed for every Christian and other community, in order to take care of the affairs which concern the general interests of my subjects, and to assist at the state council. These *employés* are expressly taken from the ministry of the grand vizier; they are named for a year, and have to take an oath before they enter on their functions.

"The members of the state council will be free to manifest their opinions in the ordinary and extraordinary sittings, and will not be molested for that. The laws against corruption will be executed against all my subjects without distinction, and to whatever class or rank they may belong.

"The Sublime Porte will do her best to establish a good system of credit, and favor all things tending to raise it, as, for instance, a bank, for which the necessary capital will be procured.

"The Sublime Porte will construct roads and canals for the transport of produce, and will give facilities for the extension of agriculture by removing all impediments."

The remainder of this state document consists in formalities, such as ordering the Serasker Azam to see that the imperial will should be executed.

The masses of the Turkish people became exasperated against all infidels by this proclamation of liberty, and incendiary fires frequently lit up the horizon during the remainder of February and throughout the month of March. These symptoms of discontent did not cease until the treaty of peace directed men's minds into another channel of excitement, and the people, besides, began to hope that when the fleets and armies of the allies departed, public affairs would flow again.

in the old channel, and Christians throughout the empire might be abused and beaten with impunity, as before. The influence of the ambassadors of the allies was used with increasing earnestness to modify the prejudices, and correct the abuses and corruption, of the Turkish government. The contest was a sharp one; the friends of the old order of things maintained a ceaseless struggle, and they constituted a majority everywhere, except that among the lower orders and the common soldiery there was a strong desire to see corrupt officialism overthrown. The following letter gives a faithful picture of the state of things which followed the events already recorded in this chapter. The attention of the reader is especially called to a consideration of its statements. It was written from Constantinople, by one conversant with the hopes and dangers by which the Turkish empire was agitated:—

“Any one who wants to give a correct picture of Turkish affairs in these times of crisis, transition, and confusion, has to use so much dark colouring, that he seizes with pleasure every opportunity to throw in a little light, and thus to relieve the dreary *chiaro-oscuro* of the picture. The darkest spot in this dark picture is the official world at Stamboul, and just in this darkest spot I wish to point out a ray of light. It is the council of state. Like all other branches of Turkish bureaucracy, the council of state was modelled after its namesakes in continental Europe, its original destination being that of a legislative and controlling body, to which, moreover, the highest criminal jurisdiction was added. Since the institution of the Council of the Tanzimat, the legislative functions of the council of state have been transferred to the former, and the council of state has only retained its other duties. It watches over the execution of the existing laws; it is consulted about the introduction of new ones; it exercises a species of control over the acts of the government in general, and over those of the *employés* in particular; it appoints the governor-generals of the provinces, and gives them their instructions, and hears the complaints of the population against the *employés*. The judicial functions of the council of state are double. First, it acts as the highest court of appeal in all criminal cases, and no sentence of death can be executed unless on the special order of the sultan, which is given on the report of the council of state. Besides this general criminal jurisdiction, the council of state inquires into and judges all the crimes committed against the state, and all the abuses perpetrated by public functionaries. It would have been too much to expect that in the midst of a system of corruption this branch of the government should alone remain uncontaminated, especially as during the last

few years the members of the council of state were augmented just in the same ratio and in the same manner as those of the other public officers, so that any ministry who may be in office can with certainty calculate in most cases on a majority in its favour. But there is in the council of state a small phalanx which has kept its independence, and which tries to fulfil the object for which this body has been instituted, without caring for the pleasure or displeasure of any ministry. This small phalanx is the only sign of a systematic opposition to the abuses and corruption in the administration of the country. I don't mean to insinuate that there are not single men in other branches of the government, and others out of office, who deeply deplore the state to which Turkey has been reduced in consequence of the dishonesty of government officials, but, being isolated, their voice is not audible, and their efforts are without any great result; whereas the union of this minority in the state council and the more independent position of the members act, in many instances, as a check on the government. At the head of this minority is Ahmed Vefik Effendi, the late ambassador in Persia. He is one of the few Turks who have reaped all the advantages of a European education without losing their national character. The usual case is that young men sent to Europe bring back a superficial knowledge of European ideas, and neglect to study their own country. They cease thus to be Turks without becoming Europeans. Early employed in prominent situations, Ahmed Vefik Effendi has attracted the attention of all parties who were anxious to secure his co-operation, and he would long ago have been promoted to the highest posts of the state, had he not been too high-minded to consent to compromise between his convictions and his interests. His probity is such that his worst enemies—and he has many, as you may imagine—never dared to question it. Besides, he gave a proof of it unexampled in Turkish official history. Not yet thirty he was sent, during the Russian occupation of the principalities in 1849, as commissioner to those countries, in order to remedy the confusion in which they had been left by his predecessor. He succeeded most completely in his mission. At the end of it he was offered the customary present which every Turkish commissioner sent to the principalities had received from immemorial times, and which amounted to several hundred thousand piastres, and he refused it, because he was in principle against presents being given to public officials. Under the guidance of this man the minority of the state council follows up its arduous task of fighting, like a forlorn hope, against the system of corruption. On the political ground they have, indeed, always

to yield, overpowered by the majority; but in their judicial sphere they are more successful, and it is due to them that a good number of dishonest officials are dismissed or condemned to the galleys every year. Unfortunately here their power ceases, and the dismissed official afterwards gets a better place, and the condemned one is sent for a year or two to some pleasant exile, from which he soon returns and obtains new honours. In spite of this discouraging result of their exertions, and the difficulties which are laid in their way whenever people in power have an interest to shield the person accused, they persevere. These latter difficulties are by no means inconsiderable, for the very order for an inquiry must be given by the government, which thus has it, up to a certain point, in its power to put an end to every inquiry which might lead to disagreeable revelations. The line which the minority has, therefore, to adopt, is to begin its inquiries with small officials, and to find out a link which connects the corrupt practices of these with those of their superiors, and thus to arrive by degrees at the great criminals. In this way, for instance, a slight arithmetical error of a small *employé* in the commissariat of the army of Erzerum is in a fair way of being brought back to the chief of the department who starved the army of Kars and Erzerum. You may depend that when those who have their reasons for not wishing such disclosures on a grand scale see that the inquiry assumes such a serious character they resort to all kinds of means to stop them. The usual way is to find some fault in the formalities—as, for instance, in a case which is just under consideration. The law strictly forbids every *employé* to interest himself in any way in the farming of the revenues; this law has been, besides, expressly confirmed in the late *hatti humayoun*. But, in spite of this law, not a few of the high officials have secretly, and under false names, shares in these undertakings, which become doubly ruinous for the poor peasant if they are in the hands of officials. There is now strong evidence that the first secretary of the council of state is one of these offenders; but when the inquiry was to be instituted against him the objection was raised that the secretary, belonging to the council of state, could not be judged by the judicial committee of the latter, but that the case should be referred to a special commission, which, from its probable composition, would be equivalent to an acquittal in advance. If the case is too serious to admit of such objections, other means are tried—such as influencing the members, and even at times more than that, but in most instances in vain.”

Among those officers who rendered services to Turkey, and to the allied cause, although not upon any of the fields of conflict, was General Storks. He was in command of the English forces at Constantinople, who were in reserve of the army; and he was most useful in bringing the troops there into a high state of discipline and of military efficiency in every respect. This was to be expected of the gallant general, who was a true soldier, thoroughly animated by that fine military spirit which is so essential to the superior officer. On the 15th of March the general ordered out the German Legion for a field day. He had carefully inspected, and also publicly reviewed, the separate battalions as they landed. The weather favoured this object; it was one of the loveliest of spring days, and a lovely spring day at Constantinople is not to be surpassed anywhere in the world. The ground selected for the manœuvres showed good generalship. Above Scutari a ridge of hill lies parallel to the Bosphorus as far as the “Valley of the Sweet Waters.” From this ridge lower ones branch out at both sides at various angles, and are intersected by ravines, which break up the ground in ways the most diverse. The cultivation of the neighbourhood was also very various, so that the troops had both obstacles and advantages at the same time for manœuvring. At one moment a wall stopped their way; then a ravine must be crossed, or it offered cover to the sharpshooters; then a plateau afforded scope for formation in an unbroken line. General Storks had, therefore, a fine opportunity for exercising his troops to advantage, and displaying his own abilities as a general. The result was satisfactory to all who were capable of judging, and very high commendations were passed upon the general by military men of all the allied nations. There was a good muster of troops—light infantry regiments, a body of rifles, and detachment of sappers and miners. Other reviews followed this; and General Storks showed his capacity in the field as well as in the administrative department.

Such was the condition of Turkey, and such the occupations of our soldiers in its neighbourhood, while the allied armies in the Crimea were either consigned to forced inaction by the climate, or reposing from the struggles of war under the arrangements of the great suspension of arms which preceded the treaty of peace. During all this time the diplomatists were engaged with ceaseless energy to bring about that desirable issue. A separate chapter will reveal the history of the diplomacy.

## CHAPTER CXXI.

## DIPLOMACY FROM THE AUSTRIAN ULTIMATUM TO THE OPENING OF THE PARIS CONFERENCE.

"Qui dit Russe dit homme sans foi."—NAPOLEON I.

IN a previous chapter the diplomacy of the war was recorded to the close of 1855. Some of the most important diplomatic transactions were, however, omitted, because they more properly belonged to the series of transactions, which, in 1856, ripened to a peace.

Towards the close of the former year Austria became nervously anxious about the continuance of the struggle; France talked of marching an army into Poland by Germany; England had replenished and increased her army in the Crimea, and was making gigantic exertions for a naval conflict in the Baltic, which, if successful, would increase her influence in the Scandinavian States and Northern Germany; Sardinia was increasing in importance and influence with the allies, and whispers and suggestions crept through Europe that the allies would and ought to reward Sardinia, by giving her increase of territory, and an ascendancy in Italy. All these reports indicated the wishes which, with a majority of enlightened men, prevailed in the more powerful European countries opposed to Russia, and caused Austria to seek with intense earnestness a readjustment of her own situation to the general balance, by at last playing a more conspicuous part. She accordingly ascertained through her ministers at London and Paris the minimum of demands which would be made by the allies upon the enemy, and upon that basis Austria proposed a peace, declaring that these proposals must be regarded in the light of an ultimatum. Whether, after all, Austria would have joined the allies in arms is not so certain; most politicians in Western Europe believed that the time had at last come when she was prepared to do so, and that she saw any further procrastination would destroy her own influence in Europe. Early in December the Austrian court resolved to send Count Esterhazy upon a special mission to St. Petersburg as the bearer of the ultimatum. As soon as Prince Gortschakoff (brother to the military chief of that name in the Crimea) discovered the intention of the Austrian cabinet, he of course communicated with his government, which, perceiving that matters were approaching to a crisis in the field of diplomacy as well as of arms, decreed it inexpedient to allow a disposition for peace to appear in any way dependent upon an Austrian ultimatum, and therefore directed Prince Gortschakoff to make proposals to the Austrian cabinet. The prince proposed the entire neutralisation of the Black Sea; that all ships of war should be excluded

from it except Russian and Turkish; and that they should determine between them their relative maritime strength. The impudence of this proposal might well astonish even the cabinet of Vienna; it would have enabled Russia to command the Black Sea, and menace the Bosphorus at pleasure with her fleets. It is true that at first there would be apparently safe stipulations as to the number of ships each power should have afloat on these waters, but little by little Russia would make pretext, after her fashion, to encroach upon the terms of the stipulations so far as they bound herself, and she would be protected in so doing by such a stringent treaty from the armed interference of any of the other European powers. Austria had already proposed to France and England a more effective arrangement for the neutralisation of the Euxine, the arrangement substantially which was ultimately adopted; but she made this the sole basis of a treaty of peace (so it was alleged by those who professed to be cognizant of the initiatory proceedings of the Austrian cabinet). The allies, however, added the other terms; Count Walewski was the first to do so, but Lord Clarendon revised the conditions of the French minister, and made them more binding and more clear. The vexation of Prince Gortschakoff was betrayed openly; and the day before Count Esterhazy quitted Vienna, Count Buol made the prince acquainted with the fixed determination of the allies to exact their demands in full, and of Austria to back those demands. The Austrian government was very reluctant to press upon that of Russia terms so severe, and went so far as to inform the Western cabinets that it would be useless to press such haughty proposals upon the czar. Finding, however, the allies firm, Austria adopted their resolutions.

The mission of Count Esterhazy to St. Petersburg was very significant, from the well-known sympathies of the count's family, who were generally regarded as the warm advocates of an Austrian alliance with the West. It was an Esterhazy who was selected to receive Marshal Berthier when he came as the especial envoy of Napoleon I. to demand the hand of Maria Louisa. Prince Paul Esterhazy married a niece of Charlotte, wife of George III. of England.

The Austrian cabinet urged the other states of Germany to support her efforts at St. Petersburg. Some favourable response was made to these demands. The court of Berlin un-

doubtedly urged upon the czar the acceptance of the Austrian mediation, but did so believing, and expressing the belief, that in the course of the negotiations "something would turn up to the advantage of Russia." The state of the public mind in Prussia at that juncture may be clearly perceived by the following letter, written by a person well-informed in Prussian politics:—"I can, moreover, inform you that the ministers of the king, as well as his majesty himself, have just renewed their efforts at the court of Russia, and their language is this time characterised by much firmness, and I have every reason to believe that the czar will be touched by it. Our statesmen declare loudly that the war has been provoked by Russia without legitimate motives, and the chances of war having been against him, there is a double reason for him to withdraw from it honourably. They add that Prussia will not abandon the system of neutrality she has adopted irrevocably, even though she saw the number of the enemies of Russia increase. No one here now doubts that Sweden will enter actively into the Western alliance; it is even admitted as certain that Austria has promised efficacious assistance to the allies in the event of the czar rejecting the overtures of Count Esterhazy. Public opinion hourly increases against Russia, and this reaction is all the more painful to her, as her influence over the German press is a mystery to no one. The papers that enjoy her patronage have for some months past felt its inconvenience. The middle class shows a decided preference for the independent press. Although peace be ardently desired, yet few believe in it, and many conjectures are formed as to the next campaign. We can foresee an invasion by the allies of the Russian territory of the Baltic, and which will be combined with a diversion on the Danube. The troops of the Crimea will be conducted to the mouths of that river, and combine their operations with the 150,000 men that Austria can put in line. The probable results of that double attack, which, they say, will be executed in the month of May, are discussed with much interest, and the general opinion is that it will be decisive."

The interest taken in these movements by other German states was very great, especially in connection with the stipulation for giving freedom to the commerce and navigation of the Danube. Accordingly M. Seebach, minister at Paris from the court of Saxony, obtained an especial mission to the czar in favour of peace, as it was known that the czar had an old friendship for the minister. There can be little doubt that without any exertions by the Saxon diplomatist his majesty's mind had been brought into a condition favourable for peace, if not, at that moment, of determination to make

peace. M. Seebach had been the personal friend of Nicholas, as well as the participant in the respect, confidence, and esteem of Alexander. On his arrival at the Russian capital he was at once favoured with an audience by the czar, who, on seeing him, exclaimed, "What grave events have passed since we last saw each other!" He then embraced the minister, spoke of his deceased father with tearful emotion, and then, as if suddenly recollecting their respective positions, he gravely observed, "But we are here to speak of most serious matters. Ah! you are not come to weaken me." Conversation on the posture of Russia and her sovereign to the other nations and sovereigns of Europe then ensued. M. Seebach urged the necessity to Russia of a speedy peace, and the good policy of the emperor at such a moment taking the steps necessary to procure it. The emperor entered freely into the envoy's ideas, but observed, "My *noblesse* are not prepared to bow the head. I do not deceive you upon the gravity of events in the Crimea, nor upon the possible results of an attack in the Baltic; but believe me, whatever may be the situation, and whatever may be likely to arrive, it is much more difficult for me at this moment to make peace than to continue the war. I encounter in deciding for war ten times less resistance among my *noblesse* and my people."

On the departure of Count Esterhazy for the capital of the czar the Austrian foreign minister addressed to him the following despatch, dated the 16th of December:—

"The words which your excellency has had the honour to hear from the mouth of the emperor himself, our august master, must have convinced you anew of the intentions which have invariably guided the policy of his majesty in the different phases of the struggle which weighs so heavily upon Europe. Always faithful to those same principles, the emperor would have deemed it a deficiency on his part towards his own people, and towards Europe, to let the present moment pass, when a superior Power bids a truce to the combatants, without attempting a supreme effort to open new paths to a peace, which presents itself as the most urgent want of Europe.

"Convinced, on the one hand, of the so often reiterated declarations of the Emperor Alexander of his readiness to lend his hand to any peace that would not infringe upon his dignity, or upon the honour of his country, his imperial majesty felt himself called upon to employ his best efforts to assure himself of the degree of reciprocity that those dispositions might meet with at the courts of France and Great Britain. His majesty, therefore, deigned to charge me to sound the cabinets of Paris and

London on the subject. Although we found them imbued with the firm resolution not to lend themselves to the initiative of any overtures for peace, nevertheless, to our great satisfaction, we found such dispositions in those cabinets as to lead us to hope that they would not refuse to examine and accept conditions of a nature to offer all the guarantees of a permanent peace, and to come to a clear solution of the question which gave rise to the war.

"Nay, more: we think ourselves authorised to express the hope that those powers, while maintaining in full force the right of presenting such conditions of peace as they might deem suitable, would not the less be disposed to-day not to deviate from the principle established at the commencement of the struggle—not to seek any advantage to themselves, and to limit their pretensions to the sacrifices necessary to re-assure Europe against the return of so deplorable a complication.

"Encouraged by these indications, the imperial cabinet did not shrink from the task of making itself conscientiously acquainted with the situation of the moment, and to formulate a basis upon which, in its opinion, the edifice of a solid peace might rest. The four points already accepted by Russia appeared to us still to be the best ground to go upon. To assure the work of peace, however, and to avoid especially the reefs upon which the last conferences were shipwrecked, we deemed it indispensable to develop the four points (*principes*) in such guise as to make them conformable to the general interests of Europe, and to facilitate the final arrangement by a more precise definition.

"The fruit of that labour is in the annexed document, which, when accepted by the beligerent powers, will acquire the value of preliminaries of peace. The signing of these preliminaries would be immediately followed by a general armistice, and by final negotiations.

"This labour, having been honoured by the approbation of his majesty the emperor, you are charged, M. le Comte, to present it for acceptance to the court of Russia, and to urge it most pressing to consider its contents, and to let us know its determination, to which we attach the highest importance, as soon as possible. If, as we hope, our propositions should be favourably received, we shall lose no time in warmly recommending their acceptance to the courts of Paris and London, expressing the confidence which animates us that they will not exercise the right of presenting eventually to the negotiations special conditions, except in a European interest, and in such measure as not to offer serious obstacles to the re-establishment of peace.

"We entreat the court of Russia to examine

calmly the propositions which we submit to it. We will not dwell upon the grave consequences which would ensue from a refusal to enter into the paths which we open a second time to effect an honourable reconciliation—a refusal which would entail upon itself the weight of an immense responsibility. We prefer leaving it to its wisdom to estimate all the chances.

"We think that we are in this instance the interpreter of the wishes and of the real wants of Europe. It remains for us to make an appeal to the elevated sentiments of the Emperor Alexander, whose supreme determination will decide the fate of so many thousands of existences.

"His imperial majesty will take, we entertain the confident hope, that decision which appears to us alone of a nature to respond to the real interests of his people, and to the wants of humanity."

The Austrian proposals referred to in the above despatch were these:—

"I. *The Danubian Principalities*.—Complete abolition of the Russian protectorate. The Danubian principalities shall receive an organisation conformed to their wishes, their necessities, and their interests; and this new organisation, respecting which the population itself shall be consulted, shall be recognised by the contracting powers, and sanctioned by the sultan as emanating from his sovereign initiative. No state shall have power, under any pretext whatsoever, under any form of protectorate, to intermeddle in questions of the internal administration of the principalities. The latter will adopt a definite permanent system, called for by their geographical position, and no obstacle shall be interposed to prevent them from fortifying their territory for their own security, as they think fit, against all foreign aggression.

"In exchange for the fortified positions and territory occupied by the allied armies, Russia consents to a rectification of her frontiers with European Turkey. The frontier will leave the environs of Chotym [in Bessarabia], follow the line of the heights stretching in a south-east direction, and terminate at Lake Salyzk. The line of this rectification shall be definitively regulated by general treaty, and the conceded territory shall return to the principalities and the suzerainty of the Porte.

"II. *The Danube*.—The freedom of the Danube, and of the mouths of the river, shall be efficaciously assured by the institutions of European international law, in which the contracting powers shall be equally represented; excepting the particular positions of owners of the soil on the banks, which will be regulated upon the principles established respecting river navigation by the treaty of the congress of

Vienna. Each of the contracting powers shall have the right to station one or two light vessels at the mouths of the river, in order to insure the observance of the regulations relative to the freedom of the Danube.

“III. *Neutralisation of the Black Sea.*—This sea shall be opened to merchant vessels, closed to ships of war, consequently naval arsenals will neither be created nor preserved. The protection of the commercial and maritime interests of all nations shall be assured in the respective ports in the Black Sea by the establishment of institutions conformed to international law and ancient usages in this matter. The two coast-bordered powers mutually engage to keep up only the number of light vessels, of a stipulated strength, necessary for the coasting service. This convention, concluded separately between the two powers, shall form a part of the general treaty as an annex after having been approved of by the contracting parties. This separate convention shall neither be annulled nor modified without the assent of the subscribers to the general treaty. The closing of the Straits shall admit an exception in favour of the stationary vessels mentioned in the preceding article.

“IV. *Christian Subjects of the Porte.*—The immunities of the Rayah subjects of the Porte will be established without injury to the independence or the dignity of the sultan's crown. As deliberations are taking place between Austria, France, Great Britain, and the Sublime Porte, in order to assure the Christian subjects of the sultan their religious and political rights, Russia shall be invited, on the conclusion of peace, to associate herself with them.

“V. The belligerent powers reserve the right which belongs to them to produce, in the interest of Europe, some special conditions besides the four guarantees.”

While these transactions were passing between Austria and Russia, and between Austria and the Western powers, enough was divulged to excite the most extensive discussions amongst the public and the professed politicians of all Europe. The general impression everywhere was—except, perhaps, in Russia and Prussia—that peace could not be procured by negotiation—that the sword must settle the terms in another year of havoc. There was, however, a considerable number of eminent persons beyond the official circles, both in France and England, who believed that peace was at hand.

The St. Petersburg correspondent of the *Constitutionnel* afforded to Western Europe an insight to the state of parties, struggles, intrigues, and rumours which the peace propositions of Austria had excited throughout the Muscovite empire:—“I now hasten to com-

municate to you that rumours of peace have taken within the last few days a greater consistency, and nothing else is spoken of in our political circles. Evidently, if we were to content ourselves with consulting public opinion, and following its aspirations, peace would speedily be an accomplished fact, if the conditions were only honourable; but opinion is not always listened to, for it has its rivals, and interested counsels first take possession of the ears of princes. The eternal struggle between the old Russian party and the German one has ramifications over the whole country—amongst the citizens and people as in the nobility; it divides the court, and even the imperial family. The passions are excited to such a pitch, that in some places almost public manifestations are made in favour of a peace, and in others the war is sanctified, when either the continuation of war is demanded, or nothing else is spoken of than an invasion of France or England.”

The writer thus depicted the efforts of “the old Russian party” to inflame the passions of the people, and sustain the public demand for war. On no previous occasion of contest did the czar employ the public press as an instrument of his ambition; but it was a curious fact throughout this war that while the government of free England neglected the press, and the Aberdeen cabinet affected to despise it, the autocrat expended large sums in subsidising it. Much of the pro-Russian feeling on the Continent was attributable to this circumstance, which also had its influence upon the higher walks of British society. “The intimate relations existing between the editors of the *Abeille du Nord* and the favourite of Alexander II., General Rostowzoff, as well as the police directors Orloff and Otchakoff, are evident proofs that half of the men in power in Russia have permission to add fuel to the war by every available means. Messrs. Gretschev and Bulgarine, editors of that semi-official journal, publish daily violent articles against the Western powers, and do not even spare Austria, whose neutrality they blame. Who is the principal agent, the creator of the *Nord*? M. Nicholas Gretschev, who succeeded in Brussels when he failed in Berlin. Who edits the principal articles of that Russian organ? The *attachés* at the Foreign-office of St. Petersburg. It is M. de Moltzoff who reads, approves, or rejects them; from him they are received by the Russian ambassador at Brussels, Count Michel Kreptowitsch, who modifies them according to circumstances. The editorship of the *Nord*, and of the *Abeille du Nord*, is characterised by too much violence in order to represent any other party than that of the old one. Its editors once asserted that the people were wrong to complain of the hardships of

war, and that the privations they suffered proceeded from the inordinate luxury to which they were given. The luxury of the Russian people! when it is of public notoriety that in no part of the world has luxury made less progress than in Russia amongst the middling and lower classes of society. These are, however, the sentiments which inspire the organs of the dominant party in Russia. Against this language has Count Nesselrode struggled in vain, for General Rostowzoff and Counts Orloff and Otchakoff, strong in their influence with the emperor, have treated him in a manner anything but deferential. Unfortunately, the German party, which desires peace with sincerity, and is composed of politicians of eminence, has been drawn from beyond its ordinary prudence, in order not to be accused of reaction. It has affected, like its rival, warlike tendencies, and its voice was heard in the assembly of the nobles, which met before the journeys of the imperial court, when the marshal of the nobility, Potemkin, exclaimed in full sitting, that 'an honourable peace suffices not for Russia; that the descendants of the Czar Peter cannot desert the mission they have received from above, nor sacrifice with a light heart their influence in Europe, as long as there remains to the Muscovite people a rouble, an army, and the orthodox faith.'"

The struggle between the parties attached to the emperor, and to his fitful and furious brother Constantine, and the characters of the men themselves, especially as influencing the negotiations for peace, were thus described by the same writer:—"The goodness and courtesy of the emperor are generally recognised; the secret of the obstinacy he displays is to be attributed to the influence possessed over him by those who surround his person. The clergy have likewise a great ascendancy over his mind, for Alexander II. is very pious, and sincerely believes in the infallibility of the ministers of the orthodox faith. The Grand-duke Constantine has often had violent altercations with his imperial brother, and has affected in several ceremonies not to place himself beside his sovereign, as likewise at reviews and in councils; he proclaimed through his creatures that 'he would have nothing in common with a Romanoff who cared so little for the honour of his name or for the dignity of his crown as to meditate a treaty with the Western powers.' It is believed here that the grand-duke has since made the *amende honorable*, but I place little credit in this statement, for the grand-duke is not a man to disown the worst decision he may have advanced."

The correctness of the opinions expressed in the correspondence of the *Constitutionnel* cannot be doubted, for subsequent events proved it; in fact, the partisans of peace at the court of

Russia were the empress and the queen-dowager of the Netherlands. The emperor himself became gradually more alive to their representations, and those of his minister, Count Nesselrode. Immediately after the Austrian ultimatum was presented, the following was published in the *Austrian Gazette*, an official organ, which reflected the views and feelings of the Austrian government with exactness:—"The most important step, and the only one which could bring about peace, has been taken. The deliberation on the means of re-establishing of peace, provided for by Article V. of the treaty of the 2nd of December, has made considerable progress. Austria will, no doubt, cause her voice to be heard in such a manner that we may expect it to be listened to. The simple circumstance that Austria has charged Count Esterhazy to transmit her last word to Russia is sufficient to prove that she is seriously determined that peace shall be re-established, and even by force if necessary. Count Esterhazy remained inaccessible to the attentions by which at St. Petersburg it is the fashion to influence the agents of foreign states. He was as calm and immovable in presence of menaces as of flattery. His position at the court of Russia became at last so difficult, that he was obliged to solicit leave of absence. When this same man is charged with a mission, of which the importance occupies all Europe, we must naturally conclude that the desire is that it shall be carried on with energy. The public journals say that what Count Esterhazy conveys to St. Petersburg is an ultimatum, but everything depends on what is meant by that word. That, however, what Austria offers to Russia are her last conditions, is not doubtful to us; and if these conditions be not accepted, the ambassador of Austria will return, and diplomatic relations will be interrupted. The conditions themselves are based on the *statu quo*, and have in view the interests of Europe. The positions which Russia has lost are to be restored to her. Although the coasts of the Crimea, with few exceptions, are no longer in her hands, and her adversaries occupy the mouths of the Dnieper and all the sea, no territorial sacrifices will be imposed on her; the Baltic is left open to her vessels of every kind, and the Black Sea to her commercial ones; she is only asked to give up a war fleet in the Black Sea, and to open all the ports of that sea to foreign consuls; but she is not called on to raze her fortified places. In all that there is nothing which can degrade the military honour of Russia. The Russian fleet has, it is true, compromised its own renown, for it has never dared to meet the enemy, and has been destroyed without glory by the Russians themselves. Will Russia accept the conditions now offered? Will Aus-

tria force her to accept them? The first is hoped for, and the second looked for. Hitherto Austria has not been obliged, by the treaty of the 2nd of December, to cause the conditions of peace to be accepted by force; and in the present season a menace would be contrary to common sense, for Russia cannot be attacked now. But the sword of Damocles remains suspended over her head. Although Russia has thus far not shown in any way that she is disposed to accept the conditions of peace definitively drawn up, it is, nevertheless, hoped that the step which Austria has taken will have the effect of causing her to do so, and it is also hoped that Germany will not remain inactive."

On the 14th of January the Austrian government received the reply of the Russian Foreign-office to the overtures of Count Esterhazy. That nobleman, when presenting the ultimatum, intimated that he was not empowered to discuss it—that the answer must be an unqualified acceptance or refusal; and that, unless by the 8th of January he received a definite answer, he must, according to the orders of his government, leave St. Petersburg. In order to evade this stringent mode of action, and defer an ultimate decision, in the hope of inducing better terms, the answer was not given to Count Esterhazy directly, but transmitted to Vienna. In her reply Russia professed to accept "the points" in principle, but required certain modifications. The document was, in fact, a refusal, but of such a nature as to be tentative of the firmness of Austria and the persistence of the allies in their demands. The following is the document addressed by Count Nesselrode to Prince Gortschakoff:—

"Since his return to St. Petersburg, the envoy of Austria has hastened to communicate to me the despatch addressed to him by Count Buol, dated the 16th of December, and a copy of which I have the honour to subjoin. In delivering this communication, Count Esterhazy had handed me at the same time a document containing the indication of some principles which, according to the cabinet of Vienna, would acquire by the fact of the acceptance of the belligerent powers the value of preliminaries of peace, and once signed, might be followed by an armistice and definite negotiations. I have not failed to submit these documents to our august master the emperor. His imperial majesty has been pleased to examine them with the sincere desire to equitably solve the question which keeps Europe under arms, and covers it with mourning. He hesitates the less to lend the hand to the efforts by which the Emperor of Austria seeks to prove his attachment to the work of peace, from the fact that very recently, consulting only the

interests of his peoples and his sentiments of humanity, he did not hesitate to spontaneously anticipate the specific desires of Europe. Encouraged, like the cabinet of Vienna, by signs that the negotiations might be resumed upon the basis of the four points as they had been formulated in the conferences of Vienna, his majesty the emperor adopted a resolution which he believed calculated to give a clear solution to that one of the four points which caused the rupture of the conferences of Vienna. By this resolution the imperial cabinet completed the guarantees necessary to a durable and effective (*serieuse*) peace, and completely assured Europe against the return of the existing deplorable complications. He then hoped that the cabinet of Vienna, to which he hastened to communicate this resolution, would use it to simplify the preliminary questions intended to precede the definite negotiations. This hope has not been completely realised. The emperor, our august master, has seen this with regret; however, he wishes to give a new proof of his pacific intentions by entering into the path which the Austrian cabinet has believed it its duty to open to a reconciliation. After having maturely weighed the communications which have been made to it, and after having sought to harmonise them with the necessities of the situation of the moment, the imperial cabinet hastens to make known its determination to your excellency, while inviting you to bring it without delay to the knowledge of the Austrian government. We beg the court of Vienna to well convince itself that the considerations which we are about to develop are inspired by the sincere desire to avoid the rocks upon which the last conferences split. We have nothing more at heart than to see our observations received in the sentiment of equity which dictated them, and a concurrence with us to bring about the desired end. Before entering into the examination of the details of the document of the cabinet of Vienna, we have two general observations to make; the one relates to the contents of the fifth point. In reading it, we asked ourselves if on a principle so vaguely conceived, and which opens the door to a negotiation altogether new, even in case a complete agreement was made upon the four points, the hope of peace could be realised? M. le Ministre of Foreign affairs has, it is true, anticipated this apprehension, in stating in his despatch, 'that he will not delay to express to the courts of Paris and London the confidence which animates him, that they will not use the right of presenting special conditions, but in a European interest, and in such a manner as not to offer serious obstacles to the re-establishment of peace.'

"These assurances, however, are themselves

not precise enough to destroy our objections in circumstances so grave as those in which Europe is now placed. The uncertainty which the reserve in question inspires cannot have but a vexatious influence in depriving the preliminaries, even when accepted and signed, of the character of definite stipulations. It is, then, in the well-understood interest of peace that we insist upon the striking out of the fifth clause, and this so much more that the European interest, which it seems to have in view, uselessly complicates a question already thorny, and belonging by its nature to the decision, not of the parties engaged in the actual contest only, but to that of the European congress, sole arbitrator of existing transactions. The cabinet of Vienna will doubtless know how to appreciate these considerations, and give them effect in the interest of peace with the allies. The second general objection which the *ensemble* of the document of the Austrian cabinet presents is, that—contrary to the original idea which was dominant in the programme of the four points, and which was to establish the political system of the East upon the basis of a perfect parity between the two frontier powers—the principles laid down by the Austrian cabinet demand material guarantees from Russia only, and require none of the Ottoman Porte. Is it not to be feared, in thus multiplying the obligations which fall upon one of the parties, germs of future complications will, contrary to the end which we have in view, be created? This is a question which we leave to the impartial mediation of the cabinet of Vienna, and to its long experience in Eastern affairs. Nevertheless, in raising the general objections against the predominating idea of the document which has been presented to us, we neither wish to prejudice it nor bespeak a reserve, nor to evade the discussion of details. Our determinations are taken. We record them here, in examining successively the different articles of the Austrian document.

“The first article does not excite in its first four paragraphs any objection, but the imperial cabinet is not able to adopt the fifth paragraph. While admitting as applicable to the existing situation of the belligerent parties that the evacuation of the strong places occupied by the allies upon the Russian soil can be effected by means of an exchange of territories with Russia, we cannot accept the mode in which it is proposed to carry out this exchange. The important territorial concession demanded, under the title of ‘Rectification of the Frontier,’ appears to be so much the less justified from the fact that Russia has in its hands a territory and a conquered fortress in Turkey, which, by their position and importance, are calculated to serve as the subjects of exchange; consequently, we have entirely suppressed the paragraph in

question, and have substituted for it another, conceived in the sense indicated above. At the same time a final agreement upon this subject might be reserved to the plenipotentiaries intrusted with the definitive negotiation. The second article, relating to the Danube, has not occasioned any objection; the imperial cabinet is ready to concur in the development of the principles there enunciated—in fact, the second article only reproduces in substance the proposition laid down in advance by the imperial cabinet, and which your excellency was charged to communicate to the Austrian government. We adopt it, and are willing that the convention agreed to, to this effect, between Russia and the Porte be previously approved of by the signing powers. As to the rest, we have introduced but two variations: the one has no other end than to render the reading (*rédaction*) clearer, in order to avoid all misunderstanding; the other adds but a word which relates more especially to the means of surveillance, which are indispensable upon the eastern coasts of the Black Sea, in order to prevent the slave-trade, which we have, up to the present time, succeeded in repressing. As to the fourth point, the emperor only aspires to raise his voice in common with the other European powers in favour of his co-religionists, and to join in the deliberations which take place to assure to the Christian subjects of the sultan their religious and political rights. Such, my prince, is our mode of viewing the Austrian document. The *ensemble* of the considerations which we have developed will, I doubt not, convey the conviction that our reply, far from amounting to a refusal, is a frank and sincere essay to enter into the path which Austria believes is open to the re-establishment of peace. Further, we are pleased to think that if our pacific dispositions are shared by the allies, the variations which we have introduced into the ideas emitted by the cabinet of Vienna will essentially contribute to convert its preparatory document into practical preliminaries of a serious and efficacious peace.

“Whatever may happen, the imperial cabinet, after having thus conscientiously fulfilled its parts in the immense task which belongs to the powers engaged in the contest, will not have to recoil upon itself the responsibility of the grave consequences which would result from the failure of the work of peace. It repels it beforehand, with all the energy which the consciousness of integrity imparts.”

The reader will observe, from a comparison of the demands made by Austria, and the concessions made by Russia, that the following were the points of difference:—In the former a rectification of frontier was included, so as to secure the navigation of the Danube from Rus-

sian interference, the allies giving in exchange for the territory to be ceded, and for Kars, the various conquered places held on the coasts of the Crimea and of Asia Minor. Russia declined to rectify her territory, but offered Kars in exchange for the various places on the Black Sea held by the allies. The Austrian note required that Russia would neither preserve her military arsenals on the Black Sea, nor create new ones; the Russian reply substituted the word "naval" for "military," and demanded the right to guard her coasts with vessels of war. The final requisition of Austria, that negotiations for peace should proceed upon such a basis as would reserve to the allies the right of producing in a European interest new especial conditions, was struck out in the note of acceptance; so that, in fact, Russia only accepted unconditionally two points out of the five,—the second and fourth,—and rejected one altogether. The Austrian government, willing to peddle with the negotiations if it could find an opportunity, instead of rejecting these overtures of the government of Russia, at once communicated them to London and Paris. The reply of the allies was that they would not treat at all, except upon the unconditional acceptance by Russia of the terms of the Austrian note. Still Count Buol was reluctant to push Russia too closely, and he extended the time for a final decision on the part of her government to the 18th. Russia submitted: the young emperor resolved to cast the die, and set himself against the powerful war party of his empire. Count Esterhazy received a formal acceptance of the conditions of peace which had been presented to the czar, and on the 19th his minister dispatched to the diplomatic agents of Russia in foreign countries a public circular, which was as follows:—

"Public opinion in Europe has been strongly excited by the intelligence that propositions of peace, concerted between the allied powers and Austria, had been transmitted to St. Petersburg through the intervention of the cabinet of Vienna. Already the imperial cabinet, upon its side, had made a step in the path of conciliation, by pointing out, in a despatch bearing date the 11th (23rd) of December, published in all the foreign journals, the sacrifices which it was prepared to make, with a view to the restoration of peace. This twofold proceeding proved the existence on either side of a desire to profit by the compulsory cessation imposed by the rigour of the season on the military operations, in order to respond to the unanimous wishes which were everywhere manifested in favour of a speedy peace.

"In the despatch cited above, the imperial government had taken for basis the four points of guarantee admitted by the conferences at

Vienna, and had proposed, with regard to the third point, which had alone led to the rupture of the conferences, a solution which differed rather in form than in substance from the one put forward at that epoch by the allied powers. The propositions transmitted to-day by the Austrian government speak of the same fundamental proposition—that is to say, the neutralisation of the Black Sea by a direct treaty between Russia and the Porte to regulate by common agreement the number of ships of war which each of the adjacent powers reserves the right of maintaining for the security of its coasts. They only differ appreciably from those contained in the despatch of the 11th (23rd) of December, by the proposal for rectifying the frontier between Moldavia and Besarabia, in exchange for the places on the Russian territory in the actual occupation of the enemy.

"This is not the place to inquire if these propositions unite the conditions necessary for insuring the repose of the East, and the security of Europe rather than those of the Russian government. It is sufficient here to establish the point, that at last an agreement has been actually arrived at on many of the fundamental bases for peace. Due regard being had in this agreement to the wishes manifested by the whole of Europe, and to the existence of a coalition, the tendency of which was every day to assume larger proportions, and considering the sacrifices which a protraction of the war imposes upon Russia, the imperial government has deemed it its duty not to delay by accessory discussions a work, the success of which would respond to its heartfelt wishes. It has in consequence, just given its adhesion to the propositions transmitted by the Austrian government as a project of preliminaries for negotiations for peace.

"By the energy of its attitude in the face of a formidable coalition, Russia has given a measure of the sacrifices which she is prepared to make to defend her honour and dignity; by this act of moderation the imperial government gives at the same time a new proof of its sincere desire to arrest the effusion of blood, to conclude a struggle so grievous to civilisation and humanity, and restore to Russia and to Europe the blessings of peace. It has a right to expect that the opinion of all civilised nations will appreciate the act."

A circumstance which was represented as most influencing the czar was alluded to on another page—the desire of the French emperor to reach Russia, by his armies, through Prussia and Poland. Shortly after the acceptance of the terms proposed by Austria, an article appeared in the *Débats* which scarcely would have been published in that journal, if

without foundation. In it the assertion was boldly made that the French emperor—perceiving the hesitation of Russia, the willingness of Austria to allow time for discussion, the eagerness of Prussia to gain for her ally (for such Russia in fact was) more time and easier terms—had sent a communication to the Austrian emperor, and, through his minister, to other German powers, that he would no longer attack the czar's dominions at their maritime extremities only, but, believing them most vulnerable by way of Poland, he would, whatever enmities might be created, prosecute the war in that direction. Circumstantial details were entered into, having regard to the reconstruction of Poland as an independent kingdom, depriving Prussia of Posen without any indemnity, and indemnifying Austria by Moldavia and Wallachia, for which compensation should be made to Turkey. Austria would be required to give up Galicia. The *Débats* represented the alarm of the King of Prussia to have been so great, that he informed his imperial nephew that, unless he accepted the Austrian ultimatum, Prussia must, in self-preservation, join the anti-Muscovite alliance, thus making the five points a Prussian as well as an Austrian ultimatum. Some confirmation was given to the assertions of the *Débats* by the press of Berlin, which maintained that but for the interference of Prussia peace would not have ensued!

The announcement that Russia had at last succumbed was received with phlegmatic coldness in Turkey, except by the Greek population, whose countenances betrayed their grief as they listened in silence to the tidings. The blundered and miserable Danubian populations rejoiced that some prospect of an end to both Russian and Austrian pillage had at last arrived. The neutral nations received the intelligence with jubilee—Austria and Prussia seemed at last to breathe freely; but Sardinia was disappointed, for her interests, ambition, even her security, led her to desire that the complications of a protracted war would place her in a position of greater power in Italy. The English people were not pleased with the terms of peace proposed, and there was a desire to achieve something more to the glory of English arms in another campaign, and especially another naval campaign in the Baltic. In France the tidings of peace were received with the wildest joy, because the country was weary of the war, from its sacrifices in blood and treasure, and because the objects of the war were never popular. It was probable that its further prosecution might involve France in heavier sacrifices, and with less glory; while England, able from her full treasury to sustain a costly and protracted contest, and having brought her naval and military prepa-

rations to great perfection and force, was likely to achieve much glory. France had given occasion for the war by her policy; the emperor eagerly seized upon it as a means to establish his dynasty; but neither France nor the emperor had any objects to gain which they counted worthy of a continued struggle, which they felt to be exhausting. There is little doubt that but for the pertinacity of England, and the sagacity and foresight of Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon, the emperor, but still more France, would have proved too readily acquiescent in whatever terms Russia proposed. The emperor was loyal, however, to his ally, and was unwilling to forsake her, even although prosecuting the war with more tenacity and larger demands than he approved. The following letter, written at this juncture from Paris, although doubtful as to some of its facts, depicts truly the feelings and views which prevailed in the French cabinet, and among the French people:—"A very general impression prevails here that there are points of difference between the two governments, and that these differences become obstacles. In England you are all for war at any price. You are for war, it is said, because you fancy you have played a very secondary part in the contest hitherto, and you are determined upon a grand *revanche* to reconquer your compromised prestige and your damaged influence. For you, then, the war is no longer a question of general interest, but of exclusively national and British interests. In France, on the contrary, we desire peace. We desire it for several reasons. In the first place, as you know very well, the war has never been very popular with us, whatever may have been pretended. We have never understood its necessity or its importance, and since, as before the taking of Sebastopol, the results have appeared to us hardly equal to the sacrifice and to the cost. Now that the honour of our arms is safe, all the considerations drawn from the state of our finances, our food crisis, and our political and economical situation, have assumed a force and an intensity to which the government could not be insensible; indeed, the government itself is tired of the war, and, I believe, has lately had some explanations with your cabinet on the subject. The emperor is believed to have held to Lord Palmerston language of this kind:—"For my own part, I consider the objects of the war attained. I have done both for the principles engaged, and for the general interests, more than could have been demanded of France. If Russia accepts rational conditions, we must conclude; if you are for going further, I cannot undertake to follow you. France has no interest in crushing Russia, whom she considers still essential to the equilibrium of Europe. The

English alliance is not eternal, and, in case of eventual conflict, we might have need of Russia. If the cabinet of St. Petersburg will not yield, and if we must recommence the war, take Cronstadt, and occupy St. Petersburg—I am ready to march; but then for these new and heavier sacrifices I must have compensations; now these compensations are the Rhine and Belgium.’ I simply report to you what is said here, and what seems at least probable. The fact is, that if the war must go on and spread, our government cannot afford to play the part of Don Quixote. To do so would be its ruin and confusion. The language ascribed to it in its recent communications with your government (and, I repeat, it has at least the air of probability), is generally approved; it is considered a natural resumption of the policy of the first empire. The old imperialists, the *vieux de la vieille*, and all the ardent partisans of the government, are enchanted; but as to the government itself, I am inclined to believe that it feels the want of peace, and would prefer it.”

To account for this state of feeling among French statesmen, it is necessary to form clear views of the state of France at this juncture, and of her general relation to the other states of Europe. The impossibility of England dragging France along with her in the war must be plain to all persons who are acquainted with the influence of France upon the general policy of all European states, and even of her social condition upon the action of other states socially and politically. European countries, even somewhat remote in locality, were susceptible of this influence. The political condition of France in 1856 was full of portents. There were tokens which may never be realised, but which, nevertheless, demanded consideration—that the emperor would possibly have a struggle for his throne, unless, by foreign conquests entirely in French interests, he could satisfy the love of empire and of glory so prevalent in the French mind. Nor was he, in spite of the foresight and caution attributed to him, devoid of ambition. He accepted the English alliance as a great political necessity, but he was not generally supposed to be incapable of extending his empire at the expense of that power or in opposition to her policy. If civil war broke out in France, even although the emperor triumphed, there would be many insurrections in Europe; if the emperor should be dethroned, all continental Europe would be involved in one blaze of revolution; should the emperor engage in any aggressive war, whether successful or otherwise, revolution must attend its track. Most men saw in the state of Europe grounds for hoping that all would be peaceful for many years; but others despaired, and believed that further and fierce conflict

was at hand. General Williams, in a speech at Portsmouth, after his return from the war, was thus reported:—“He begged of them not to lull themselves into a false security, for the complication of political parties in Europe might call on the army and navy in one, two, or three years to do what they had just done to bring their country through a difficulty, and establish the peace of Europe. He had, on a former occasion (on landing at Dover), urged on the nation not to neglect the military arm, and hoped they would always bear that advice in mind. Turning to the ladies’ gallery, he said he would address a word to his countrywomen. He spoke, perhaps, to those who had lost friends and relatives in the war, he hoped that war would be sanctified to them, and that they who had still children to give would give them as freely as they had already given others of their children.”

We do not mean to hold the general up to a prophet, although there is a sense, not pathological, in which great men have, as it were, a divine gift in their prescience of political changes. We are of opinion that no man’s sagacity could look deeply into the state of France, and note the discontent of all the surrounding nations, without perceiving that France, at the period of the peace, was a loaded mine, central to many others, the exploding of which must fire all. The emperor professed to rest his government upon the *vox populi*, while a large portion of the population hated his rule, his dynasty, and his person, and the majority of the remainder accepted him on conditions which, the moment he ceased to fulfil, they ceased to regard him as their chief. As to the first class, there were both houses—the Bourbons and their adherents, who were numerous among the clergy and nobility; the true republicans, Cavaignac and Lamartine, and the red republicans of various gradations. All these were active, and working against him, and the secret societies had never been extensively diffused. The priests were getting secret societies, with the connivance of the government, to counteract “the reds,” but this was only preparing the people to use machinery which can be more readily used against the government than for it. As to the second class of the parties named (those who supported Napoleon), the smallest party was that which advocated a Napoleon dynasty. The people preferred that on the whole, but would support neither that nor any other which did not fulfil the conditions upon which they would consent to any royal or imperial régime. Thus the Paris shopkeepers, so powerful in politics, required a government that would make Paris brilliant, and enliven it with strangers. They found, by experience, that royalty was more likely to drain the provinces for the good of the

capital than republicanism, and they would vote for it so long as the imperial court would extend on an imperial scale. But the general country murmured at the imperial extravagance, and thereby checked the expenditure which made the Paris shopkeepers loyal. The small proprietors and bourgeois in the provinces worshipped Napoleon as the god of order. If he ceased to protect them from the socialists, they would accept whoever could afford them protection. The cis-montane Catholics believed that he was less likely to allow the results the ascendancy than the Bourbons would be, and that the Jesuits had less chance with him in obtaining the control of the state than they would in a republic, where they might possibly influence the elections in the confessional. The ultra-montane party accepted him because he had never been connected with the cis-montanes, and because his great uncle found it politic to support the church; and they fancied that even if not directed by their party, it had more to gain from an ambitious Napoleon than from a tamed Bourbon, naturally concessive to the European powers, whose alliance he would seek for the safety of his throne. Even the protestants consented to a Napoleon dynasty, because religious liberty was promised to them. It was next to impossible that he would not, in some years, offend more than one of these great interests, and if so, the balance of the suffrage would be against him, and he would, for a time, be dependent on the army. But the army in France is gradually influenced by the people; each new conscription brings in a fresh supply of popular feeling, and the army would speedily follow the majority of the nation. Thus the chance of the emperor remaining on the throne for many years appeared many to be small, unless he made vast concessions to the popular desires, and reigned practically as a constitutional prince, depriving the secret societies of material to work upon. Should the emperor proceed in the course he had adopted, the secret societies would ultimately comprise the fighting population of the country, and a grand outburst, far surpassing in magnitude any previously witnessed, would

ensue. Should that take place, the question remained, what were the elements of revolution existing in other countries of continental Europe? It was generally believed that such elements existed throughout both peninsulas, and in Germany, from Berlin to Vienna. An outbreak in France appeared to many but a question of time, and as not admitting of a long time for the solution, and "after that the deluge." Such were the impressions of many French statesmen; and all who upheld the Napoleon interest, and felt alarm at socialism and anarchy, desired the emperor to unite himself with the conservative and strong governments of Europe, and lean upon his army and the sympathy of kings and courts for the permanence of his dynasty. To this end an established concord with the European potentates was deemed his best policy, and to this end Russia must not be too severely pressed—on the contrary, peace should be so brought about as to make liberal England appear the sole enemy of Russia, while imperial France sought her amity, and Napoleon personally created a lasting ground of gratitude in the mind of the young czar. Such motives urged France to a hasty peace, and in reality weakened the ultimate power and influence of the emperor, and increased that of his powerful ally, who was as much feared as loved, but who, while many of his own subjects derided him as an emperor by *la grace du coup d'état*, recognised him with prompt cordiality, and welcomed him to the walls of her ancestors with honour.

Such were the feelings and speculations which the sudden acceptance of the Austrian propositions by Russia awakened in Europe; and thus various were the interests and policies of the allies, affording hope to Russia that if Germany gave her aid, she might, in the peace arrangements about to be made, gain some concessions, outwit the Western powers, or enlist the sympathies of France so as to isolate England, and therefore baffle her purposes, and render her obstinacy futile. The proceedings which were involved in the conclusion of a treaty of peace, and the treaty itself, must be reserved for another chapter.

## CHAPTER CXXII.

### PARIS CONFERENCE.—TREATY OF PEACE.

"A proper title of a peace, and purchased  
At a superfluous rate."

SHAKSPEARE. *Henry VIII.*

IMMEDIATELY upon the acceptance by Russia the terms proposed to her by Austria, the emperor demanded the signing of a protocol at Vienna, to certify formally the acquiescence of the contracting governments, and a declaration

that within three weeks the representatives of the various powers concerned should meet at Paris to complete the work of peace. Russia also intimated her desire that the conferences at Paris should commence sooner than three weeks,

if possible. Accordingly, in the *Moniteur* (the organ of the French government) of the 2nd of February, the following official announcement was made:—"Russia has adhered to the five propositions which are to serve as the preliminaries of peace, and which were presented for her acceptance by Austria, with the assent of France and England. This unreserved adhesion was announced in a note addressed by Count Nesselrode, the Russian chancellor, to Count Esterhazy, the Austrian minister at St. Petersburg, and in a despatch communicated to Count Buol by Prince Gortschakoff, the Russian minister at Vienna. The Russian government, in consequence, proposed the signature of a protocol at Vienna, to enregister the adhesion of the contracting courts to the propositions intended to serve as the bases of negotiation, and to declare that plenipotentiaries shall meet at Paris within three weeks (or sooner, if possible), in order to proceed successively to the signature of preliminaries, to the conclusion of an armistice, and to the opening of general negotiations. The British government had already expressed a desire that the conferences should be held at Paris, and the Austrian government having, on its side, eagerly acceded to that suggestion, it is therefore in the capital of the empire that the plenipotentiaries who may be appointed to deliberate on the conditions of peace will assemble. The protocol setting forth the acceptance of all the parties was signed yesterday (Friday) at Vienna, at noon, and it was decided that the plenipotentiaries of the powers who are to take part in the negotiations shall assemble at Paris before the 20th of February."

Upon the acceptance of the proposals of Count Esterhazy, Russia made several demands, in a manner so precise and specific, that upon an acquiescence in them it was supposed peace depended. These were—an armistice; the presence of two representatives on her part throughout the Paris conferences, or wherever else it might be decided that the conferences should be held; that no territorial concessions should be demanded from her except those necessary to the "rectification" of her Danubian frontier; and that she should not be required to pay the expenses caused to the allies by the war. She, on her part, voluntarily undertook not to reconstruct the fortress of Bomarsund.

Among the incidents which quickened the negotiations at Paris was the delivery of the queen's speech at the opening of the British parliament. This document, which will appear elsewhere, was written with extraordinary vigour, and caused at Paris an amount of discussion, which all the protocols, notes, and despatches, then circulating among the ministers of the different courts, could not com-

mand. The spirit of Lord Palmerston, it was confessed, was seen in the document, and his bold and resolute policy appeared to advantage in every paragraph. The hopes which Russia indulged of extricating herself by the assistance of Austria and Prussia from the most stern terms which constituted the basis of negotiations, were considerably abridged when her majesty's speech came into the hands of the Russian ministers.

It was on the 25th of February the first sitting of the conference took place, upon the successful issues of which depended peace or war. The following is a report of the proceedings, according to a copy presented to the British parliament by command of her majesty:—

#### PROTOCOL No. I.

*Present:—*

For AUSTRIA—Count de Buol-Schauenstein, &c., and Baron de Hüner, &c.  
For FRANCE—Count Colonna Walewski, &c., and Baron de Bourqueney, &c.  
For GREAT BRITAIN—The Earl of Clarendon, &c., and Lord Cowley, &c.  
For RUSSIA—Count Orloff, &c., and Baron de Brunnow, &c.  
For SARDINIA—Count de Cavour, &c., and the Marquis de Villamarina, &c.  
For TURKEY—Aali Pasha, &c., and Mehmed Djem Bey.

The plenipotentiaries of Austria, of France, of Great Britain, of Russia, of Sardinia, and of Turkey, met to-day in conference at the hotel of the ministry for foreign affairs.

Count Buol speaks, and proposes that the presidency of the labours of the conference should be confided to Count Walewski. "This is not only," he observes, "a custom sanctioned by precedents and recently observed at Vienna; it is at the same time an act of homage to the sovereign whose hospitality the representative of Europe are at this moment enjoying." Count Buol entertains no doubt of the unanimous assent with which this selection, which ensures, in all respects, the best direction being given to the labours of the conference will be received.

The plenipotentiaries unanimously agree to this proposal, and Count Walewski, having assumed the presidency, thanks the conference in these terms:—"Gentlemen, I thank you for the honour you have the goodness to do me in choosing me as your organ, and, though I esteem myself very unworthy of that honour I cannot, I ought not to hesitate to accept it for it is a fresh evidence of the sentiment which have induced our allies, as well as our adversaries, to demand that Paris should be the seat of the negotiations now about to be opened. The unanimity manifested on this point augurs well for the final result of our efforts. As far as concerns me personally, I shall endeavour to justify your confidence, by conscientiously fulfil-

ing the duties which you have imposed on me ; shall be my care to prevent useless prolixity ; but, while having specially in view the prompt attainment of this object, I shall, nevertheless, not forget that too much precipitation may keep us from it. Moreover, gentlemen, being animated with an equally conciliatory spirit, and disposed to evince mutual good-will by avoiding irritating discussions, we shall be able to accomplish, scrupulously, and with all the completeness which it admits of, the great task which is imposed on us, without losing sight of the just impatience of Europe, the eyes of which are fixed upon us, and which anxiously awaits the result of our deliberations."

Upon the proposal of Count Walewski, the conference decides to intrust the drawing up of the protocols to M. Benedetti, director of political affairs in the office for foreign affairs, who is introduced.

The plenipotentiaries then proceed to the verification of their respective powers, which having been found in good and due form, are deposited among the acts of the conference.

Count Walewski proposes, and the plenipotentiaries agree, mutually to engage to observe complete secrecy respecting everything which shall pass in the conference.

Sardinia not having taken part in the signature of the protocol agreed upon at Vienna on the 1st of February last, the Sardinian plenipotentiaries declare that they fully assent to the said protocol and the document annexed to it.

Count Walewski, after having explained the order of the labours with which the conference would have to occupy itself, proposes to declare that the protocol signed at Vienna on the 1st of February should serve as preliminaries of peace.

The plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their ideas on this point, considering that the protocol signed at Vienna on the 1st of February by the representatives of Austria, France, Great Britain, Russia, and Turkey, record the adhesion of their courts to the bases of negotiations laid down in the document annexed to the said protocol, and that its provisions fulfil the object which would be obtained by an act designed to settle the preliminaries of peace, agree that that same protocol and its annex, a copy of which shall be marked with their initials and annexed to the present protocol, shall have the value of formal preliminaries of peace.

The plenipotentiaries being thus agreed respecting the preliminaries of peace, Count Walewski proposes to proceed to the conclusion of an armistice. The duration and nature thereof having been discussed, the plenipotentiaries of the belligerent powers, considering that it is necessary to take steps for a suspension of hostilities between the armies in the field during the presumed continuance of

the negotiations, resolve that an armistice shall be concluded by the commanders-in-chief, which shall cease absolutely on the 31st of March next inclusively, if before that period it is not to be renewed by common consent.

During the suspension of hostilities the troops shall retain the respective positions which they occupy, abstaining from any act of aggression.

In consequence, the present decision shall be transmitted without delay, and, as far as possible, by the telegraph, to the commanders-in-chief, in order that they may conform to it as soon as the orders of their governments shall reach them.

The plenipotentiaries further resolve that the armistice shall not affect the blockades established or to be established ; but the commanders of the naval forces shall receive orders to abstain, during the continuance of the armistice, from any act of hostility against the territories of the belligerents.

This being settled, the plenipotentiaries agree that they will meet on the day after to-morrow, the 27th of February, in order to proceed to the negotiation of the definite treaty.

Done at Paris, the twenty-fifth of February, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

(Signed)

BUOL-SCHAUENSTEIN.

HÜBNER.

WALEWSKI.

BOURQUENEY.

CLARENDON.

COWLEY.

COUNT ORLOFF.

BRUNNOW.

CAVOUR.

VILLA-MARINA.

AALI.

MEHEMMED DJEMIL.

In consequence of the acceptance, by their respective courts, of the five propositions contained in the next document, under the title of a "Project of Preliminaries," the undersigned, after having affixed their initials to it, in conformity with the authority to that effect which they have received, have agreed that each of their governments shall name plenipotentiaries, furnished with the necessary full powers, in order to proceed to the signature of formal preliminaries of peace, and conclude an armistice and a definitive treaty of peace. The said plenipotentiaries shall meet at Paris within a period of three weeks from this day, or sooner if possible.

Done at Vienna, in quintuplicate, the first of February, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

[Here follow the signatures.]

#### PROJECT OF PRELIMINARIES.

I. *Danubian Principalities*.—Complete abolition of the Russian protectorate.

Russia shall not exercise any special or exclusive right of protection or of interference in the internal affairs of the Danubian principalities.

The principalities shall preserve their privileges and immunities under the suzerainty of the Porte, and the sultan, in concert with the contracting powers, shall further grant to these principalities, or confirm therein, an internal organisation suitable to the wants and wishes of the populations.

The principalities shall, in concert with the suzerain power, adopt a permanent defensive system required by their geographical situation; no obstacle shall be thrown in the way of the extraordinary defensive measures which they may be called upon to adopt in order to repel any foreign aggression.

In exchange for the fortified positions and territories occupied by the allied armies, Russia consents to a rectification of her frontier with Turkey in Europe. This frontier, thus rectified in a manner suitable to the general interests, would start from the neighbourhood of Chotyn, follow the line of mountains which stretches in the south-easterly direction, and terminate on Lake Salzyk. The line would be definitively settled in the treaty of peace, and the ceded territory revert to the principalities and to the suzerainty of the Porte.

II. *Danube*.—The freedom of the Danube, and of its mouths, shall be effectually secured by European institutions, in which the contracting powers shall be equally represented, without prejudice to the special positions of the river-bordering powers, which shall be settled upon the principles established by the act of the Congress of Vienna on the subject of river navigation.

Each of the contracting powers shall have the right of stationing one or two light vessels of war at the mouths of the river, for the purpose of insuring the execution of the regulations relative to the liberty of the Danube.

III. *Black Sea*.—The Black Sea shall be neutralised. Its waters, thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, shall be interdicted to vessels of war. Consequently, there shall neither be created nor maintained there any military maritime arsenals.

The protection of the commercial and maritime interests of every nation shall be assured in the respective ports of the Black Sea, by the establishment of institutions in conformity with international right and the established usages in such matter.

The two powers bordering on it shall mutually engage to maintain there only the number of light vessels, of fixed force, necessary for the service of their coasts. The convention to be concluded between them to this effect,

after having previously received the approbation of the powers signing the general treaty, shall be annexed to the said treaty, and shall have the same force and value as if it formed an integral portion of it. This separate convention shall neither be annulled nor modified without the assent of the powers signing the general treaty.

The closing of the Straits shall be subject to the exception in favour of the stationary vessels mentioned in the preceding article.

IV. *Christian Populations subject to the Porte*.—The immunities of the Rayah subjects of the Porte shall be confirmed, without prejudice to the independence and dignity of the sultan's crown.

Deliberations being in progress between Austria, France, Great Britain, and the Sublime Porte, with the view of insuring to the Christian subjects of the sultan their religious and political rights, Russia shall be invited, at the peace, to take part therein.

V. *Special Conditions*.—The belligerent powers reserve to themselves the right which belongs to them of proposing, in the interest of Europe, special conditions in addition to the four guarantees.

It would occupy too much space in any history, unless it were simply a history of the diplomacy of the war, to publish the report of the various sittings in which the conference were sustained, and the discussions which they involved. During these discussions, the representatives of Russia evinced the usual want of candour characteristic of the diplomatic agents of that power. Those of Austria were sometimes more in harmony with the representatives of Russia than with the ministers of the allies. To the firmness and wisdom of Lord Clarendon, England and Turkey were much indebted. On the 30th of March, the treaty of peace was finally agreed upon and signed. Before drawing attention to such incidents of the conference as deserve selection, the treaty and annexed conventions will show the results which gave to the conference its interest.

*General Treaty between Her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan.*

[Signed at Paris, March 30th, 1856.—Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27th, 1856.]

In the Name of Almighty God.

Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Emperor of the Ottomans, animated by the desire of putting an end to the calamities of

war, and wishing to prevent the return of the complications which occasioned it, resolved to come to an understanding with His Majesty the Emperor of Austria as to the bases on which peace might be re-established and consolidated, by securing, through effectual and reciprocal guarantees, the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire.

For this purpose Their said Majesties named as their Plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—the Right Honourable George William Frederick Earl of Clarendon, Baron Hyde of Hindon, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight of the Most Noble Order of the Garter, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Right Honourable Henry Richard Charles Baron Cowley, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath, Her Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French;

His Majesty the Emperor of Austria—the Sieur Charles Ferdinand Count of Buol-Schauenstein, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of Leopold of Austria, and Knight of the Order of the Iron Crown of the first class, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, Knight of the Orders of the Black Eagle and of the Red Eagle of Prussia, Grand Cross of the Imperial Orders of Alexander Newski, in diamonds, and of the White Eagle of Russia, Grand Cross of the Order of St. John of Jerusalem, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidié of the first class, &c. &c. &c., His Chamberlain and actual Privy Councillor, His Minister of the House and of Foreign Affairs, President of the Conference of Ministers; and the Sieur Joseph Alexander Baron de Hübner, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Iron Crown, Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, His actual Privy Councillor, and His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France;

His Majesty the Emperor of the French—the Sieur Alexander Count Colonna Walewski, Senator of the Empire, Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, Knight Grand Cross of the Equestrian Order of the Seraphim, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidié of the first class, &c. &c. &c., His Minister and Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs; and the Sieur Francis Adolphus Baron de Bourqueney, Grand

Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour and of the Order of Leopold of Austria, decorated with the Portrait of the Sultan in diamonds, &c. &c. &c., His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to His Imperial and Royal Apostolic Majesty;

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias—the Sieur Alexis Count Orloff, His Aide-de-camp General and General of Cavalry, Commander of the Head-quarters of His Majesty, a Member of the Council of the Empire and of the Committee of Ministers, decorated with two Portraits in diamonds of Their Majesties the late Emperor Nicholas and the Emperor Alexander II., Knight of the Order of St. Andrew in diamonds, and of the Orders of Russia, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stephen of Austria of the first class, of the Black Eagle of Prussia in diamonds, of the Annunciation of Sardinia, and of several other foreign Orders; and the Sieur Philip Baron de Brunnow, His Privy Councillor, His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Germanic Confederation and to the Grand-Duke of Hesse, Knight of the Orders of St. Vladimir of the first class, of St. Alexander Newski enriched with diamonds, of the White Eagle, of St. Anne of the first class, of St. Stanislaus of the first class, Grand Cross of the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the first class, Commander of the Order of St. Stephen of Austria, and of several other foreign Orders;

His Majesty the King of Sardinia—the Sieur Camille Benso, Count of Cavour, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, Knight of the Order of Civil Merit of Savoy, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidié of the first class, Grand Cross of several other foreign Orders, President of the Council of Ministers, and His Minister Secretary of State for the Finances; and the Sieur Salvator Marquis de Villa-Marina, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, Grand Officer of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, &c. &c. &c., His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France;

And His Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans—Mouhammed Emin Aali Pasha, Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, decorated with the Imperial Orders of the Medjidié and of Merit of the first class, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, of St. Stephen of Austria, of the Red Eagle of Prussia, of St. Anne of Russia, of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus of Sardinia, of the Polar Star of Sweden, and of several other foreign Orders; and Mehemmed Djemil Bey, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidié of the second class, and Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, His Ambassador

Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to His Majesty the Emperor of the French, accredited in the same character to His Majesty the King of Sardinia;

Which Plenipotentiaries assembled in Congress at Paris.

An understanding having been happily established between them, Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Emperor of the Ottomans, considering that in the interest of Europe, His Majesty the King of Prussia, a signing Party to the Convention of the 13th of July, 1841, should be invited to participate in the new arrangements to be adopted, and appreciating the value that the concurrence of His said Majesty would add to a work of general pacification, invited him to send Plenipotentiaries to the Congress.

In consequence, His Majesty the King of Prussia named as His Plenipotentiaries, that is to say :—

The Sieur Otho Theodore Baron de Mantouffell, President of His Council, and His Minister for Foreign Affairs, Knight of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the first class, with Oak-leaves, Crown, and Sceptre, Grand Commander of the Order of Hohenzollern, Knight of the Order of St. John of Prussia, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Stephen of Hungary, Knight of the Order of St. Alexander Newski, Grand Cross of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus, and of the Order of the Nichan-Iftihar of Turkey, &c. &c. &c.; and the Sieur Maximilian Frederick Charles Francis Count of Hatzfeldt Wildenburg-Schoenstein, His Actual Privy Councillor. His Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the Court of France, Knight of the Order of the Red Eagle of Prussia of the second class, with Oak-leaves and Badge, Knight of the Cross of Honour of Hohenzollern of the first class, &c. &c. &c.

The plenipotentiaries, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles :—

ART. I.—From the day of the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty, there shall be peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of the French, His Majesty the King of Sardinia, His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, on the one part, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias on the other part, as well as between their heirs and successors, their respective dominions and subjects, in perpetuity.

ART. II.—Peace being happily re-established

between their said majesties, the territories conquered or occupied by their armies during the war shall be reciprocally evacuated.

Special arrangements shall regulate the mode of the evacuation, which shall be as prompt as possible.

ART. III.—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias engages to restore to His Majesty the Sultan the town and citadel of Kars, as well as the other parts of the Ottoman territory of which the Russian troops are in possession.

ART. IV.—Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, engage to restore to His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias the towns and ports of Sebastopol, Balaklava, Kamiesch, Eupatoria, Kertch, Yenikale, Kinburn, as well as all other territories occupied by the allied troops.

ART. V.—Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, the Emperor of all the Russias, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, grant a full and entire amnesty to those of their subjects who may have been compromised by any participation whatsoever in the events of the war in favour of the cause of the enemy.

It is expressly understood that such amnesty shall extend to the subjects of each of the belligerent parties who may have continued, during the war, to be employed in the service of one of the other belligerents.

ART. VI.—Prisoners of war shall be immediately given up on either side.

ART. VII.—Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, His Majesty the Emperor of Austria, His Majesty the Emperor of the French, His Majesty the King of Prussia, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and His Majesty the King of Sardinia, declare the Sublime Porte admitted to participate in the advantages of the public law and system (*concert*) of Europe. Their majesties engage, each on his part, to respect the independence and the territorial integrity of the Ottoman empire; guarantee in common the strict observance of that engagement, and will, in consequence, consider any act tending to its violation as a question of general interest.

ART. VIII.—If there should arise between the Sublime Porte and one or more of the other signing powers any misunderstanding which might endanger the maintenance of their relations, the Sublime Porte, and each of such Powers, before having recourse to the use of





W. H. Sturt

W. H. Sturt

force, shall afford the other contracting parties the opportunity of preventing such an extremity by means of their mediation.

ART. IX.—His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, having, in his constant solicitude for the welfare of his subjects, issued a firman which, while ameliorating their condition without distinction of religion or of race, records his generous intentions towards the Christian population of his empire, and wishing to give a further proof of his sentiments in that respect, has resolved to communicate to the contracting parties the said firman, emanating spontaneously from his sovereign will.

The contracting powers recognise the high value of this communication. It is clearly understood that it cannot, in any case, give to the said powers the right to interfere, either collectively or separately, in the relations of His Majesty the Sultan with his subjects, nor in the internal administration of his empire.

ART. X.—The convention of the 13th of July, 1841, which maintains the ancient rule of the Ottoman empire relative to the closing of the Straits of the Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles, has been revised by common consent.

The act concluded for that purpose, and in conformity with that principle, between the high contracting parties, is and remains annexed to the present treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed an integral part thereof.

ART. XI.—The Black Sea is neutralised; its waters and its ports, thrown open to the mercantile marine of every nation, are formally and in perpetuity interdicted to the flag of war, either of the powers possessing its coasts, or of any other power, with the exceptions mentioned in Articles XIV. and XIX. of the present treaty.

ART. XII.—Free from any impediment, the commerce in the ports and waters of the Black Sea shall be subject only to regulations of health, customs, and police, framed in a spirit favourable to the development of commercial transactions.

In order to afford to the commercial and maritime interests of every nation the security which is desired, Russia and the Sublime Porte will admit consuls into their ports situated upon the coast of the Black Sea, in conformity with the principles of international law.

ART. XIII.—The Black Sea being neutralised, according to the terms of article XI. the maintenance, or establishment upon its coast, of military maritime arsenals becomes alike unnecessary and purposeless; in consequence, His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and His Imperial Majesty the Sultan, engage

not to establish or to maintain upon that coast any military maritime arsenal.

ART. XIV.—Their Majesties the Emperor of all the Russias and the Sultan, having concluded a convention for the purpose of settling the force and the number of light vessels necessary for the service of their coasts, which they reserve to themselves to maintain in the Black Sea, that convention is annexed to the present treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed an integral part thereof. It cannot be either annulled or modified without the assent of the powers signing the present treaty.

ART. XV.—The act of the Congress of Vienna having established the principles intended to regulate the navigation of rivers which separate or traverse different states, the contracting powers stipulate among themselves that those principles shall in future be equally applied to the Danube and its mouths. They declare that this arrangement henceforth forms a part of the public law of Europe, and take it under their guarantee.

The navigation of the Danube cannot be subjected to any impediment or charge not expressly provided for by the stipulations contained in the following articles: in consequence, there shall not be levied any toll founded solely upon the fact of the navigation of the river, nor any duty upon the goods which may be on board of vessels. The regulations of police and of quarantine, to be established for the safety of the states separated or traversed by that river, shall be so framed as to facilitate, as much as possible, the passage of vessels. With the exception of such regulations, no obstacle whatever shall be opposed to free navigation.

ART. XVI.—With the view to carry out the arrangements of the preceding article, a Commission, in which Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, shall each be represented by one delegate, shall be charged to designate, and to cause to be executed, the works necessary below Isatcha, to clear the mouths of the Danube, as well as the neighbouring parts of the sea in the best possible state for navigation.

In order to cover the expenses of such works, as well as of the establishments intended to secure and to facilitate the navigation at the mouths of the Danube, fixed duties, of a suitable rate, settled by the Commission by a majority of votes, may be levied, on the express condition that, in this respect as in every other, the flags of all nations shall be treated on the footing of perfect equality.

ART. XVII.—A Commission shall be established, and shall be composed of delegates of Austria, Bavaria, the Sublime Porte, and Wur-

temberg (one for each of those powers), to whom shall be added Commissioners from the three Danubian principalities, whose nomination shall have been approved by the Porte. This Commission, which shall be permanent: 1. Shall prepare regulations of navigation and river police; 2. Shall remove the impediments, of whatever nature they may be, which still prevent the application to the Danube of the arrangements of the treaty of Vienna; 3. Shall order and cause to be executed the necessary works throughout the whole course of the river; and, 4. Shall, after the dissolution of the European Commission, see to maintaining the mouths of the Danube, and the neighbouring parts of the sea in a navigable state.

ART. XVIII.—It is understood that the European Commission shall have completed its task, and that the River Commission shall have finished the works described in the preceding article, under Nos. 1 and 2, within the period of two years. The signing powers assembled in conference having been informed of that fact shall, after having placed it on record, pronounce the dissolution of the European Commission, and from that time the permanent River Commission shall enjoy the same powers as those with which the European Commission shall have until then been invested.

ART. XIX.—In order to insure the execution of the regulations which shall have been established by common agreement, in conformity with the principles above declared, each of the contracting powers shall have the right to station, at all times, two light vessels at the mouths of the Danube.

ART. XX.—In exchange for the towns, ports, and territories enumerated in article IV. of the present treaty, and in order more fully to secure the freedom of the navigation of the Danube, his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias consents to the rectification of his frontier in Bessarabia.

The new frontier shall begin from the Black Sea, one kilometre to the east of the Lake Bournà Sola, shall run perpendicularly to the Akerman Road, shall follow that road to the *Val de Trajan*, pass to the south of Bolgrad, ascend the course of the River Yalpuck to the Height of Saratsika, and terminate at Katamori on the Pruth. Above that point, the old frontier between the two empires shall not undergo any modification.

Delegates of the contracting powers shall fix, in its details, the line of the new frontier.

ART. XXI.—The territory ceded by Russia shall be annexed to the Principality of Moldavia under the suzerainty of the Sublime Porte.

The inhabitants of that territory shall enjoy the rights and privileges secured to the principalities; and, during the space of three years, they shall be permitted to transfer their domicile elsewhere, disposing freely of their property.

ART. XXII.—The principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia shall continue to enjoy, under the suzerainty of the Porte, and under the guarantee of the contracting powers, the privileges and immunities of which they are in possession. No exclusive protection shall be exercised over them by any of the guaranteeing powers. There shall be no separate right of interference in their internal affairs.

ART. XXIII.—The Sublime Porte engages to preserve to the said principalities an independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation.

The laws and statutes at present in force shall be revised. In order to establish a complete agreement in regard to such revision, a special commission—as to the composition of which the high contracting powers will come to an understanding among themselves—shall assemble, without delay, at Bucharest, together with a commissioner of the Sublime Porte.

The business of this commission shall be to investigate the present state of the principalities, and to propose bases for their future organisation.

ART. XXIV.—His Majesty the Sultan promises to convoke immediately in each of the two provinces a *divan ad hoc*, composed in such a manner as to represent most closely the interests of all classes of society. These *divans* shall be called upon to express the wishes of the people in regard to the definitive organisation of the principalities.

An instruction from the congress shall regulate the relations between the commission and these *divans*.

ART. XXV.—Taking into consideration the opinion expressed by the two *divans*, the commission shall transmit, without delay, to the present seat of the conferences, the result of its own labours.

The final agreement with the suzerain power shall be recorded in a convention to be concluded at Paris between the high contracting parties; and a *hatti-sherif*, in conformity with the stipulations of the convention, shall constitute definitively the organisation of those provinces, placed thenceforward under the collective guarantee of all the signing powers.

ART. XXVI.—It is agreed that there shall be in the principalities a national armed force, organised with the view to maintain the security of the interior, and to insure that of the

frontiers. No impediment shall be opposed to the extraordinary measures of defence which, by agreement with the Sublime Porte, they may be called upon to take in order to repel any external aggression.

ART. XXVII.—If the internal tranquillity of the principalities should be menaced or compromised, the Sublime Porte shall come to an understanding with the other contracting powers in regard to the measures to be taken for maintaining or re-establishing legal order. No armed intervention can take place without previous agreement between those powers.

ART. XXVIII.—The principality of Servia shall continue to hold of the Sublime Porte, in conformity with the imperial *hats* which fix and determine its rights and immunities, placed henceforward under the collective guarantee of the contracting powers.

In consequence, the said principality shall preserve its independent and national administration, as well as full liberty of worship, of legislation, of commerce, and of navigation.

ART. XXIX.—The right of garrison of the Sublime Porte, as stipulated by anterior regulations, is maintained. No armed intervention can take place in Servia without previous agreement between the high contracting powers.

ART. XXX.—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias and His Majesty the Sultan maintain, in its integrity, the state of their possessions in Asia, such as it legally existed before the rupture.

In order to prevent all local dispute, the line of frontier shall be verified, and, if necessary, rectified, without any prejudice as regards territory being sustained by either party.

For this purpose a mixed commission, composed of two Russian commissioners, two Ottoman commissioners, one English commissioner, and one French commissioner, shall be sent to the spot immediately after the re-establishment of diplomatic relations between the court of Russia and the Sublime Porte. Its labours shall be completed within the period of eight months after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty.

ART. XXXI.—The territories occupied during the war by the troops of Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, and the King of Sardinia, according to the terms of the conventions signed at Constantinople on the twelfth of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-four, between Great Britain, France, and the Sublime Porte; on the fourteenth of June of the same year between Austria and the Sublime Porte; and on the fifteenth of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-five, between

Sardinia and the Sublime Porte, shall be evacuated as soon as possible after the exchange of the ratifications of the present treaty. The periods and the means of execution shall form the object of an arrangement between the Sublime Porte and the powers whose troops have occupied its territory.

ART. XXXII.—Until the treaties or conventions which existed before the war between the belligerent powers have been either renewed or replaced by new acts, commerce of importation or of exportation shall take place reciprocally on the footing of the regulations in force before the war; and in all other matters their subjects shall be respectively treated upon the footing of the most favoured nation.

ART. XXXIII.—The convention concluded this day between Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of the French, on the one part, and His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias on the other part, respecting the Aland Islands, is and remains annexed to the present treaty, and shall have the same force and validity as if it formed a part thereof.

ART. XXXIV.—The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at Paris in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

(Signed)

CLARENDON.  
COWLEY.  
BUOL-SCHAUENSTEIN.  
HÜBNER.  
A. WALEWSKI.  
BOURQUENEX.  
MANTEUFFEL.  
C. M. D'HATZFELDT.  
ORLOFF.  
BRUNNOW.  
C. CAVOUR.  
DE VILLA-MARINA.  
AALI.  
MEHEMMED DJEMIL.

#### ADDITIONAL AND TRANSITORY ARTICLE.

The stipulations of the convention respecting the Straits, signed this day, shall not be applicable to the vessels of war employed by the belligerent powers for the evacuation, by sea, of the territories occupied by their armies; but the said stipulations shall resume their entire effect as soon as the evacuation shall be terminated.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

[Here follow the signatures as above.]

#### CONVENTIONS ANNEXED TO THE PRECEDING TREATY.

*I.—Convention between Her Majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, and the King of Sardinia, on the one part, and the Sultan, on the other part, respecting the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus.*

[Signed at Paris, March 30th, 1856.—Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27th, 1856.]

In the Name of Almighty God.

Their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of all the Russias, signing parties to the convention of the thirteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, and His Majesty the King of Sardinia, wishing to record in common their unanimous determination to conform to the ancient rule of the Ottoman empire, according to which the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus are closed to foreign ships of war, so long as the Porte is at peace;

Their said majesties on the one part, and His Majesty the Sultan on the other, have resolved to renew the convention concluded at London on the thirteenth day of July, one thousand eight hundred and forty-one, with the exception of some modifications of detail which do not affect the principle upon which it rests.

In consequence their said majesties have named for that purpose as their plenipotentiaries, that is to say:—

[Here follow the names and titles of the plenipotentiaries already recorded.]

Who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

ART. I.—His Majesty the Sultan, on the one part, declares that he is firmly resolved to maintain for the future the principle invariably established as the ancient rule of his empire, and in virtue of which it has, at all times, been prohibited for the ships of war of foreign powers to enter the Straits of the Dardanelles and of the Bosphorus, and that, so long as the Porte is at peace, his majesty will admit no foreign ship of war into the said Straits. And their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of all the Rus-

sias, and the King of Sardinia, on the other part, engage to respect this determination of the sultan, and to conform themselves to the principle above declared.

ART. II.—The sultan reserves to himself, as in past times, to deliver firmans of passage for light vessels under flag of war, which shall be employed, as is usual, in the service of the missions of foreign powers.

ART. III.—The same exception applies to the light vessels under flag of war, which each of the contracting powers is authorised to station at the mouths of the Danube, in order to secure the execution of the regulations relative to the liberty of that river, and the number of which is not to exceed two for each power.

ART. IV.—The present convention, annexed to the general treaty signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

[Here follow the signatures as before.]

*II.—Convention between the Emperor of Russia and the Sultan, limiting their Naval Force in the Black Sea.*

[Signed at Paris, March 30th, 1856.—Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27th, 1856.]

In the Name of Almighty God.

His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, and his Imperial Majesty the Sultan, taking into consideration the principle of the neutralisation of the Black Sea established by the preliminaries contained in the Protocol No. 1, signed at Paris on the twenty-fifth of February of the present year, and wishing, in consequence, to regulate by common agreement the number and the force of the light vessels which they have reserved to themselves to maintain in the Black Sea for the service of their coasts, have resolved to sign, with that view, a special convention, and have named for that purpose:—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias—the Sieur Alexis Count Orloff, his Aide-de-camp general, &c., the Sieur Philip Baron de Brunnow, his Privy Counsellor, &c.; and his Majesty the Emperor of the Ottomans—Mouhammed Emin Aali Pasha, Grand Vizier of the Ottoman Empire, &c., and Mehemmed Djemil Bey, decorated with the Imperial Order of the Medjidié of the second class, &c., who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

ART. I.—The high contracting parties mutually engage not to have in the Black Sea any other vessels of war than those of which the number, the force, and the dimensions are hereinafter stipulated.

ART. II.—The high contracting parties reserve to themselves each to maintain in that sea six steam-vessels of fifty metres in length at the line of floatation, of a tonnage of eight hundred tons at the maximum, and four light steam or sailing-vessels, of a tonnage which shall not exceed two hundred tons each.

ART. III.—The present convention, annexed to the general treaty signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

(Signed)

ORLOFF.

BRUNNOW.

AALI.

MEHEMMED DJEMIL.

III. — *Convention between Her Majesty, the Emperor of the French, and the Emperor of Russia, respecting the Aland Islands.*

[Signed at Paris, March 30th, 1856.—Ratifications exchanged at Paris, April 27th, 1856.]

In the name of Almighty God.

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, his Majesty the Emperor of the French, and his Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, wishing to extend to the Baltic Sea the harmony so happily re-established between them in the East, and thereby to consolidate the benefits of the general peace, have resolved to conclude a convention, and have named for that purpose:—Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland—the Right Honourable George William Frederick Earl of Clarendon, Baron Hyde of Hindon, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a Member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, &c., and the Right Honourable Henry Richard Charles Baron Cowley, a Peer of the United Kingdom, a member of Her Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council, &c.; His Majesty the Emperor of the French—the Sieur Alexander Count Colonna Walewski, a Senator of the Empire, &c., and the Sieur Francis Adolphus Baron de Bourqueney, Grand Cross of the Imperial Order of the Legion of Honour, &c.; His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias—the Sieur Alexis Count Orloff, his Aide-de-

camp General, &c., and the Sieur Philip Baron de Brunnow, his Privy Councillor, &c., who, after having exchanged their full powers, found in good and due form, have agreed upon the following articles:—

ART. I.—His Majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, in order to respond to the desire which has been expressed to him by their Majesties the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Emperor of the French, declares that the Aland Islands shall not be fortified, and that no military or naval establishment shall be maintained or created there.

ART. II.—The present convention, annexed to the general treaty signed at Paris this day, shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged in the space of four weeks, or sooner, if possible.

In witness whereof, the respective plenipotentiaries have signed the same, and have affixed thereto the seal of their arms.

Done at Paris, the thirtieth day of the month of March, in the year one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

(Signed)

CLARENDON.

COWLEY.

A. WALEWSKI.

BOURQUENEY.

ORLOFF.

BRUNNOW.

During the sittings of the conference which led to the settlement of the foregoing treaty and its annexes, various subjects of deep interest were started for discussion, some of which received a satisfactory solution, others evoking a hopeless diversity of opinion.

In the sitting of the 28th of February, Baron Brunnow stated his opinion that the situation of Servia should be the subject of an especial article, to which all the plenipotentiaries assented.

Count Walewski remarked that the future organisation of the principalities had given rise to several systems, and was proceeding to develop them, when the plenipotentiaries unanimously expressed the opinion that all these combinations should be referred to a committee selected by the congress, which should lay down the principles of the political and administrative constitution of the Danubian provinces, leaving the duty of working out the details to a second commission, in which the contracting parties should be represented, and which should meet immediately after the conclusion of peace.

Repeated attempts were made during this sitting, by the Russian representatives, to impart the terms employed during the negotiations at Vienna into the expression of articles

in the treaty under discussion. These attempts were foiled chiefly by the Baron de Bourqueney, who declared that ideas were then more developed and better defined than at Vienna, and that terms and modes of expression then employed would fall short of the demands, and the best mode of expressing them which the treaty under discussion required.

Count Orloff objected to the stationing of vessels of war at the mouth of the Danube; Count Walewski, with energy, supported this as necessary, and Count Buol also maintained it. Baron Brunnow was concessive, and as Count Orloff had no assistance, he waived his objection.

In consequence of a question raised by Count Walewski, a discussion ensued as to the representation of Prussia in the congress. It seemed as if the count were favourable to her admission, and was throwing out a feeler as to the prospect of a general consent by the plenipotentiaries. The representatives of Austria and Russia seized upon the suggestion of Walewski, and urged the admission of the representatives of Prussia; but the Earl of Clarendon firmly opposed it as improper until the clauses of the general treaty should be settled. Count Walewski then suddenly withdrew the discussion which he had himself provoked.

On the reading of the fourth point, Count Orloff demanded of the Turkish ministers what guarantee they would give as to the protection of the Christian subjects of the Porte in their religious privileges. Aali Pasha endeavoured to evade this question; pointed out the fact of a new *hatti-sherif* having renewed the religious privileges of the sultan's non-Mussulman subjects, and declared that the publication of this act, and the communication of it by an official note to the powers, completed the requirements which the plenipotentiaries ought to make. Count Orloff and Baron Hübnér demanded that express mention should be made of these concessions in the treaty itself: all the other plenipotentiaries supported this view. The grand vizier affirmed that his powers did not enable him to consent to this, and he must consult his government by telegraph. This broke up the *séance*.

The sitting of the 1st of March was signalled by various attempts at procrastination by Count Orloff, which were, from their nature, successful. The first point on which diversity of opinion arose was upon the demand of Turkey for an identification, and 'if necessary a rectification, of the boundary between the two empires in Asia. Count Orloff considered the boundaries sufficiently defined; and endeavoured to explain away, under the guise of quarrels about private property, the various efforts of Russia, since 1834, to encroach upon Turkish territory. The sultan's plenipotentiaries insisted, not only upon the necessity of

an immediate verification of the boundary under former treaties, but also upon the rectification of that boundary, in the interest of the integrity of the Turkish empire. Baron Brunnow resorted to various sophistries to evade this demand, but finding that the Turkish representations received unanimous assent, hinted that this might stop the progress of the treaty altogether, as at Vienna Russia was assured that no concession of territory should be demanded from her, when she made such an assurance a preliminary to negotiations for a general pacification. Count Walewski answered that a revision of boundaries did not constitute a territorial readjustment; and proposed that a mixed commission should be charged, after the conclusion of peace, to decide on this point within a given period. The Russian representatives deferred a final decision on the matter.

Count Walewski referred to the dismantled forts on the Circassian coasts, demanding a definite understanding as to their reconstruction. The tone and manner of the count were undecided, and as if he were unwilling to press Russia closely on this matter. The Earl of Clarendon seemed surprised that any doubt should exist on this point, as the principle of the neutralisation of the Black Sea clearly prohibited the rebuilding of fortified places. The Russian plenipotentiaries insisted that *forts* were no "maritime military arsenals," and therefore the principle already accepted as to the neutralisation of the Black Sea did not interpose an obstacle to the erection or re-erection of forts. These sophisms were indignantly confuted by Lord Clarendon, but the Russian plenipotentiaries obstinately resisted; Lord Clarendon met with a very qualified support, and the discussion ended in a drawn battle: the subject was deferred.

At the sitting of the 4th of March, Count Walewski again introduced the subject of a mixed commission, to settle the boundaries of Asiatic Turkey and Russia. The Turks wisely insisted that the commissioners should not only represent the interested powers, but the allies. Accordingly it was proposed by the count, that two Turks, two Russians, one Englishman, and one Frenchman should constitute the commission. This met with universal approval, except from the Russian ministers, who unwillingly acceded to it, subject to the approval of their sovereign.

The neutralisation of the Black Sea was then discussed. Lord Clarendon offered a moderate opposition to the existence of the dockyards of Nicolaieff; but his opposition would have been couched in firmer language if it had not been previously ascertained that Russia intended to act in reference to this place in the spirit of the treaty. The following was the report of

the categorical inquiry of Lord Clarendon, and the reply of the first plenipotentiary of Russia. Their insertion here is made desirable by the extreme importance of the subject.

"The first plenipotentiary of Great Britain states that Russia possesses, at Nicolaieff, an arsenal of the first class for maritime works, the maintenance of which would be in contradiction to the principles on which the paragraph, of which the congress has just settled the terms, is founded. This arsenal, not being situated on the shores of the Black Sea, Lord Clarendon does not mean to assert that Russia is bound to destroy the ship-building yards which exist there; but he remarks that public opinion would be authorised in attributing to Russia intentions which she cannot entertain, if Nicolaieff were to retain, as a centre for all maritime works, the importance which it has acquired.

"The first plenipotentiary of Russia replies that the emperor, his august master, on acceding with sincerity to the propositions of peace, firmly resolved strictly to carry out all the engagements resulting from them; but that Nicolaieff, being situated far from the shores of the Black Sea, respect for her dignity would not permit Russia to allow a principle solely applicable to the coast to be extended to the interior of the empire; that the security of, and watching over, the coasts required, moreover, that Russia should have, as had been admitted, a certain number of light vessels in the Black Sea, and that, if she consented to give up the ship-building yards of Nicolaieff, she would be compelled to establish others in some other point of her southern possessions; that, in order at once to provide for his engagements, and for the requirements of the naval service, the emperor intends only to authorise the construction at Nicolaieff of the vessels of war mentioned in the bases of the negotiation.

"The first plenipotentiary of Great Britain, and, after him, the other plenipotentiaries, consider this declaration satisfactory.

"The Earl of Clarendon inquires of the first plenipotentiary of Russia whether he agrees to the insertion of his declaration in the protocol. After having replied in the affirmative, Count Orloff adds that, in order to prove the sincerity of his intentions, the emperor has instructed him to demand a free passage through the Straits of the Bosphorus and of the Dardanelles for the two ships of the line which are now at Nicolaieff, and which would have to proceed to the Baltic as soon as peace was concluded."

At the sitting of March the 6th, the former subject was renewed, it having apparently escaped the allies that Cherson might be used for military maritime purposes, if Nicolaieff

were not, and that the Sea of Azoff might be used for flotillas, powerful for aggression in the Black Sea. The congress seems to have contented themselves with the assurances of Count Orloff, and to have left this matter too open, so as possibly to prove a source of danger in some new complication. The following were the questions and reply of the Earl of Clarendon and Count Orloff on this subject:—

"The first plenipotentiary of Great Britain inquires of the plenipotentiaries of Russia whether the declaration made by Count Orloff in the preceding sitting, on the subject of Nicolaieff, applies equally to Cherson and to the Sea of Azoff.

"The first plenipotentiary of Russia replies that, like Nicolaieff, the Sea of Azoff cannot be included under the direct application of the principle accepted by Russia; that, on the other hand, it is indubitable that large vessels cannot navigate that sea; he abides, however, by the assurances to which the Earl of Clarendon has referred, and he repeats that Russia, being desirous of acting wholly in conformity with the engagements which she has contracted, will not build, anywhere on the shores of the Black Sea, or in its tributaries, or in the waters which are dependent on it, any ship of war other than those which Russia will maintain in the Black Sea according to the terms of her convention with Turkey."

In this sitting a contest arose concerning the commission for effectually opening, and keeping open, the navigation of the Danube. The congress, with the exception of the Russian plenipotentiaries, were desirous that, as Bavaria was one of the states bordering the Danube, she should be represented on that commission. This was so reasonable and just, and so strictly in conformity with the original terms of agreement, that Russia could have taken no objection to it, if really willing to give up her interference with the Danube. Her conduct, subsequent to the Paris congress, proved that she had no intention to forego her designs on that river; she was, therefore, naturally desirous to refuse her assent to a measure calculated to ally Bavaria with Turkey, and Austria more especially, but less immediately with all the allies in preventing Russian aggression in that quarter. The allies were firm, however, and Russia had no alternative but to submit.

The sitting of March the 8th was remarkable for the announcement that the czar had accepted the decision of the congress in favour of a mixed commission charged with the revision of the Asiatic frontier. This sitting was also rendered memorable by the Russian ministers proposing a new line for their Bessarabian frontier, altogether different and more favourable to themselves than that agreed upon in January at Vienna, as a basis for negotiations. The

Earl of Clarendon opposed with warmth, and yet with wisdom, this departure from the basis of the treaty. Count Walewski, while affecting to support his lordship's views, offered to make great concessions to Russia in this particular, and the foundation was laid, by the French plenipotentiary in so doing, for all the differences which ultimately led to another congress at Paris, and very nearly to another war.

On the 10th of March this discussion was renewed, all parties manifesting the same spirit and the same ends as on the previous sitting. Russia was struggling hard to outwit and cajole the other plenipotentiaries, and to obtain such a boundary as would enable her, after all, eventually to make herself a Danubian power. The particulars of this discussion are more appropriate to an account of the final enforcement upon Russia of the terms of the treaty at the period which she sought to violate them. During this sitting Count Walewski insisted upon Prussia being invited to join the congress; the invitation was given in the following terms:—

"The congress, considering that it is a matter of European interest that Prussia, a signing party to the convention concluded at London on the 13th of July, 1841, should participate in the new arrangements to be adopted, decides that an extract from the protocol of this day shall be forwarded to Berlin through Count Walewski, as organ of the congress, in order to invite the Prussian government to send plenipotentiaries to Paris."

In the sitting of March the 12th, Russia made a demand for the liberty of having light armed vessels in all her ports in the Black Sea, for the purposes of harbour police. The Turkish plenipotentiary suspected the movement, and refused his assent. Lord Clarendon wisely observed that, if it were only intended to employ armed boats to look after the character of the ships entering the harbour, that right was so obvious as not to require a clause in the treaty to recognise it; but if it were intended to have armed vessels which might put to sea under the pretext of going from one port to another, he would resist it. The Russians, finding that the trick would not take, withdrew the proposition.

In the sitting of March the 14th, the affairs of the principalities came under notice. The vizier gave no assistance in these councils, but rather displayed a *vis inertiae*, as little creditable to the sincerity of the Porte, as the previous measures of the Russian plenipotentiaries were in harmony with the good faith they so ostentatiously professed. Nothing on the subject of the principalities could be effected, the Turkish minister refusing any assent until he heard further from his government.

On the 18th of March there were two sittings. At the second, Count Walewski announced the arrival of the Prussian plenipotentiaries, who were introduced.

On the 24th of March a rather severe contest occurred, between the Russian plenipotentiaries on the one hand, and those of Turkey and Great Britain on the other. The former endeavoured to prevent the acceptance by the congress of the Turkish "annex" concerning the Christian subjects of the Porte, demanding that its consideration be referred to a commission; while this was combatted energetically by Lord Clarendon, who insisted upon its consideration *in pleno*. The grand vizier declared that if these concessions did not suffice, he would not compromise the sovereign rights of the sultan and the dignity of his throne, by allowing any interference or tampering with the allegiance of his Christian subjects. The discussion was deferred. The remainder of the sitting was occupied with Servia.

In the sitting of March the 25th, much time was uselessly consumed by sly attempts on the part of the second plenipotentiary, Baron Brunnow, to substitute certain terms in the Turkish concessions for others, which were successfully exposed and resisted by Lord Clarendon. The Earl of Clarendon introduced the subject of free commerce between Turkey and all the powers, and the application of the usual stipulation "of the most favoured nation." The views of his lordship were broad, liberal, and statesman-like; he was supported by the representatives of Turkey, Sardinia, and France. Those of Russia and Austria resisted, and Prussia, there as elsewhere, played a double game.

The sitting of March the 30th was an important one, and is here given entire, as presented to the British houses of parliament:—

"Having met together at noon in the saloon of their deliberations, the plenipotentiaries collate with the instruments which they had marked with their initials at the previous sitting—

"I. The general treaty of peace;

"II. The convention respecting the Straits;

"III. The convention relative to the light vessels of war which the powers bordering on the coasts shall maintain in the Black Sea;

"IV. The convention respecting the Åland Islands.

"And all these acts having been found in due form, the plenipotentiaries affix to them their signature and the seal of their arms.

"After which, and upon the proposition of Count Walewski, the congress declares that the armistice, in consequence of the signature of peace, is prolonged till the time of the exchange of the ratifications, and it is agreed between

the plenipotentiaries of France, of Great Britain, of Sardinia, and of Turkey, on the one part, and the plenipotentiaries of Russia, on the other, that orders to this effect shall be transmitted without delay.

"The congress further decides that the exchange of the ratifications shall be made in six copies, that the additional article to the general treaty shall be ratified in the same instrument with the general treaty itself, and that the ratifications of that treaty and of each of the annexed conventions shall be prepared in separate acts.

"The Earl of Clarendon proposes to the plenipotentiaries to proceed to the Tuileries to inform the emperor that the congress has just concluded the work of pacification, in which his majesty took a great interest, and which Europe was awaiting with such lively impatience.

"The first plenipotentiary of Great Britain says that this proceeding, as regards the sovereign of the country in which the congress is assembled, is at once a respectful expression of gratitude due to the great kindness and gracious hospitality which the plenipotentiaries, individually and collectively, had met with on the part of his imperial majesty. Lord Clarendon adds, that he feels assured beforehand, that everything which might tend to prove the feelings of respect and high consideration with which the plenipotentiaries are animated towards the person of the Emperor Napoleon, will meet with the most complete approbation of the sovereigns whom the plenipotentiaries have the honour to represent.

"The congress adopts with eager unanimity the proposition of the first plenipotentiary of Great Britain.

"Count Walewski thanks the first plenipotentiary of Great Britain for the proposition which he has just made, and does not hesitate to give the assurance that the emperor, his august sovereign, will be very sensible of the step suggested by Lord Clarendon, and not less grateful for the sentiments which have dictated it than for the unanimous eagerness with which it has been adopted.

"The present protocol is read and approved."

[The signatures follow.]

The attaching of the signatures to the treaty was an event of profound interest to all the plenipotentiaries, and each intended to preserve, as a memento, the pen with which he signed it. A circumstance arose which prevented this: the empress requested that all the signatures should be attached with one pen, to be preserved by herself. An eagle's quill, richly mounted with gold and jewels, was accordingly used on the occasion, and presented to her imperial majesty when the plenipotentiaries, in pursuance of the proposal of Lord Clarendon, went

in a body to announce to the emperor the termination of their labours, and to congratulate him on the auspicious result. His majesty received them with the most lively indications of satisfaction, and thanked them for this act of courtesy. He paid an extreme compliment to England, to whose moderation he attributed the fortunate issue of the negotiations. This remark was most important, as indicating the emperor's view of the position of England towards Russia—her reasonableness and justice in watching the aggressive proceedings of that power, with the determination to curb them—and the practicability, good faith, and unselfishness which she nevertheless evinced when other powers, less interested, were so much in haste for peace, and when she was in an attitude, as to her resources, so prepared for protracted and sanguinary war.

As soon as the treaty was signed, copies of it were transmitted to all the governments concerned, and the 27th of April appointed for the ratification.

The labours of the congress were, however, not over; there were various supplementary matters, without which the treaty and its annexes would be incomplete. Accordingly, the members resumed their sittings on the 2nd of April, when they applied themselves to the question whether the blockades could be raised before the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of peace. The Russian plenipotentiaries declared their belief that their government would concur in the views of the allied representatives, but that, as it exceeded the powers delegated by the czar, they must refer to their imperial master.

The *séance* was adjourned to the 4th of April, on which occasion the Russian envoys informed the congress that, by the electric telegraph, the czar had signified his acquiescence in the demands made conditional to a maritime armistice. The blockades were accordingly raised.

The evacuation of territories by the lately contending armies was the next topic of discussion. Count Walewski gave assurances that in six months from the ratifications the armies of the allies would be entirely withdrawn from Russian and Turkish territories. The Russian plenipotentiaries undertook to withdraw their troops from Kars. They indicated some jealousy of the allies remaining in the Straits of Kertch.

Count Buol promised that the Austrian troops should withdraw from the principalities before the troops of France and England could be removed from Russia and Turkey—a promise which the Austrian government did not keep, nor is it at all likely ever intended to keep, for both that power and Russia were faithlessly on the watch for any change of circumstances that might furnish an occasion for

an infraction of the treaty, each in its separate interest.

It was finally agreed upon that all the armies should commence their withdrawal as soon as ratifications were exchanged, and "continue without interruption" until the evacuation of the lately contested territories was completed. This arrangement being at variance with the treaty of Constantinople of the 12th of March, 1854, and of the 15th of March, 1855, stipulating that at the conclusion of the war the allied armies should depart from the Ottoman territories in forty days, and the fulfilment of those treaties having become physically impossible by reason of the dimensions to which the war had extended, a new and especial convention was made with the sultan in the spirit of the protocol at Paris which necessitated it.

The congress then decided that the commissioners who, in the terms of Article XX. of the treaty of peace, were to undertake the demarcation of the new frontier of Russia in Bessarabia, should meet at Galatz on the 6th of May, to execute the duties of their mission.

Lord Clarendon proposed that, in the interest of the evacuation, the allied ships should have free ingress to the harbour of Sebastopol. The Russian ministers replied that they would take the orders of their court.

A variety of other detail involved in the treaty, its annexes, and the transitory article, were then settled.

On the 8th of April there was another sitting, the business of which was opened by the Earl of Clarendon, who announced that Great Britain would immediately revoke all commercial restrictions consequent upon the war.

The electric telegraph had brought the tidings that the czar consented to open the port of Sebastopol to the ships of the allies. It also announced that the withdrawal of the Russian armies from Kars and its vicinity would commence as soon as the ratifications of the treaty of peace were exchanged; this promise Russia did not keep, nor was it the intention of the Russian government honourably to fulfil it.

The sitting on this day was the longest and most discordant of any. Count Walewski delivered an oration, which not only caused a political ferment in the congress, but agitated all Germany and Southern and Western Europe. A history of the conference would be imperfect which did not contain this remarkable speech, which is therefore presented to the reader:—

"Count Walewski says that it is desirable that the plenipotentiaries, before they separate, should interchange their ideas on different subjects which require to be settled, and which it might be advantageous to take up in order to prevent fresh complications. Although spe-

cially assembled for settling the Eastern question, the congress, according to the first plenipotentiary of France, might reproach itself for not having taken advantage of the circumstance which brings together the representative of the principal powers of Europe, to clear up certain questions, to lay down certain principles, to express intentions—in fine, to make certain declarations, always and solely with the view of insuring the future tranquillity of the world, by dispelling the clouds which are still seen looming on the political horizon before they become menacing.

"It cannot be denied, he says, that Greece is in an abnormal state. The anarchy to which that country was a prey has compelled France and England to send troops to the Piræus at a time when their armies, nevertheless, did not want occupation. The congress knows in what state Greece was; neither is it ignorant that that in which it now is, is far from being satisfactory. Would it not, therefore, be advantageous that the powers represented in the congress should manifest the wish to see the three protecting courts take into serious consideration the deplorable situation of the kingdom which they have created, and devise means to make provision for it?

"Count Walewski does not doubt that the Earl of Clarendon will join with him in declaring that the two governments await with impatience the time when they shall be at liberty to terminate an occupation to which, nevertheless, they are unable, without the most serious inconvenience, to put an end, so long as real modifications shall not be introduced into the state of things in Greece.

"The first plenipotentiary of France then observes that the Pontifical States are equally in an abnormal state; that the necessity for not leaving the country to anarchy had decided France as well as Austria to comply with the demand of the Holy See by causing Rome to be occupied by her troops, while the Austrian troops occupied the legations.

"He states that France had a twofold motive for complying, without hesitation, with the demand of the Holy See—as a Catholic power and as an European power. The title of the eldest son of the Church, which is the boast of the sovereign of France, makes it a duty for the emperor to afford aid and support to the sovereign pontiff; the tranquillity of the Roman States, and that of the whole of Italy, affects too closely the maintenance of social order in Europe for France not to have an overbearing interest in securing it by all the means in her power. But, on the other hand, it is impossible to overlook the abnormal condition of a power which, in order to maintain itself, requires to be supported by foreign troops.

"Count Walewski does not hesitate to declare, and he trusts that Count Buol will join in the declaration, that not only is France ready to withdraw her troops, but that she earnestly desires to recall them so soon as that can be done without inconvenience as regards the internal tranquillity of the country and the authority of the pontifical government, in the prosperity of which the emperor, his august sovereign, takes the most lively interest.

"The first plenipotentiary of France represents how desirable it is for the balance of power in Europe that the Roman government should be consolidated in sufficient strength for the French and Austrian troops to be able, without inconvenience, to evacuate the Pontifical States, and he considers that a wish expressed in this sense might not be without advantage. In any case, he does not doubt that the assurances which might be given by France and Austria as to their real intentions in this respect would have a salutary influence.

"Following up the same order of ideas, Count Walewski asks himself if it is not to be desired that certain governments of the Italian peninsula, by well-devised acts of clemency, and by rallying to themselves minds gone astray and not perverted, should put an end to a system which is directly opposed to its object, and which, instead of reaching the enemies of public order, has the effect of weakening the governments, and of furnishing partisans to popular faction. In his opinion, it would render a signal service to the government of the two Sicilies, as well as to the cause of order in the Italian peninsula, to enlighten that government as to the false course in which it is engaged. He is of opinion that warnings conceived in this sense, and proceeding from the powers represented in the congress, would be the better received by the Neapolitan government, as that government could not doubt the motives which dictated them.

"The first plenipotentiary of France then says that he must call the attention of the congress to a subject which, although more particularly affecting France, is not the less of great interest for all the powers of Europe. He considers it superfluous to state that there are every day printed in Belgium publications the most insulting—the most hostile against France and her government; that revolt and assassination are openly advocated in them; he remarks that quite recently Belgian newspapers have ventured to extol the society called 'La Marianne,' the tendencies and object of which are known; that all these publications are so many implements of war directed against the repose and tranquillity of France by the enemies of social order, who, relying on the impunity which they find under the shelter of the Belgian legislation, retain the

hope of eventually realising their culpable designs.

"Count Walewski declares that the intention and sole desire of the government of the empire is to maintain the best relations with Belgium; he readily adds that France has reason to be satisfied with the Belgian government, and with its efforts to mitigate a state of things which it is unable to alter, its legislation not allowing it either to restrain the excesses of the press, or to take the initiative in a reform which has become absolutely indispensable. We should regret, he says, to be obliged ourselves to make Belgium comprehend the strict necessity for modifying a legislation which does not allow its government to fulfil the first of international duties—that of not assailing, or allowing to be assailed, the internal tranquillity of the neighbouring states. Representations addressed by the stronger to the less strong have too much the appearance of menace, and that is what we desire to avoid. But if the representatives of the great powers of Europe, viewing in the same light with ourselves this necessity, should find it useful to express their opinion in this respect, it is more than probable that the Belgian government, relying upon all reasonable persons in Belgium, would be able to put an end to a state of things which cannot fail, sooner or later, to give rise to difficulties, and even real dangers, which it is the interest of Belgium to avert beforehand.

"Count Walewski proposes to the congress to conclude its work by a declaration which would constitute a remarkable advance in international law, and which would be received by the whole world with a sentiment of lively gratitude.

"The congress of Westphalia, he adds, sanctioned liberty of conscience; the congress of Vienna, the abolition of the slave-trade and the freedom of the navigation of rivers. It would be truly worthy of the congress of Paris to lay down the basis of an uniform maritime law in time of war as regards neutrals. The four following principles would completely effect that object:—

"I. The abolition of privateering;

"II. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods except contraband of war;

"III. Neutral goods, except contraband of war, are not liable to capture even under enemy's flag;

"IV. Blockades are not binding except in so far as they are effective.

"This would indeed be a glorious result, to which none of us could be indifferent.

"The Earl of Clarendon, sharing the opinions expressed by Count Walewski, declares that, like France, England proposes to recall the troops which she was obliged to send to

Greece so soon as she shall be able to do so without inconvenience to the public tranquillity; but that it is necessary, in the first instance, to provide solid guarantees for the maintenance of a satisfactory state of things. According to him, the protecting powers may agree among themselves upon the remedy which it is indispensable to apply to a system injurious to the country, and which has altogether departed from the object which they had proposed to themselves when establishing there an independent monarchy for the well-being and the prosperity of the Greek people."

The Earl of Clarendon then proceeded in a strain of signal eloquence, and at still greater length than M. Walewski, to discuss the general affairs of Europe. His opinions and those of the first plenipotentiary of France were as nearly identical as possible, except on the subject of the press. The speech of Count Walewski was obviously levelled at the liberty of the press in the only monarchical continental country, with the exception of Norway and Sardinia, where that liberty existed. Belgium was near to France, and its freedom in this respect perpetually vexed the imperious monarch of the Tuileries. The Earl of Clarendon boldly informed the congress that England would take no part in counsels having for their object the suppression of free discussion; at the same time the noble earl denounced the brutal and barbarous principles which were promulgated in the Belgian papers, and which it was erroneously supposed the Belgian government had not constitutionally the power to suppress. As in England, Norway, Switzerland, Sardinia, and the United States, so in Belgium there exists the constitutional power with the executive of punishing incitements to assassination and revolt. The noble representative of England having been much misrepresented in connection with his oration to the congress on this point, a correct report of what he addressed to that body is here both just to him and desirable in itself:—

"As regards the observations offered by Count Walewski on the excesses of the Belgian press, and the dangers which result therefrom for the adjoining countries, the plenipotentiaries of England admit their importance; but as the representatives of a country in which a free and independent press is, so to say, one of the fundamental institutions, they cannot associate themselves to measures of coercion against the press of another state. The first plenipotentiary of Great Britain, while deploring the violence in which certain organs of the Belgian press indulge, does not hesitate to declare that the authors of the execrable doctrines to which Count Walewski alludes—the men who preach assassination as the means of attaining a political object—are undeserv-

ing of the protection which guarantees to the press its liberty and its independence."

The speeches of the first plenipotentiaries of France and England were followed by the expression of the most discordant opinions from the other plenipotentiaries; those of Russia keeping as much as possible out of the hubbub but slyly accepting whatever tended to annoy Austria or weaken England, as the proposed reconstruction of the law of nations on maritime subjects would in their opinion do. The Austrian ministers attacked the press, and demanded, in fact, the suppression of all unauthorised political and religious discussion in continental Europe. They bitterly replied to the speeches of the ministers of the Western powers on the affairs of Italy, and declined allowing the special character of the congress to be changed into a general congress for settling the affairs of Europe. Count Cavour, on the part of Sardinia, eloquently supported the policy of the Western ministers, and denounced the occupation of Italy by Austria. The Austrian ministers angrily retorted, and betrayed the uttermost vexation and chagrin. The part performed by the Prussian plenipotentiaries was the strangest of all. They sympathised with oppression everywhere, upheld the censorship of the press everywhere; but were of opinion that the congress ought not to interfere to redress any national wrongs except those of Prussia, which were inflicted upon her by the revolutionists of Neufchatel! This complaint nearly disturbed the gravity of the congress; the introduction of an affair so paltry, in connection with subjects of so vast a range and universal consequence, was eminently absurd. The selfishness of Prussia, which refused all co-operation in redressing the wrongs of other nations, but invited all Europe to aid in compelling a few thousand persons in a secluded and out-of-the-way place to submit to her own authority, excited the disgust of all, and the indignation of most of the members of the congress. The King of Prussia gave one more proof that there was no great object with which he could come, in virtue of his position, into any sort of contact, in which he would not degrade his own relation to it by small conceptions and selfish aims. Neither courage, generosity, nor even a great ambition were possible to the man, his court, or his cabinet.

After this most serious *séance* of the congress, Count Walewski, with sufficient accuracy, summed up the results in the following terms:—

"Count Walewski congratulates himself on having induced the plenipotentiaries to interchange their ideas on the questions which have been discussed. He had supposed that it might have been possible, perhaps with advantage, to express themselves in a more complete

manner on some of the subjects which have fixed the attention of the congress. 'But such as it is,' he says, 'the interchange of ideas which has taken place, is not without advantage.'

"The first plenipotentiary of France states that the result of it is, in effect :—

"I. That no one has contested the necessity of seriously deliberating as to the means for improving the situation of Greece, and that the three protecting courts have recognised the importance of coming to an understanding among themselves in this respect.

"II. That the plenipotentiaries of Austria have acceded to the wish expressed by the plenipotentiaries of France for the evacuation of the pontifical states by the French and Austrian troops, as soon as it can be effected without prejudice to the tranquillity of the country and to the consolidation of the authority of the Holy See.

"III. That the greater part of the plenipotentiaries have not questioned the good effect which would result from measures of clemency, opportunely adopted by the governments of the Italian peninsula, and especially by that of the two Sicilies.

"IV. That all the plenipotentiaries, and even those who considered themselves bound to reserve the principle of the liberty of the press, have not hesitated loudly to condemn the excesses in which the Belgian newspapers indulge with impunity, by recognising the necessity of remedying the real inconveniences which result from the uncontrolled licence which is so greatly abused in Belgium.

"That, finally, the reception given by all the plenipotentiaries to the idea of closing their labours by a declaration of principles in the matter of maritime law, must give reason to hope that at the next sitting they will have received from their respective governments authority to adhere to an act which, while completing the work of the congress of Paris, would effect an improvement worthy of our epoch."

On the 14th of April the members of conference again assembled. They agreed on the project of maritime law, which follows this account of their proceedings. The Earl of Clarendon laid before the congress a proposition, recognising, in the case of any difference between the Porte and any of the powers, the principle of arbitration by reference to a state friendly to the disputants. Mr. Cobden, who was so much opposed to Lord Clarendon's policy, ought to have given him credit in this case for adopting the measure of foreign policy to which that gentleman appeared to confine himself. The proposition of Lord Clarendon was advocated by Count Walewski, and opposed by the Austrian plenipotentiaries. The Prussian ministers espoused it. The Russian

envoys, as usual, could say nothing until they referred to their master. The Sardinian representatives inquired if the proposition would apply to armed interventions in the affairs of independent nations, and illustrated their meaning by portraying the conduct of Austria in Italy. Lord Clarendon answered in the affirmative, again supported by the French plenipotentiary. The Austrian ministers denounced those of Sardinia for referring to Austria, and intimated the wish of the kaiser to be unfettered by any engagements in his interference with other independent states. The congress were of one view, with the exception of the representatives of Russia, who declined giving any opinion, and of those of Austria, who offered an irritable and undignified opposition.

At this sitting the Declaration of Maritime Law was agreed upon, which was as follows:—

*Annex to Protocol No. 23.*

DECLARATION.

The plenipotentiaries who signed the treaty of Paris of the thirtieth of March, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six, assembled in conference, considering—

That maritime law, in time of war, has long been the subject of deplorable disputes;

That the uncertainty of the law, and of the duties in such a matter, gives rise to differences of opinion between neutrals and belligerents, which may occasion serious difficulties, and even conflicts;

That it is, consequently, advantageous to establish a uniform doctrine on so important a point;

That the plenipotentiaries assembled in congress at Paris cannot better respond to the intentions by which their governments are animated, than by seeking to introduce into international relations fixed principles in this respect;

The above-mentioned plenipotentiaries, being duly authorised, resolved to concert among themselves as to the means of attaining this object; and, having come to an agreement, have adopted the following solemn declaration:—

I. Privateering is, and remains, abolished;

II. The neutral flag covers enemy's goods, with the exception of contraband of war;

III. Neutral goods, with the exception of contraband of war, are not liable to capture under enemy's flag;

IV. Blockades, in order to be binding, must be effective; that is to say, maintained by a force sufficient really to prevent access to the coast of the enemy.

The governments of the undersigned plenipotentiaries engage to bring the present declaration to the knowledge of the states which have not taken part in the congress of Paris, and to invite them to accede to it.

Convinced that the maxims which they now proclaim cannot but be received with gratitude by the whole world, the undersigned plenipotentiaries doubt not that the efforts of their governments to obtain the general adoption thereof, will be crowned with full success.

The present declaration is not, and shall not be binding, except between those powers who have acceded, or shall accede to it.

Done at Paris, the sixteenth of April, one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

[The signatures follow.]

The final sitting of the congress was held on April 16th, which, as it concluded the labours of the historical assemblage, is presented to the reader entire. There were present the plenipotentiaries of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey.

"The protocol of the preceding sitting is read and approved.

"Count Orloff announces that he is prepared, in virtue of instructions from his court, to adhere definitively to the wish recorded in the last paragraph but one of the protocol No. 23.

"The draft of declaration annexed to the protocol of the last meeting is read; whereupon, and as they had determined, the plenipotentiaries proceed to the signature of that act.

"On the proposition of Count Walewski, and recognising that it is for the general interest to maintain the indivisibility of the four principles mentioned in the declaration signed this day, the plenipotentiaries agree that the powers which shall have signed it, or which shall have acceded to it, cannot hereafter enter into any arrangement in regard to the application of the right of neutrals in time of war, which does not at the same time rest on the four principles which are the object of the said declaration.

"Upon an observation made by the plenipotentiaries of Russia, the congress admits that as the present resolution cannot have any retro-active effect, it cannot invalidate antecedent conventions.

"Count Orloff proposes to the plenipotentiaries to offer to Count Walewski, before they separate, the thanks of the congress for the manner in which he has guided its labours. 'Count Walewski,' he says, 'at the opening of our first meeting, expressed the wish to see our deliberations result in a happy issue; this wish is realised; and assuredly the spirit of conciliation with which our president has directed our discussions has exercised an influence for which we cannot be too grateful; and I am convinced that I act in accordance with the sentiments of all the plenipotentiaries in requesting Count Walewski to accept the expression of the gratitude of the congress.'

"The Earl of Clarendon supports this propo-

sition, which is accepted with prompt unanimity by all the plenipotentiaries, who determine to make a special mention of it in the protocol.

"Count Walewski replies that he is extremely sensible of the kind manifestation of which he is now the object, and, on his part, eagerly expresses to the plenipotentiaries his gratitude for the indulgence which he has not ceased to receive the proofs during the conferences. He congratulates himself, with them, on having so happily and so completely attained the object proposed for their exertions."

[The signatures follow, as usual.]

Before the congress broke up, the Sardinian ministers addressed to it a memorial on the affairs of Italy, which from some cause, probably from a desire not to offend Austria, the papers laid before parliament, as a report of the proceedings of the congress, did not contain. This document, however, had too much influence upon the combinations formed after the sittings of the congress, and when Russia sought to evade the terms of the treaty, seconded treacherously by the French ministers, not to form a necessary part of any collection of documents published as belonging to the war:—

*Sardinian Memorial relating to the Affairs of Italy, addressed to the Governments of England and France, April 16, 1856.*

The undersigned, plenipotentiaries of his Majesty the King of Sardinia, full of confidence in the just sentiments of the governments of France and England, and in the friendship which they profess for Piedmont, have never ceased, since the opening of the conferences, to hope that the congress of Paris would not separate without taking into serious consideration the state of Italy, and deliberating on the means to be adopted for the re-establishment of its political equilibrium, disturbed at present by the occupation of a great part of the peninsula by foreign troops. Certain of the concurrence of their allies, they could not think that any other power, after having testified so lively and so generous an interest in the fate of the Eastern Christians of the Slavonic and Greek races, would refuse to interest themselves in the people of the Latin race, who are still more unhappy by reason that the advanced degree of civilisation which they have attained makes them feel more acutely the effects of bad government.—This hope has been disappointed.

Notwithstanding the good-will of France and England,—notwithstanding their well-intended efforts,—the persistence of Austria obliged the discussions of the congress to be strictly bounded within the sphere of the questions marked out before its meeting, and is the

cause of this assembly, on which the eyes of Europe are fixed, being about to dissolve, not only without having effected the least amelioration for the ills of Italy, but without giving a ray of hope for the future to the nations on the other side of the Alps, calculated to calm their minds and to make them bear the present with resignation.

The peculiar position occupied by Austria in the congress, perhaps rendered this deplorable result inevitable. The undersigned are forced to acknowledge this. Nevertheless, without addressing the least reproach to their allies, they believe it a duty to call their serious attention to the sad consequences that this may have for Europe, for Italy, and especially for Sardinia.

It would be superfluous to trace here an exact picture of the state of Italy. What has taken place in those countries is only too notorious. The system of repression and violent action commenced in 1848 and 1849—justified in its origin, perhaps, by the revolutionary disturbances which had shortly before been repressed—continues without the smallest relaxation. It may even be said that, with few exceptions, it is exercised with redoubled rigour. Never were the prisons and dungeons more full of persons condemned for political causes; never has the number of exiles been greater; never has the police been more vexatious, nor martial law more severely applied. What is taking place at Parma only proves this too clearly. Such a system of government must necessarily keep the populations in constant state of irritation and revolutionary ferment. This has been the state of Italy for seven years. Nevertheless, the popular agitation appeared recently to be calmed. Italians, seeing one of their national princes coalesced with the great Western powers for the support of the principles of right and justice, and for the amelioration of the fate of their co-nationals in the East, conceived a hope that peace would not be made without some relief to their misfortunes. This hope kept them calm and resigned. But when they know the negative results of the congress of Paris; when they learn that Austria, notwithstanding the friendly offices and benevolent intervention of France and England, refused all discussion—that she would not even enter into an examination of the means proper for remedying such a state of things—there can be no doubt that dormant irritation will be awakened among them more violently than ever. Convinced that they have nothing to expect from diplomacy, and that the efforts of the powers which take no interest in their fate, they will throw themselves with southern ardour into the ranks of the revolutionary and subversive party; and they will again become a hotbed of conspira-

cies and tumults, which may perhaps be suppressed by redoubled rigour, but which the least European commotion may cause to burst forth in the most violent manner. So sad a state of things, if it merits the attention of the government of France and England, equally interested in the maintenance of order and the regular development of civilisation, must naturally pre-occupy the government of the King of Sardinia in the highest degree. The awakening of revolutionary passions in all the countries surrounding Piedmont, by the effect of causes calculated to excite the most lively popular sympathies, exposes it to dangers of excessive gravity, such as to compromise that firm and moderate policy which has had such happy results for the interior, and gained it the sympathy and esteem of enlightened Europe. But this is not the only danger threatening Sardinia. A still greater is the consequence of the means employed by Austria to repress the revolutionary ferment in Italy. Called by the sovereigns of the small states of Italy, who are powerless, to repress the discontent of their subjects, this power occupies militarily the greater part of the valley of the Po and of Central Italy, and makes its influence felt in an irresistible manner, even in the countries where she has no soldiers. Resting on one side on Ferrara and Bologna, her troops extend themselves to Ancona, the length of the Adriatic, which has become, in a manner, an Austrian lake; on the other, mistress of Piacenza, which, contrary to the spirit, if not to the letter, of the treaties of Vienna, she labours to transform into a first-class fortress; she has a garrison at Parma, and makes dispositions to deploy her forces all along the Sardinian frontier, from the Po to the summit of the Appennines. This permanent occupation by Austria, of territories which do not belong to her, renders her absolute mistress of nearly all Italy, destroys the equilibrium established by the treaty of Vienna (1815), and is a continual menace to Piedmont. Bounded thus on so many sides by Austrian influence,—seeing developed on her eastern frontier, completely open, the forces of a power which she knows to be animated by unfriendly feelings towards her,—this country is held in a state of constant apprehension, which obliges her to remain armed, and to take defensive measures excessively burdensome to her finances, already tasked by the events of 1848 and 1849, and by the war in which she has just participated. The facts thus indicated by the undersigned suffice to render evident the dangers of the position in which the government of the King of Sardinia finds itself placed. Disturbed within by the action of revolutionary passions; excited all round by a system of violent repression and foreign occupation; threatened by the exten-

sion of Austrian power—it may at any moment be forced, by an inevitable necessity, to adopt extreme measures of which it is impossible to calculate the consequences.

The undersigned do not doubt but that such a state of things will excite the solicitude of the governments of France and England, not only on account of the sincere friendship and real sympathies that these powers profess for the sovereign who, alone among all, at the moment when their success was most uncertain, declared himself openly in their favour; but, above all, because it constitutes a real danger for Europe. Sardinia is the only state in Italy that has been able to raise an impassable barrier to the revolutionary spirit, and at the same time remain independent of Austria. It is the counterpoise to her invading influence. If Sardinia succumbed, exhausted of power, abandoned by her allies—if she also was obliged to submit to Austrian domination, then the conquest of Italy, by this power, would be achieved; and Austria, after having obtained, without its costing her the least sacrifice, the immense benefit of the free navigation of the Danube, and the neutralisation of the Black Sea, would acquire a preponderating influence in the West. This is what France and England would never wish—this they will never permit.

In conclusion, the undersigned are convinced that the cabinets of Paris and London, taking into consideration the state of Italy, will decide, in concert with Sardinia, on the means for applying an efficacious remedy.

C. CAVOUR.

PARIS, April 16th, 1856.

DE VILLA-MARINA.

The reception of this memorial, with respect and sympathy, by the allies, by Russia, and by all Europe, except Austria, Prussia, and the Pontiff, was the sole reward of Sardinia for her sacrifices, her courage, and her timely alliance.

It was curious to notice the laudations of the treaty and of the congress by all the sovereigns of Europe, each anxious to make himself appear as having by his wisdom been a victor in the diplomatic competition. The address of the czar to his subjects was a very remarkable composition, and not any more to be commended for its honesty than Russian state papers usually are. He represented the allies as driven from the shores of Siberia, the White Sea, and Finland, which he well knew was a falsehood. The allies spared Helsingfors, and the acknowledgment of the czar was a proclamation to his whole empire that this was attributable to their defeat. He represented the liberty of conscience conceded to the Christians in Turkey as the object his father had in view, when he well knew that his father opposed all liberty

of conscience in Turkey, and thwarted every effort of England and America to secure it: that what he sought was the ascendancy of the Greek rite over that of other Christian communities, and a protection of that Church by himself for his own fanatical and ambitious purposes. He still represented the war as a holy cause, showing his willingness to prosecute in the unchanged policy of his government, and the unsubdued fanaticism of his sect. Beaten from his aggressive course by sheer force, he proclaimed the issue of peace in terms without dignity or honour, and calculated to leave the exasperations of war both in the hearts of his own people and of his enemies—still regarded by him and his people as such, although no longer in arms against them. The following was the manifesto:—

“The obstinate and sanguinary struggle which for nearly three years has subverted Europe has at last ceased. It was not Russia that commenced it. Even before it broke out my late august father, of imperishable memory solemnly declared to his faithful subjects, and to all the foreign powers, that the sole object of his desires and of his efforts had been to protect the rights of our co-religionists in the East, and to put an end to the persecutions which they were subjected.

“A stranger to all interested views, he never expected that his just complaints (*réclamation*) would have resulted in the scourge of war, and, considering its calamities with a deep feeling of sorrow as a Christian, and as the father of the people intrusted by Providence to his care, he did not cease manifesting his inclination in favour of peace. But the negotiations which were opened shortly before his death on the subject of the conditions of that peace which was a necessity for us all, remained without success.

“The governments which have formed a hostile coalition against us had not discontinued their armaments; pending the negotiations, they had even increased them; they had to follow its course, and we continued with a firm hope in the protection of the Most High, and firm confidence in the unshaken devotion of our well-beloved subjects. Our expectations were justified. During that period of hard trials our faithful and brave soldiers, well as all our people, without distinction of class, proved themselves, as always, worthy of their high calling. Along the whole extent of our empire, from the shores of the Pacific Ocean to the shores of the Baltic and Black Sea, one single idea, one single impulse, animated all, and made them spare neither labour nor fortune in the defence of their country. Labourers, leaving the plough and their field, eagerly took up arms for our holy cause, riv-

ling in courage and self-denial our veteran soldiers. New and striking deeds of renown have marked this last struggle with powerful adversaries.

"The enemy has been driven back from the coasts of Siberia and from those of the White Sea, as well as from the ramparts of Sweaborg; the heroic defence for eleven months of the fortifications of the South side of Sebastopol, erected in the face of and under the fire of the assailants, will be handed down as a record to the remotest period of posterity.

"In Asia, after the glorious victories of the two preceding campaigns, Kars was compelled to surrender with its numerous garrison, forming the whole army of Anatolia, and the *élite* of the Turkish troops sent to relieve the place were compelled to retreat. Nevertheless, by the impenetrable and wise decrees of Providence, a fact was preparing conformable to the wishes of our well-beloved august father, to our own, and to those of all Russia, and which realised the objects of the war. The future condition and the privileges of all the Christians in the East are henceforth guaranteed. The sultan solemnly recognises them, and consequent upon this act of justice, the Ottoman empire enters into the family of European states.

"Russians! your efforts and your sacrifices have not been in vain. A great work has been accomplished, although by other and unforeseen means, and we may now with a quiet conscience put an end to those efforts and to those sacrifices by restoring to our dear country the inestimable blessings of peace. To hasten the conclusion of the treaty of peace, and to dispel, even for the future, the very idea of ambitious views or projects which might be attributed to us, we have consented to the adoption of certain precautionary measures destined to prevent a collision of our ships of war with those of Turkey in the Black Sea, and to the establishment of a new frontier line in the northern part of Bessarabia, nearest to the Danube.

"The concessions are not great when put in comparison with the charges of a prolonged war, and the advantages promised to us by the tranquillity of the empire, the destinies of which it has pleased God to intrust to us. May all those advantages be obtained by our efforts, united to those of all our faithful subjects! May (with the aid of the Almighty, who has always protected Russia) its internal organisation be consolidated and perfected! May justice and clemency preside over its arrangements—may the advancement of civilisation and of all useful activity spread with revived force—and may every one enjoy in peace the fruits of his labour under the protection of a vigilantly just and watchful for all! Finally,

and this is the most important and most ardent of our hopes—may the salutary light of faith, by enlightening the mind and strengthening the heart, maintain and improve more and more that social morality which is the surest pledge of order and happiness!

"Given at St. Petersburg, the 19th (31st) of March, 1856, and in the second year of our reign.

"ALEXANDER."

In the second week of April the emperor, accompanied by his brothers, visited Moscow. There, in a public speech, he, in the most solemn manner, declared that he knew and approved of his father's motives in initiating the war; that he had, however, obtained by peace all the objects which his father sought under other circumstances by arms—a falsehood, which every Russian must have known to be such if acquainted with the treaty of peace. The speech indicated that Russia was exhausted, while the emperor declared that she could have carried on the war for many years, and was invulnerable on her own territory. The total disregard to truth where a political or fanatical turn was to be served, which characterised the hypocritical speeches and manifestoes of Nicholas, as strongly marked similar effusions on the part of his successor. The citizens of Moscow, through the medium of their Metropolitan, presented him with an address, in which a blasphemous misapplication of Scripture—a common incident on such occasions—was applied to his majesty. No notice was taken of these empty boasts made by the czar, his ministers, his prelates, and his people; so that when the time arrived for exchanging the ratifications at Paris, the work of pacification was completed, and the 27th of April terminated the war. The allies proceeded to carry out the treaty,—the czar and his agents to elude it. When an examination of the line of frontier, requested by Russia and conceded in courtesy by the allies, took place, it was discovered that the Russian plenipotentiaries had practised a disgraceful cheat. The line of frontier still connected itself with the Danube, and Russia contended that she had a right to keep this line, the allies having conceded it—although it was a departure from the very basis of the treaty, and she had obtained the concession by a false representation. She, in like manner, attempted to seize the Serpent's Island, which commanded the mouth of the Danube, because it was not named in the treaty, although the basis upon which negotiations were opened was the entire freedom of the Danube from Russian control. Lord Lyons, the British admiral, defeated the latter attempt by securing the island against Russian occupation; and the firmness and wisdom of Lords Palmerston and Clarendon rendered futile the

treacherous projects of Russia on the Danubian frontier. It is to be regretted that in these new complications the ministers of Napoleon sided with the foe, and behaved with as little good faith as the czar himself. Austria and Turkey had both great interests at stake, and gave England a resolute support. The emperor of the French had been absent from his court in comparative retirement, and when these matters were brought more directly under his own consideration, he decided in favour of the views of Lord Palmerston, and insisted upon the due execution of the treaty. Another conference of plenipotentiaries was necessary to regulate these matters, in which the ministers of England, Turkey, and Austria pertinaciously demanded the fulfilment of every treaty stipulation, and wrung from the faithless czar what his own honour should have prevented any attempt to grasp.

Still there were points in which Russian

faithlessness had scope: the state in which the fortresses ceded by Russia on the Danube and at Kars were surrendered was in violation of the letter and spirit of the treaties, and the plainly-expressed and well-understood intention of the contracting parties. Step by step Russia retreated from her original position of injustice and aggression with the uttermost reluctance, and performed no stipulation, whether originated by herself or demanded by others, without struggles to impair its force, or leave some opening for an infraction at some subsequent period. It is to be regretted that the statesmen of France and England generally were not equal to the occasion either in principle or intellectual perspicuity and force; but the English premier and the English foreign minister crowned their names with fadeless honour,—they secured the interests of their country, confirmed a wavering ally, and baffled an unprincipled foe.

## CHAPTER CXXIII.

### HOME EVENTS BEARING UPON THE WAR FROM THE BEGINNING OF 1856 TO THE RATIFICATION OF THE TREATY OF PEACE.

"Governments in this country are pretty much what the good sense and the public spirit of the people enable them to be."—THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

THE new year opened in Western Europe upon prospects of peace, which were discussed with doubt and earnestness. The prevailing temper of the English people was to continue the war until a peace should be conquered of a lasting character; but there was no vain-gloriousness—no desire for territory, or for vengeance, or for mere triumph. The people, on the whole, were of opinion that the continuance of the war would be beneficial, as it appeared to them unlikely that Russia would consent to terms of peace which greatly abridged her aggressive power, or deprived her of any of the facilities for future conquest which her peculiar position gave. With the military, and a portion of the people, there was a desire to prolong the war, in the hope that the character for bad military and naval organisation which the country had obtained would be retrieved, and peace and security be thereby maintained, but no voice was raised for the maintenance of protracted warfare for the mere attainment of military glory. All the people desired peace,—unless, perhaps, some young aspirants for promotion in the army,—if that peace could be honourably obtained, and secured with any hope of permanency by the solidity of the basis on which it rested. It was surprising that under such circumstances "the peace party"—as the Society of Friends and a section of the Manchester school of economists were called—should persist in denouncing the

feelings of the people of England as vain-glorious and blood-thirsty, and continue to represent the war as unnecessary, and certain to lead to the destruction of English commerce. Hitherto all the vaticinations of this school had been falsified, and the conclusion of the war more completely showed their absurdity. The terms of peace proposed were such as, by the freedom of the Danube and the neutralisation of the Black Sea, must open new paths to English commerce, and tend to enrich Western and Eastern Europe together. Such were the results; new fields of enterprise were opened, and the general welfare of Europe promoted.

The opinions of Mr. Cobden and Mr. Bright were not those of the people of Manchester, as they were generally supposed to be. Great respect for these two eloquent, useful, and upright men existed, and must ever exist while they are known; nor will remote generations of Englishmen fail to enrol their names on the lists of patriotism and honour, but their views on the subject of "peace at all prices" were not shared by the people of Lancashire and Yorkshire so much more than by those of other parts of England, as was generally supposed. An illustration of this occurred in the middle of January at the meeting of the Manchester Commercial Association. On that occasion J. Aspinall Turner, Esq., took the chair as president of the society, and thus addressed it:—"He felt assured that the members

this association, while regretting the dire evils of the war in which we were engaged, had been fully sensible of the justice and propriety of this country entering into the contest. The people of Manchester had borne cheerfully the sufferings entailed by the struggle, and he was quite satisfied that if there should exist any necessity for vigorously prosecuting it still further this community would continue to exhibit the same feeling. He sincerely hoped, however, that the present hopes of peace might not prove illusory, and that we should receive back our enemies to terms of friendship, trusting that they would perceive the errors they had committed, and learn that there could be no true course for the security of Europe but that of mutual forbearance and the desire for the prosperity and liberty of other nations as well as their own. The state of mercantile affairs during the past year had not been so disastrous as might naturally have been expected. Although the exports from this country during the past year had not been generally remunerative, this was in some degree mitigated by the generally favourable results of returns; and he believed the merchants, at all events, had not had a very unprofitable year, although in some quarters there might have been difficulties and loss. To our manufacturers he thought the result might have been different, but to the operative classes he believed it had been a comparatively prosperous year, for, although provisions had been high in price, employment had been pretty constant. He then referred to some statistics of the increase of our exports during the last year which recently appeared in the *Economist*, and expressed a hope that any peace which might be concluded would not deprive us of the great advantages that had been gained by the opening of the Black Sea to our commerce."

This temperate and sensible speech was received with loud expressions of approval by the important assembly to which it was delivered. Contrast this address, the truth of which was beyond all doubt, with the orations so vehemently spoken by Mr. Bright to other and less intelligent assemblies, yet possessing also much influence:—"Is it not a singular thing that St. Petersburg, the capital of this barbarous empire, though but a modern city, has a library which, in size, ranks the third in Europe, and is said to contain 10,000 volumes more than the library of the British Museum? Is it not a strange thing that at the southern extremity of this barbarous empire there is a city which some wretched and sanguinary fanatics in this country wish that the allied fleets should utterly destroy—a city the foundations of which were laid but sixty years ago, and which exported to this country in the year 1848—the year of famine in Ireland—

more than 5,300,000 bushels of grain? Surely there is something more and better than barbarism in facts like these; and yet the people of England have been supplied with mental aliment, for two years past or more, full of prejudice, full of exaggeration, and full of falsehood, and the policy they have applauded has been based on misapprehensions of the grossest character." Having drawn a comparison between the United States and England, unfavourable to the government and policy of the latter, Mr. Bright added:—"Pursue the phantom of military glory for ten years, and expend in that time a sum equal to all the visible property of Lancashire and Yorkshire, and then compare yourself with the United States of America, and where will you be? Pauperism, crime, and political anarchy are the legacies we are preparing for our children, and there is no escape for us unless we change our course, and resolve to disconnect ourselves from the policy which tends incessantly to embroil us with the nations of the continent of Europe. It is the object of institutions like this, and of meetings like this, to enable us to inform ourselves on great questions of this nature, and therefore I make no apology for referring to them here."

Concerning the assumed facts in this speech, Mr. Bright himself was guilty of what he so vituperatively charged upon others—"prejudice and exaggeration." We will not add the other epithet adopted by him—"falsehood"—for he was as incapable of that as those whom he so wantonly charged with it. But how absurd the strain of argument! Because a library at St. Petersburg contained 10,000 volumes more than the British Museum, *ergo* that city is enlightened, and it is wicked to denounce it as "the capital of a barbarous empire!" Conceding, for argument's sake, the correctness of Mr. Bright's statement—although only for the argument's sake to be conceded—how would the civilisation of that capital, or the just feeling of its population, or the unaggressive character of the government which ruled there, be established by that fact? Mr. Bright, as a Quaker, has no sympathy with the government of Rome, yet he will admit that there is a very splendid library at the Vatican. Mr. Bright, in his time, has said as hard things of Oxford as his political opponents ever said of the condition of St. Petersburg, yet he cannot deny that its collection of books is very splendid. He admits that the library of the British Museum has within 10,000 volumes of the great library at St. Petersburg, yet, according to himself, that was no proof of the civilisation of Englishmen, the prevalent feeling among whom, as proved by their support of the war he denounced as brutal, and the advocates of the war (nineteen-twen-

tieths of all the educated men in the empire) he denounced as wretched and sanguinary fanatics. Surely he would not refuse the *argumentum ad hominem*, and deny that his own argument was a good one, and if good in its application to Russia, good also in its application to his own country. We are afraid that the word "fanatic" will rather apply to those who import a particular religious dogma into the region of politics, and seek to enforce the peculiarity of a sect upon the political conscience of a people.

The statements of Mr. Bright, as to the ruinous consequences that were about to ensue from the war, met with a quiet and practical contradiction from the speech of the president of the Manchester Commercial Association; and it was a singular fact that, after the war terminated, and when the people of England had opportunity to measure all its consequences—political, commercial, social, and ethical—the people of Manchester ejected Mr. Bright from the representation, and placed in his stead the very man who, in the address quoted above, quietly, unostentatiously, and without abusing those from whom he differed, furnished so complete a confutation of Mr. Bright's theories. That the charity and candour of Mr. Bright might have been greatly improved, in the mode in which he made war himself upon those who differed with him, was painfully obvious; but that the motives of the man were pure was not so well recognised, although all who really knew him were well assured that his vehemence arose from the honest warmth of his nature, and his desire to serve and save his country. The spirit in which the people of England waged the war, consented to peace, insisted upon the execution of its stipulations, and ultimately regarded the whole question, confuted, at every step, the aspersions which Mr. Bright and his more immediate coadjutors cast upon them.

To compare the literary treasures, literary character, or literary freedom of St. Petersburg favourably with the literary claims of London, proved very clearly how religious fanaticism may pervert the judgment of an able man, when applied to matters of public policy. St. Petersburg does not contain free libraries, a free press, or a free people. It was the capital of a barbarous empire—an empire where autocracy in the government and serfdom in the people degraded all; and where a cruel, blind, and persecuting bigotry on the part of the Church, aggravated every other evil to which that empire was subject. Mr. Bright aspersed the people of England in attributing to any party among them a desire to destroy Odessa as a place of commerce;—they questioned the policy of sparing it as a place of arms, a fortified port, a strong garrison, and

a granary forming a depot of military supplies. It was to build up that city in an unjustly acquired prosperity, that the czar closed the Sulina mouth of the Danube; fettered the commerce of that river; thereby impeding the productiveness of Bulgaria and the Dacian provinces of Turkey; and laid the foundation for a war in which he was most righteously chastised. To promote the peace principle, or any principle of either ethics or politics, it is necessary to place in a faithful light the questions argued, and to argue them with respect for the judgment and conscience of those opposed to us in opinion. Mr. Bright failed to do these things, however excellent his motives and therefore failed, even with the aid of his glowing eloquence, to carry conviction to his country, which rejected his principles, reversed his policy, and outlived his prognostications.

The feeling in France at the opening of the year was, as when the peace congress met at Paris, adverse to the continuance of the war. At the latter period, the *Siècle* described the tone of French opinion correctly and explained why, from the beginning of the year, such eagerness for peace prevailed in France, until the object was ultimately obtained. The following was the exposition of the policy of the French government and people given by that journal:—"Among other reasons for not wishing to continue the hostilities was this: the campaign of 1856 was to have been essentially a maritime one. England had made unheard-of preparations, which may have been appreciated in the accounts published by the English and French journals; she was about to acquire an enormous preponderance, and, perhaps, a dangerous one. Now, the final act of the congress—the abolition of letters of marque, &c.—proved that Europe is no more prepared to support maritime tyranny than the continental excess of military development. It may, therefore, be assumed that European diplomacy, in its actual desire for peace, displayed its fears of the maritime proportions of England. English diplomatists cannot have mistaken this. They had escaped their attention; the shouts of the London press would have awakened them to the fact. But their shouts did not prevail and England was compelled to console herself with a review for the impossibility in which she found herself to obtain elevation in a decisive campaign."

Among the home incidents connected with the war, few excited the interest and curiosity of the people of England more than the arrival of trophies from the theatre of contest. Her majesty paid a visit of inspection to some of these at Woolwich, when they were prepared for that purpose. A London journal

made the following announcement:—"The *Bucephalus*, having discharged her cargo, is to be paid out of the transport service. The various trophies which composed her cargo at present occupy a considerable space in the Dial Square in the Arsenal Grounds at Woolwich. The guns and small mortars, which latter consist chiefly of colorns, and royals of 6 inches and 3½ inches, as well as many fieldpieces and howitzers, and a number of heavy guns, corresponding with our 68-pounders, are all of very valuable brass metal; but, with their present bore, they are not serviceable for our description of shot. It is conjectured, therefore, that they will be re-cast. The officers and men forming the field-train corps, who were at the siege of Sebastopol, are anxious to wear some particular mark to distinguish them for their services there. They propose for that purpose the melting down one of the large guns, to be converted into small crosses, or other medals, to be distributed solely for the decoration of that corps of her majesty's service thus engaged. The carriages and waggons are of small intrinsic value, most of them being shattered and utterly useless. A wheel of one of the ammunition waggons is covered with Russian blood, having been found embedded among the bodies of several dead soldiers, which were lying with the carcasses of dead horses, &c. Major Lukin, and the men who came in charge of these trophies, have completed their work of mounting the guns and placing every article in a conspicuous position, as her majesty has signified her intention of giving them a personal inspection. Major Lukin waited on Lord Panmure on Saturday, to inform him that everything was prepared for her majesty's visit."

The public discontent with the mismanagement of the war was far from being removed by the administration of Lord Palmerston, notwithstanding the sound views, intellectual vigour, and national sympathies of that nobleman. Murmurs were heard in every circle at the loss of Kars; the cruel manner in which General Williams had been forsaken by every one, except the premier, Lord Clarendon, and Consul Brandt; the inadequate supply of gun and mortar-boats to the Baltic fleet of 1855 (the nation began to think that the deficiency of the fleet in this respect, in 1854, was as much the fault of Sir Charles Napier as of the ministry); the inaction in the Crimea; the promotion of young and inexperienced officers, who had connexions or interest, over the heads of veterans who had earned honours from their country which were never received. These questions were asked everywhere—in the clubs and coffee-houses, in private society and professional coteries—"By what means or influence has the action of the government been

paralysed or greatly impaired? Has Lord Palmerston changed? or has he been all along a political hypocrite, pretending an earnestness in this war which he never felt? or are his projects and orders thwarted or overruled by others?" We endeavoured, at the time, to answer these questions, in a leading article in a journal of the day, which will convey our present impression of the condition and prospects of the government, at the opening of the year 1856, as accurately as it did then:—

"The premier is not supported in any direction where he has a right to look for support. His heart, to use a common expression, 'is in the right place.' He desires to uphold the dignity of the country, and to secure peace. The representations perpetually put forth by the Manchester school, that he is the common disturber of Europe, have no foundation. Had his vigorous policy been pursued, we should have had no war. The truckling, time-serving, and sycophancy to the czar, on the part of the Aberdeen ministry, more especially by its chief, had no countenance from him. Lord Palmerston was one of the Aberdeen coalition cabinet, but he eschewed all interference with their foreign policy, with the administration of which he disagreed, even where he did not dissent from its principle. He kept by the Home-office, the duties of which had never been so well discharged as by him, and he only gave his opinion on foreign matters in the cabinet when emergencies required. His advice was always treated with respect, but never pursued. He reigned absolutely in the Home-office—that was his share in the coalition concern; everybody else connected with it, except, perhaps, Sir William Molesworth, was jealous of his interference in general cabinet questions. Lord John Russell's desire to have him placed as minister of war, in the room of the Duke of Newcastle, was only a piece of policy on the part of that nobleman for his own especial benefit, but not for the honour of Lord Palmerston, nor of the country. When events made Lord Palmerston premier, the queen sent for every one she could think of before he was consulted, although it was very well known that the hope of the nation, in its hour of disgrace and sorrow, rested on him. We do not find fault with the royal lady for this, because she was advised to such a course by the chiefs of all the different parties, and sections of parties, thus brought into consultation with her; and her royal consort, it was notorious, did not agree with Lord Palmerston's bold and English policy, but desired a minister whose leanings and sympathies were, like his own, to the royal houses of Germany. Necessity forced Lord Palmerston upon the court, and he has never had any cordial support from it since. The influence of the English court upon the

French emperor is not favourable. His tardiness in the prosecution of the war; his readiness to receive all sorts of peace overtures, however short of the great requirements of Europe; and his perpetual protection of Austria (for it amounts to that) from the consequences of her treachery, opposition, and selfishness, are due partly to this influence, although the influence of the French superior clergy tends the same way. The policy of the English premier is the policy of the people, but not of the prince. There is here a fruitful source of mischief: men will be emboldened to use their official chances of thwarting even the premier, if they know or suppose that, in doing so, they please a higher power.

"Amongst the members of the aristocracy, Lord Palmerston has some thorough supporters; but generally that element of power is adverse to him. He is not the premier of the House of Lords\* any more than of the court. Nor can we say that he is the man of the Commons. But for the pressure from without, that house would speedily abandon him.

"There is sufficient sympathy with the despotisms *versus* free governments and democracies, even there, to extinguish Lord Palmerston's official life, if the fear of the people, and an impending election, did not keep it in awe.†

"In his own cabinet, Lord Palmerston receives no real support. The Duke of Argyll and Lord Panmure hold pretty well with him, but rumour lies more impudently than usual, if he be not indebted to the religious influences of his kinsman, Lord Shaftesbury, for their aid. Lord Panmure is a pure Russellite Whig, and a warm personal friend of Lord John, whose advent to the premiership he would hail with pleasure. The Duke of Argyll is a Peelite, out and out, although an evangelical; and the influence of the Prince over him weakens the influence, above referred to, in Lord Palmerston's favour.

"The Greys and Woods are all opposed to him. They desire the premiership for the head of their house, Earl Grey. The Lord Chancellor is a Peelite, and a Puseyite of the deepest tinge. The Horse Guards is at deadly enmity with the noble premier. He has not a hearty supporter among the whole group of officials and ex-officials, except Lord Clarendon, Sir Robert Peel, and Mr. Matthew Baines.

"We enter, then, upon the year 1856—a year which opens with negotiations for peace, and preparations for war of the most energetic

\* Afterwards that house supported his lordship, when abandoned by the Commons, upon the question of hostilities with China.

† This prediction was fulfilled in 1857, when Lord Palmerston was defeated by Mr. Cobden, on a resolution connected with the Chinese hostilities. Lord Palmerston dissolved parliament, and the people reversed the decision of the House.

order—with a divided cabinet; the premier, and one or two of his under-officials alone in harmony with the people; the Commons cold to him, the court and the Lords hostile. If Lord Palmerston be the people's man, it behoves them to proclaim it on every occasion, and to give him most strenuous support, for his task is herculean, and his enemies in high places, 'legion.' We must expect disasters and disgrace in the year 1856, as in 1854 and 1855, until the premier is surrounded by men of his own opinions, who fear neither court nor clique at home, nor foes abroad."

Whether these speculations concerning 1856 were well founded was happily not tested, the negotiations for peace having, as shown in the previous chapter, been brought to a successful termination; but the state of the public mind, as described in the article which the author has here quoted from himself, continued until the war was over, and retained long after the impressions then so deeply cherished.

Meanwhile numerous changes, which promised to be useful, were effected in the War-office. "Amalgamation of duties and locality is the order of the day," was the expression used by the *United Service Gazette* to describe these administrative alterations. Buckingham House, in Pall Mall, was fitted up for the reception of the accountant's branch of the office, and the remainder of that part of the establishment was accommodated in what had long been the Ordnance-office. Mr. Hawes, the deputy secretary at war, with the chief clerk, and a portion of the establishment not engaged in the financial business of the war department, were in course of removal to Pall Mall. The changes in the *personnel* were extensive, and were made ostensibly to give satisfaction to the public, who took no interest in them, and gave the government no credit for them, and the profession did not appreciate them.

Great activity was displayed in providing warlike *matériel* for the ensuing spring. The principal engineering foundries in Liverpool had the whole of their hands occupied in the manufacture of immense projectiles and enormous pieces of ordnance. At the Mersey Steel and Iron Works a monster wrought-iron gun was manufactured, which weighed twenty-four tons, and was designed to throw a ball of 300 lbs. upwards of five miles! There were also constructed there two wrought-iron mortars, capable of throwing a shell thirty-six inches in diameter. At Messrs. Fawcett and Preston's there was in process of execution an order for ninety mortars, to throw shells of thirteen inches; fifty of these were for the navy, and forty for the army. At the Vauxhall Foundry immense quantities of 8, 10, and 13-inch shells were being constructed. Upwards of 7000 tons of these missiles had been

manufactured there before the close of January, 1856. A considerable number of 10 and 13-inch mortars for the sea-service, and a similar supply for the army ordnance, were in course of manufacture at the same place. The public entertained some curiosity respecting another specimen of manufacturing ingenuity then proceeding there. This consisted of two experimental cast-iron mortars, to throw 18-inch shells, and intended to be called *the Palmerston pacificators*!

The naval architects at the dockyards had so frequently and signally failed in serving the public well, that the government resolved upon employing private enterprise. Mr. John Laird, the eminent shipbuilder, was therefore engaged to fabricate fourteen wooden screw gun-boats, of 240 tons burthen and 60 horse-power each.

These were but specimens of the efforts making to furnish navy and army with resources such as no navy or army in the history of the world had possessed.

From the time the bill passed for enlisting foreign soldiers in the service of her majesty, considerable success attended the recruiting, although the German states threw every obstacle in the way. The United States of America were equally adverse, and serious disputes arose between the two governments, which interrupted diplomatic relations, and brought them to the verge of war. During the month of January and the spring of 1856 the British government continued recruiting and preparing for war, notwithstanding the satisfactory progress of peace negotiations. It was afterwards ascertained that one of the influences most potent in hastening the peace movements of Russia was the monster preparations of England, not only to sustain the struggle, but to bring it to a speedy termination. The Russian government probably supposed that, by accepting the Austrian overtures, the English nation would be lulled into inactivity, and when the time for hostilities should return in the spring, she would be consequently unprepared, as she had been in the previous campaigns, to put forth her strength. Had Lord Aberdeen been premier, the Duke of Newcastle minister of war, Sir James Graham first lord of the Admiralty, and Mr. Gladstone chancellor of the exchequer, these Muscovite speculations would have probably been realised, and the czar would have held his own for another summer, or perhaps have succeeded in fomenting differences between France and England, which, after the ratification of the treaty, he actually in part accomplished. Lord Palmerston determined not to relax his preparations, however promising the peace negotiations, and the people heartily approved and seconded his decision. The Manchester party, aided by the Peelites, denounced

these extensive preparations as a proof of Lord Palmerston's insincerity in treating for peace, and condemned the support given to his lordship by the people, in maintaining this warlike attitude, as a proof of their sanguinary disposition. Had the nation followed these counsellors it would have probably been ruined. Protracted war, exhausting its resources, or a disgraceful peace, leaving Russia mistress of the mouths of the Danube, and of the Black Sea and its tributaries, would have ensued; a peace at once fatal to English influence, injurious to English commerce, and by depriving the nation of moral power abroad, and an attitude of strength for the future, would be perilous to the tranquillity of its foreign relations.

The *Suisse* gave a flattering account of the accessions to the Swiss Legion, and of the qualities of the men who constituted it. The second battalion was completed at the beginning of January by the enlistment of 300 men at Schelestadt. Its colonel, M. Bundi, left Coire to assume the command of the corps, the first battalion of which, commanded by M. Glusbergh, was embarked for Scutari on the 15th of January. Measures were also taken in Switzerland to raise a third battalion. The accounts received from Smyrna, where the first battalion was stationed, gave an excellent view of the health and spirit of the men.

The muster of German auxiliaries at Heligoland was very encouraging. Although it must be confessed that the character of the men, morally, was in every way inferior to that of the Swiss, and in some respects to that of the Italians and Poles; their physical appearance was equal or superior to that of any of the other legions, and they were quite as hearty in the cause. Among the German Legion were, however, many men of respectable position originally, and of respectable education. They were generally rationalists, or followers of Rouge and Czerski, and disaffected to their own governments. A description of Heligoland, the depot for the German and Scandinavian recruits of the Foreign Legion will be more appropriate here than on any other remaining page:—"During the last war Heligoland was a naval station of the British fleet. This small place has become familiar to our ears again as the head-quarters of those hardy volunteers from foreign lands who have joined the fortunes of the Western powers. It is a rocky island, situated twenty-eight miles from the mouth of the Elbe, in the North Sea. It has a coast like that of England, but is only one mile and a quarter long, and half a mile broad. It has a few sand-banks and rocks around. Little as it is on the map of the world, it is at present a very useful colony of Great Britain. It was once the seat of the worship of

a Saxon deity, whose name was Phoreta. It was then larger; the sea has reduced its limits. It was taken by us from the Danes in 1807, after only one century of possession by them. We made it a smuggling depot during the war. It has an upper and lower town. The higher part is the official city; below reside the fishermen in huts. The number of inhabitants is about 2000; they are pilots and fishermen. The women cultivate the arid soil, and tend a few sheep. It is also popular as a bathing-place, but now is turned into a military depot. It is easily defended; a few fortifications will make it impregnable. Great difficulties are experienced in collecting recruits, not from the unwillingness of thousands to enlist, but from the opposition of all the governments of Europe. Even in America the recruiting sergeants are under great disadvantages. They are compelled to resort to all kinds of tricks. One or two, both in Prussia and elsewhere, opened offices, thereby incurring heavy penalties. Still the work goes on, and several companies are already quite fit for active service. They arrive from all parts in considerable numbers. They are very fine young men, and appear full of ardour. Their officers are many of them men of eminence. Several gentlemen of good position have entered the ranks. One man of fortune has done so; he aims probably at obtaining rank and honour by his own good sword. The English government has done its duty by supplying them amply with salt beef, fish, bread, huts, blankets, and all other necessities. The result is seen in the detachment of 900 recently reviewed in this country—their appearance was soldierly in the extreme.”

On the 24th of January the English Order of the Bath was conferred upon a number of distinguished French officers in Paris, under circumstances most pleasing and auspicious. The *Moniteur* of the 25th presented the affair from a French point of view. It will interest our readers to notice how the French press regarded the incident:—

“A most interesting ceremony took place yesterday at the English embassy. The Order of the Bath was conferred upon a number of general and superior officers of the French army, who, in the Eastern war, had deserved that high distinction, which can only be obtained, according to the statutes of the order, for eminent services rendered to England.

“Generals Bosquet and Regnaud de St. Jean Angély received the Grand Cross of the Order; Generals Niel, de Martimprey, Mellinet, Dalesme, were appointed Knights Commanders; Generals Espinasse, de Beville, Cler, Manèque, and Colonels Comignan, de Rochebouet, Reilles, and others, were appointed Knights Companions.

“Conformably to the statutes, the members

of the order present at Paris were assembled; in addition to a number of English general officers, the three Grand Crosses conferred by the queen’s own hand during her visit at Paris—His Imperial Highness Prince Napoleon, Marshal Vaillant, and General Canrobert—were present.

“At half-past six the ceremony took place with that peculiar pomp attached to the ancient institutions of England, which was heightened still more by the recollection of the recent great acts accomplished, and by the presence of so many illustrious personages, many of whose wounds are not yet healed. All the members already decorated wore the insignia of the order.

“Lord Cowley, the English ambassador, having his Imperial Highness Prince Napoleon on his right, performed the act of investiture under a dais surmounted by the arms of the Queen of England, and wearing the grand collar and cloak of the order.

“Having read the different letters patent of the queen, he handed the insignia to each of the new knights, led up to him by two introducers. His excellency then made a short speech, recalling the glorious titles the new members of the order had to the favour of the queen and to the gratitude of England. Lord Cowley expressed the pleasure it would have afforded the queen to have performed the ceremony of investiture in person, and concluded by wishing them, according to custom, a long and prosperous life, which would enable them to enjoy the honours conferred upon them.

“Immediately after the ceremony the banquet-hall was thrown open; places were arranged for all the guests. His imperial highness sat opposite the ambassador, with Lady Cowley on his right hand. At dessert the English ambassador proposed the ‘Health of the Emperor of the French.’

“Prince Napoleon replied as follows:—

“‘My Lord and Gentlemen,—I propose to you the “Health of Her Majesty the Queen of England.” In the name of my comrades of the army of the East, I thank her majesty for the high distinction which she has deigned to confer upon us; if, in our devotion to the most just of causes, for which we have fought and triumphed, we stood in need of an encouragement and a recompence, we should find them in the striking proof of the favour of an august sovereign and of the gratitude of a great people our ally. “In the name of the Army, to the Queen of England!”’

“Lord Cowley then proposed toasts to the French army and navy, and Count Walewski proposed the ‘Health of the Army and Navy of England.’

"In conclusion, the English ambassador proposed a final toast as most opportune and important in the present state of affairs—a toast to the speedy conclusion of peace, to the legitimate hope which the new negotiations gave to the allies, and in particular to the English people, to see finally a termination of the evils of war—evils (added his excellency) the full extent of which the illustrious soldiers here present are able to appreciate, as they were spectators, and many of their glorious comrades victims, thereof.

"This *fête*, so complete, is another link between the two armies and the two people; it is of a nature, from the recollections it will leave among eminent men who have received such high marks of the favour of Queen Victoria, to cement the alliance of the two great Western powers, upon which the future destiny of the civilised world rests."

At the latter end of January and in February a series of public entertainments were given in Hampshire and London to Sir Edmund Lyons, the commander of the Black Sea fleet, in which the gallant admiral held up to public approbation the names of various officers, such as Welsford and Hancock, who fell in the public service. Admiral Lyons informed one of these meetings that he had learned a few days before, from General Niel, at Paris, how it was that the French, when in possession of the Malakoff at the final storming of Sebastopol, did not bring its guns to bear upon the Russians, and prevent them from pouring their reserves into the Redan to overwhelm the English. General Niel informed the admiral that when the French made their unsuccessful attack on the 18th of June, it was discovered afterwards that they had only spiked the enemy's guns imperfectly, which were turned upon the French in their retreat. A more positive order, therefore, was issued as to the spiking of the guns on the 8th of September. When the French surprised the place, they instantly executed this order, and so effectually, that the guns which enfiladed the intervening space between Sebastopol and the Redan could do no harm to the Russians, who were pouring their masses into the rear of the Redan. This revelation excited much attention, and no small amount of comment upon the generalship of our ally. Admiral Lyons also declared that the French never could have sapped so near to the Malakoff, if the English batteries had not protected their works.

On the last day of January the British parliament re-assembled. The public were impatient for this event, especially those who had least confidence in the government, and were, at the same time, averse to a "patched-up" treaty with Russia. It was supposed by them that while parliament was sitting, a

sacrifice of the national honour was less likely than if the government acted without such control. The assemblage of ladies on this august occasion was very great; it was attended by the pomp and state customary on such occasions. The queen arrived, the usual formalities were gone through, and "the speech," which was destined to make so great a sensation throughout the world, was delivered. Her majesty, who reads so well, never read better, and the foreign ambassadors present, as well as her own subjects, were charmed by the sweet intonations of her voice, and singularly agreeable and effective elocution. The speech was as follows:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—Since the close of the last session of parliament the arms of the allies have achieved a signal and important success. Sebastopol, the great stronghold of Russia in the Black Sea, has yielded to the persevering constancy and to the daring bravery of the allied forces.

"The naval and military preparations for the ensuing year have necessarily occupied my serious attention; but, while determined to omit no effort which could give vigour to the operations of the war, I have deemed it my duty not to decline any overtures which might reasonably afford a prospect of a safe and honourable peace. Accordingly, when the Emperor of Austria lately offered to myself and to my august ally, the Emperor of the French, to employ his good offices with the Emperor of Russia, with a view to endeavour to bring about an amicable adjustment of the matters at issue between the contending powers, I consented, in concert with my allies, to accept the offer thus made, and I have the satisfaction to inform you that certain conditions have been agreed upon, which I hope may prove the foundation of a general treaty of peace.

"Negotiations for such a treaty will shortly be opened at Paris.

"In conducting those negotiations I shall be careful not to lose sight of the objects for which the war was undertaken; and I shall deem it right in no degree to relax my naval and military preparations until a satisfactory treaty of peace shall have been concluded.

"Although the war in which I am engaged was brought on by events in the south of Europe, my attention has not been withdrawn from the state of things in the north, and, in conjunction with the Emperor of the French, I have concluded with the King of Sweden and Norway a treaty containing defensive engagements applicable to his dominions, and tending to the preservation of the balance of power in that part of Europe.

"I have also concluded a treaty of friendship, commerce, and navigation with the Re-

public of Chili. I have given directions that these treaties shall be laid before you.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,—The estimates for the ensuing year will be laid before you. You will find them framed in such a manner as to provide for the exigencies of war, if peace should unfortunately not be concluded.

"My Lords and Gentlemen,—It is gratifying to me to observe that, notwithstanding the pressure of the war, and the burdens and sacrifices which it has unavoidably imposed upon my people, the resources of my empire remain unimpaired. I rely with confidence on the manly spirit and enlightened patriotism of my loyal subjects for a continuance of that support which they have so nobly afforded me, and they may be assured that I shall not call upon them for exertions beyond what may be required by a due regard for the great interests, the honour, and the dignity of the empire.

"There are many subjects connected with internal improvement which I recommend to your attentive consideration.

"The difference which exists in several important particulars between the commercial laws of Scotland and those of the other parts of the United Kingdom has occasioned inconvenience to a large portion of my subjects engaged in trade. Measures will be proposed to you for remedying this evil.

"Measures will also be proposed to you for improving the laws relating to partnership, by simplifying those laws, and thus rendering more easy the employment of capital in commerce.

"The system under which merchant shipping is liable to pay local dues and passing tolls has been the subject of much complaint. Measures will be proposed to you for affording relief in regard to those matters.

"Other important measures for improving the law in Great Britain and in Ireland will be proposed to you, which will, I doubt not, receive your attentive consideration.

"Upon these and all other matters upon which you may deliberate, I fervently pray that the blessing of Divine Providence may favour your councils, and guide them to the promotion of the great object of my unvarying solicitude—the welfare and the happiness of my people."

At the close of the speech, which was listened to in breathless silence, her majesty withdrew from the house and returned to Buckingham Palace, with the same ceremonial observances as had marked her advent. She wore a magnificent white satin dress, brocaded with gold, and over it the purple robe of state, with its

ample train borne by pages; her head was surmounted by a magnificent tiara of diamonds. The halls and corridors leading from the royal entrance to the house were filled with spectators, who rose to receive her at her coming, and as she retired. Their lordships re-assembled at five o'clock, when there was a full attendance. The ministerial bench was occupied by the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Earl of Clarendon, Earl Granville, Lord Panmure, and the Earl of Harrowby; Earl Grey, the Earl of Aberdeen, and the Duke of Newcastle, taking up their usual position on the ministerial side of the house. Among the other peers present were observed the Earl of Derby, Lord Lyndhurst, the Earl of Malmesbury, Lord Campbell, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of Oxford, Lord St. Leonards, Lord Redesdale, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Earl of Hardwicke, the Earl of Eglinton, Lord Montague, the Earl of Albemarle, the Earl of Cardigan, &c. Her majesty's gracious speech having been read by the lord chancellor, and afterwards by the reading clerk at the table, the Earl of Gosford rose to move that a humble address be presented to her majesty, in reply to her majesty's most gracious speech from the throne. The Earl of Abingdon seconded the proposal in a speech succinct and clear, and marked by its good sense, and its just advocacy of the efforts of her majesty's government to bring about a peace, solid, honourable, and lasting. The Earl of Derby spoke in opposition. He animadverted with justice upon the feeble modicum of praise dealt out to the noble army which fought in the Crimea. In one of his most happy and eloquent bursts of oratory, he thus referred to the conduct of the queen to her soldiers, and to the heroism and sufferings of the British officers at Kars:—"The present, however, is an occasion on which the sovereign, in the presence of her assembled parliament, ought to perform—and would have performed, had she been left to the promptings of her own heart—the pleasing task of declaring her gratitude—her unbounded gratitude—for the exertions, and her sympathy with the sufferings of those brave men to whom this country is indebted for the success which has been achieved. My lords, who has not watched with admiration the personal course which her majesty has pursued—the warm, kindly, and womanly sympathy she has shown for the sufferings of her wounded soldiers? Who that has beheld her decorating the survivors, with her own hands, with those marks of honour which acquire a double value from being thus conferred; who that has heard of her watching by the sick beds of the wounded, speaking to them of their private and individual sufferings, and cheering them with words which from any one would carry comfort and consolation, but

which, from the lips of the sovereign, must gratify the pride of those to whom they are addressed, and excite feelings of the most loyal devotion; who that has observed the language, the demeanour, and the actions of the sovereign towards her soldiers will believe that, had her majesty been left to the promptings of her own heart, and the expression of her own feelings, the language of the speech would have been thus cold? Having offered so scanty a measure of praise to the heroes who bled before Sebastopol, it does not surprise me that her majesty's government should have found no language in which to record the matchless endurance and indomitable gallantry of those brave men who, in a distant and deserted Asiatic town, maintained so well and so nobly the honour of the English arms, and showed in so signal a manner what British officers can achieve when in command of foreign troops. My lords, are there not those whom a word of praise and of sympathy might have cheered in the depth of those prisons to which their gallantry has consigned them—might have given them fresh courage to support their sufferings and their misfortunes, and proved to them that their exertions and their hardships had not been undergone in the service of an ungrateful country? Such words, coming from their sovereign in the presence of her assembled parliament, would carry with them a weight which can accompany the language of no other individual. Yet, standing in this place, and feeling that my words may possibly reach the prisons to which they have been doomed by a not ungenerous enemy, I would say to those gallant spirits—to a Williams, a Teesdale, a Lake, and a Thompson—'You may rest assured that this house and the country deeply sympathise with you in your misfortunes—that we honour the valour and prize the fame of the brave defenders of Kars as not below those of the more fortunate conquerors at Sebastopol.' I am not surprised that there should rise a blush of shame on the cheek of the minister, or that he should hesitate and be paralysed, when about to inscribe in the queen's speech the insignificant name of Kars!—a name of everlasting triumph and distinction to the valiant souls who, amid all the horrors of famine, and hemmed in on all sides by an overpowering force, gallantly repulsed their enemy, on whom they inflicted a loss almost exceeding the carnage of any battle of modern times, and who, despite of every discouragement, maintained their high spirit, and achieved victory after victory, until finally compelled to yield, not to the overwhelming numbers of the foe, but to the still more unconquerable force of sheer famine. The name of Kars, then, will be remembered to the immortal honour of its defenders; and let me add that its name also

confers no slight degree of honour and credit on the conqueror of those brave men, who, in the generous terms of capitulation which he granted, showed that he knew how to appreciate an enemy's valour and fortitude, even when unavailing. Fortunate, indeed, was it for the gallant garrison of Kars that they had to deal with a Mouravieff, and not with a Coronini. Fortunate was it for the brave Poles and Hungarians who formed part of that undaunted garrison, that the chivalrous spirit of their high-minded conqueror suffered them to go free, without incurring those additional dangers to which, as other than mere prisoners of war, they might have been exposed. Well was it for them that he was not one of those who would seek to strain the law of nations for the purpose at once of insulting an ally and trampling on the misfortunes of an exile. Yet, my lords, if on the conqueror of Kars, and still more, on its heroic defenders, the name of that fortress reflects imperishable renown, I must say, with deep regret, that it is equally a name of eternal reproach and shame to those, be they who they may, by whom this devoted band was left without support and without relief, and this important town allowed to fall unsuccoured, and even unavenged."

His lordship then demanded whether a report, much in circulation, were true, that the French government opposed all efforts to relieve Kars from jealousy of the Asiatic influence of England. Lord Clarendon replied with his usual discretion and tact, showing that the government had endeavoured early in the campaign in vain to direct the attention of the Turkish government to the exigencies of Asia Minor. His lordship feebly defended the French government, stating no doubt what was the fact, that that government raised no objection to English influence in Asia, and exhibited no jealousy of it; but he admitted that the French press did, declaring that to direct troops into Asia would promote the exclusive influence of England, and be a waste of French blood. It was plain from the tone of his lordship's defence of the French government, that he was not satisfied with its conduct. It was well known that, bound down by the censorship, the press of France dare not express opinions adverse to the government. It was in this respect a reflex of the court and cabinet. France was so far untrue to the alliance as to care only for her own glory in the war, without any generous and noble jealousy for the glory of her ally, or any desire to weaken Russia, or repress her aggressive spirit and power, further than the interests of France alone might demand. The addresses in the Houses of Lords and Commons were finally carried, affording no advantage to the opposition, except that of oratorical display.

In a previous chapter an account was given of the commissioners appointed to inquire into the state of the army in the Crimea. These commissioners left London on the 23rd of February, 1855, and arrived at Constantinople, where they began their inquisition, proceeding thence to the Crimea, and conducting there such examinations into the state of affairs as their instructions, the power committed to them, and the bitter opposition of the Crimean authorities allowed. Their report was dated the 10th of June, 1855, but the ministry were unwilling to publish it until, in the February of 1856, the proceedings in Parliament, the exciting appeals of the press, and the demands of the people compelled its production. Although the report was drawn up with great caution, it inculcated various personages, such as Commissary-general Filder, Quartermaster-general Airey, his deputy, Colonel Gordon, and the cavalry generals, the Earl of Lucan and the Earl of Cardigan. All these officers complained of this report, and demanded such an investigation as would re-open the whole inquiry. The Earls of Lucan and Cardigan naturally complained that they had left the Crimea before the commissioners arrived there, and had no opportunity to answer for themselves. Both these noble lords addressed their peers in parliament in connection with the subject, denying the allegations of the report. The Earl of Cardigan addressed an able defence of his conduct to Lord Panmure, which influenced the public mind considerably in his favour, as many of the disasters attributed to his lordship's mismanagement by public opinion had not occurred during his service with the light brigade.\* Lord Lucan had undoubtedly left the Crimea when various transactions happened for which the public opinion made him responsible. Both these noblemen were sought to be made the victims of public prejudice, and it is certain that their absence was taken advantage of to throw upon them imputations which ought to have rested elsewhere. Both officers were good judges of horses and the management of horses. Wilkins, the celebrated veterinary surgeon, attained his fame as a *protégé* of Lord Lucan. When his lordship commanded the 17th Lancers, he gave an extra price from his own pocket for good horses; and for three years, namely, from 1829 to 1831, not a horse of that regiment died of disease. At that time there was "a horse-fund" in the regiment for the very purpose of

securing good animals. His lordship was a constant frequenter of Ballinasloe Fair (as gentlemen in the west of Ireland well know), for the purpose of procuring excellent horses for his regiment. A work lately published, "The Divisional Orders of Lord Lucan while in charge of the Cavalry in the Crimea," has certainly changed in several respects the author's opinion on this subject. In that book there are no less than seventy-two orders (a large proportion of the whole) on the care of horses.

The government announced its intention to appoint a board of general officers to hear the explanations of those upon whom the report had thrown reflections. This excited general dissatisfaction, and Mr. Roebuck, on the 29th of February, moved a resolution in the Commons declaring such a board inefficient, and the object in appointing it unfaithful. After a fierce hubbub, "the mountain in labour brought forth a mouse;"—Mr. Roebuck withdrew his motion.

Having introduced the subject of the appointment of a board for investigating the report of the Crimean commissioners, it is desirable, in order to maintain continuity of subject, to anticipate what a strict consecutiveness of dates would bring into later pages. Very general censure fell upon the Earls of Lucan and Cardigan, Sir Richard Airey, and Colonel Gordon, for demanding a public inquiry. Many of their own friends considered it imprudent to "stir up" the matter again. It was, however, impossible for these officers to remain under the grave imputations cast upon them; had it been otherwise possible, the tone taken by the press throughout the three kingdoms would have compelled them to desire the ordination of some tribunal before which to make their defence. The *Times*, the great leader of British journals, and by which public opinion is so much influenced, thus thundered forth its demands for a searching scrutiny of the whole case:—"The publication of the Crimean report has at least had the effect of convincing the accused Crimean officers that some explanation of their conduct during the period of their command is expected from them. In this report certain specific charges are made against many officers—among others, against the Earl of Lucan, the Earl of Cardigan, Sir Richard Airey, and Colonel Gordon. The representations made by ministers in the two Houses of Parliament in palliation of the conduct of their chief military agents are now proved to have been totally untrue. The fatuous gossip of 'good society,' and of the fierce old gentlemen in the clubs, has been duly weighed in the balance, and may now be estimated at its proper worth. The fact simply is, that between them the chief English officers in the Crimea destroyed one-third of the army

\* In a previous page it was stated that the cavalry deteriorated after the death of Captain Nolan. The allegations made to the author to this effect were by persons who ought to have known, but who, for some reason, exaggerated the influence of the captain with Lord Raglan in reference to the cavalry. We have reason to know that Lord Raglan interfered very little with the cavalry, either before or after Captain Nolan's death.

committed to their care. Three-fourths of the misery, and starvation, and suffering from cold and want of clothing, to make no mention of the absolute annihilation of our splendid cavalry, must be referred to the gross incapacity of the officers in chief command. These gentlemen are now strutting about our streets with all the halo of heroism around their heads; they are receiving rewards from foreign sovereigns; they are promoted to honours and dignities at home, as though they had not done sufficient mischief in the East, and as if the past were to be slurred over and forgotten. The report of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch has fallen like a Russian shell in the midst of these dreamers, and they appear to be at last convinced that a day of reckoning has come, which they cannot evade. This report—this official report, set on foot by the government, and conducted by the agents of the government—must receive the amplest consideration, and every officer whose conduct has been therein impugned must be brought to the most exact account.” Again, the same organ of public opinion, with bold vehemence insisted upon a further and searching scrutiny into the conduct of these officers:—“The peers who took share in the debate last night appear to have, as it were, an inkling of this great truth, but they understand so little the gravity of the position that they fancy a few formal declarations and formal vouchers will be sufficient to satisfy the public. This is not so. By all means, if the Earls of Lucan and Cardigan, if Sir Richard Airey and Colonel Gordon, are falsely accused, let Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, and all the officers and soldiers they examined be covered with confusion. If, on the other hand, they are proved guilty of negligence, of incapacity, of gross unfitness for command,—if it can be shown that the greatest share of the destruction which fell upon the British army before Sebastopol was due to their officer-like administration of their important trust, by the consequences they must abide. Fair play for all. But there is fair play for the dead as well as for the living. The blood of 10,000 gallant veterans—the flower of the English army—as true heroes as Lord Lucan or Lord Cardigan, or as Sir R. Airey or Colonel Gordon, cries from the ground for justice. Lord Cardigan gave notice to the secretary of the War Department, ‘That, having been reflected upon in, as he considered, a very unfair manner in the report of a commission appointed by her majesty’s government to inquire into the conduct of the war in the Crimea, he should feel it his duty to-morrow to transmit to the noble lord a full explanation of his conduct as animadverted upon in that “report.”’ There is no objection to this step, as far as it goes, but what is the court of in-

quiry to which he appeals? Clearly the military authorities, who with this report before them—for they had it in July last—have heaped honours on the officers accused, do not constitute a tribunal in which the country will have confidence. Lord Lucan, for his part, has written a letter to the secretary of state, in which he contradicts ‘in a most positive manner every part of the report.’ In other words, he pleads ‘Not guilty’ to the charge against him: but where is the judge? where are the jury? Surely the bare denial of Lord Lucan is no answer to the solemn report of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, resting as it does upon the testimony of witnesses whose names are given, and whose evidence is printed? Lord Panmure rose after the two officers accused in the character of the ‘*avvocato del diavolo*,’—he was sure, for his part, that the commissioners had not the slightest intention of attacking the character of the noble earls; and, on the whole, he was for treating the popular clamour with suitable contempt. Lord Derby, who followed, with characteristic boldness harped upon the theme, ‘Are the two lords accused to have an opportunity offered to them for making a public defence?’ By all means. They are most fully entitled to a patient and careful hearing, and, if they can succeed in setting aside the evidence of the witnesses against them, to a full and decisive acquittal. For their own sakes, if they hold themselves free from blame, they will urge forward such a measure, and they will without doubt meet with every facility for carrying their purpose into effect.”

It is obvious that no men in the position of the officers thus arraigned could sit down quietly under such heavy charges; their demand, therefore, for a military commission, or other military tribunal, before which they might answer those impeachments, was an act of duty required by regard for their own honour, and not the rash “madcap” proceeding of injudicious and fiery-tempered men, as a large portion of the press and the public were disposed to call it.

It was not until the 3rd of April that the opportunity was afforded to the accused officers for their vindication. Illness on the part of several members of the commission, and a reluctance on the part of Lord Hardinge, the commander-in-chief, to allow the inquiry to come on at all, prevented an earlier sitting. The hall of Chelsea Hospital was fitted up for the occasion. The size of the hall, and the general arrangements, appeared to the author of this History inadequate. Great crowds attended; and many ladies of rank took a deep interest in the transactions, which they evinced not only by their presence but their manner.

The proceedings of the commission at its opening were as follow:—

The military commissioners, who were in full uniform, wearing the insignia of the various orders of which they are members, were General Sir Alexander Woodford, G.C.B., and G.C.M.G., General Earl Beauchamp, General Sir George Berkeley, K.C.B., Lieutenant-general Sir John Bell, K.C.B., Lieutenant-general Sir W. Rowan, C.B., Major-general Peel, M.P., and Major-general Knollys.

Mr. C. P. Villiers, M.P., attended as Judge-advocate-general, and Colonel Douglas represented the adjutant-general's department; Lieutenant-colonel Bagot officiated as secretary to the board.

The proceedings were opened by the judge-advocate-general reading the original royal warrant of the 25th of February, instituting the board, during which all the members of the court remained standing.

The judge-advocate then read successively the warrants substituting Sir Alexander Woodford for Lord Seaton, and Sir George Berkeley for Sir Thomas M'Mahon.

The members of the court having taken their seats,

The JUDGE-ADVOCATE said,—Since receiving the first royal warrant appointing this board, and stating the proper matters to be inquired into, a letter has been addressed to the commander-in-chief by the minister of war, containing further directions as to the matters to be heard by this court, which I will read:—

*War Department, February 28.*

"MY LORD,—I am to signify to your lordship that the queen has been pleased to appoint a board of general officers, which should be convened as soon as possible, for the purpose of taking into consideration so much of the *Reports on the Supplies to the British Army in the Crimea*, lately presented by her majesty's commands to both Houses of Parliament, as animadvert upon the conduct of certain officers upon her majesty's general staff and her majesty's army.

"It is considered that such a board will best bring before the queen the explanations which these officers are desirous to make of their conduct as affected by the said reports, and ultimately lead to a just judgment thereon.

"I am further to state to your lordship the importance of giving to this inquiry every degree of solemnity and publicity which usage and precedent have in like cases admitted of, and that the judge-advocate-general be specially instructed to convey to the board her majesty's commands, not only to report an opinion upon the matters referred to them, but also to submit to her majesty what it may be in their judgment best to be done thereon.

"Your lordship will be pleased to receive her majesty's pleasure with respect to the proper measures for carrying these her majesty's commands into execution.

"I have, &c.,

"PANMURE."

*Field-marshal Viscount Hardinge, G.C.B., &c.*

The PRESIDENT.—Can you furnish us with the names of the officers who are referred to in the warrant as being desirous of making statements to us?

The JUDGE-ADVOCATE.—After receiving the warrant, I made application to the field-marshal commanding-in-chief, in order to ascertain who were the officers referred to in the warrant, as having been animadverted upon in the report and evidence of the Crimean commissioners, and on the 15th of March I received the following letter from General Yorke:—

*Horse Guards, March 15.*

"SIR,—Having submitted to the field-marshal commanding-in-chief your letter of this date, requesting to be officially informed of the names of the officers referred to in the royal warrant of the 25th ultimo, whose conduct has been animadverted upon in the reports of Sir John McNeill and Colonel Tulloch, and the evidence taken before those commissioners, and who have in consequence demanded a full inquiry into their conduct, I am directed to acquaint you that the names of the officers referred to are Major-general the Earl of Lucan, K.C.B., Major-general the Earl of Cardigan, K.C.B., Major-general Sir Richard Airey, K.C.B., Quartermaster-general, Colonel the Hon. Alexander Gordon, C.B. (Grenadier Guards), Deputy-quartermaster-general.

"I have, &c.,

"C. YORKE."

PRESIDENT.—Will you read the rules by which our proceedings will be regulated?

The judge-advocate read the following:—

*Rules for the Conduct of the Proceedings before the Board of General Officers appointed by the Royal Warrant, dated the 25th of February.*

"1. The proceedings of this board will be conducted as nearly as possible in accordance with the practice of ordinary military courts of inquiry.

"2. Evidence may be given before the board, either in the form of written statements to be read out to the board by the parties tendering such statements, or by the oral examination of witnesses, conducted as nearly as possible in accordance with the ordinary military practice.

"3. This board is not empowered to examine witnesses on oath.

"4. Every military witness will be informed that he is at liberty to decline making





MAJOR GENL: THE EARL OF LUCAN, K.C.B. & c.

*From a Daguerreotype by Mayall.*

any statement which may form the subject of a charge against him before a court-martial, and that any statement which he may make after being so cautioned will be admissible in evidence against him.

"5. The cases of the several parties who are considered to have a right to appear before the board will be taken separately."

After resolving to give notice to the *Crimean* commissioners (McNeill and Tulloch), the assembly adjourned.

The board sat on twenty-three occasions for the purpose of pursuing its inquiries. On the 7th of April it met a second time. It was resolved that the Earl of Lucan should first be heard, and the judge-advocate accordingly requested him to state by what part of the report of Sir J. McNeill and Colonel Tulloch he considered himself aggrieved. The noble earl declared that the whole of the report drawn up by those gentlemen was at variance with the facts. Whether that arose from any defect on the part of the gentlemen who conducted the inquiry, or from the unfaithfulness of those who gave them the erroneous information, was not a matter for the noble earl's consideration; he arraigned the accuracy of their statements, however that inaccuracy might have arisen. On the 8th and 9th the noble earl continued his defence. Some of the statements made by his lordship on that day produced a very favourable impression in the minds of his auditors, and led a large portion of the public to believe that he had been "more sinned against than sinning." No one doubted the fidelity of Colonel Tulloch and Sir John McNeill, and all concurred that the command-in-chief in the Crimea and at home, with the management of the War-office and the Admiralty, were such as to cause the evils, the full blame of which it was desired by some to throw upon the generals of cavalry. A popular illustrated journal, by no means favourable to Lord Lucan, thus expresses what the public to a large extent thought and felt:—"A man who would undertake to settle all the controversies arising out of the evidence taken by the board sitting at Chelsea Hospital would find his hands full enough. Lord Lucan delivered an elaborate address on Monday last, in which he accused the commissioners, Tulloch and McNeill, of error in the number of horses lost—of stating the facts about transport horses unfairly—of confounding, in their report, hutting for horses with hutting for men. He accused Filder of loading the baggage animals first. He further attributed all the disasters to 'the circumstances in which we were placed, and orders to which we owed submission.' The last clause is significant, and would seem to point to Lord Raglan. Before the 16th of December Lord

Raglan had called upon him 'for 500 effective horses for transport service.' This gives a miserable idea of the state of things in the camp. It was not cavalry's work. The men hated it; the horses died at it. By the middle of January the state of the cavalry was awful. Lord Lucan gives us a despatch which he wrote on the 17th to Raglan, pointing out 'the fearful consequences' of the cavalry having to do transport work. He adds that all this while, too, *ponies were procurable in Asia Minor and elsewhere for £5*, and that these ponies were really better fitted for the work than the troop-horses. Such are the good effects of these investigations! Men turn evidence against each other. Had a journalist suggested the fact about the ponies, he would have been met with a hoot about the easiness of suggesting it from England. Let us now hear the answer to it when made by a man of rank on the spot, who could not and would not have misled Lord Raglan on the subject. It was not till the 19th of January that the cavalry were released from the transport duty. By that time the bulk of the mischief had no doubt been done—sick men, sick horses, exposure, overwork, had played havoc with that brilliant force. Lord Lucan has certainly some case as against the commissioners. For instance, he shows that he *did* begin hutting earlier than they represent, and that they have overlooked in their report some stables at the depot altogether. We shall not inquire just now how far he made the most of the materials which were at command. Our object is to use him as a 'king's evidence'—as a testimony about the state of things generally. In that point of view, his vindication of the 7th instant was highly important. He was in want of engineer officers—of knowledge about the stable-building required of him—of the means of carrying the materials for it—and his horses were taken from him for other purposes. In proportion as he exculpates or tries to exculpate himself, he inculpates the whole system of the army. But the system of the army was, again, at the mercy of the government at home, in the first instance, for the government at home never thought they would have to winter in the Crimea. When the winter came, the army had a terrible problem, and now we are beginning to learn why and how they found that problem more difficult than it ought to have been. Unless Lord Lucan speaks with a rashness and a violence which we should be sorry to impute to him, there was a mismanagement in the camp which almost or quite matched the miscalculation in Downing Street. The potentates are now accusing each other, and as they fall out the public will come by its own in the way of information."

From the divisional orders of Lord Lucan,

as well as from his defence before the Chelsea commissioners, it appears that his lordship was continually remonstrating with the commander-in-chief, the quartermaster-general, and the commissary-general, upon the neglect with which the cavalry horses were treated by the various departments of the army upon which they were dependent. On the subject of hutting the horses, his lordship's ability may be called in question; but in his zeal for the welfare of his horses, and his general ability for their management, his conduct was beyond question.

On the 9th, Colonel Tulloch made his reply, Sir J. McNeill having declined to come before a military tribunal. The colonel spoke with moderation, and maintained his argument with distinctness upon the allegations of his report, without deviating into other questions, which, however important in themselves, did not concern his integrity. He then called his witnesses, and spoke as to their testimony. Lord Lucan was heard in reply upon the whole case. In this reply, his lordship made use of the following remarkable sentence:—"It would really appear as if a conspiracy had been formed against the commissioners; and that, instead of being supplied with the information they required, only enough was given to delude and deceive them!" This was obviously the truth, and is the secret of the errors which undoubtedly crept into the report. There was no intention, on the part of the authorities in the Crimea, to forward the object of her majesty's government, or, at all events, its ostensible object in sending out the commission. To thwart them first, and to deceive them afterwards, seems to have been the device of the chief persons connected with the army. Another assertion of his lordship's excited much attention: it was to the effect that the government appointed the commission for the purpose of making a case exonerating the home officials, and throwing the blame of what was wrong upon the persons there most likely to be accepted by the public as blamable. The subsequent conduct of the government went far to justify this taunt. His lordship also, with much expressiveness of manner, observed, that "he was responsible *to*, but not *for*, the commander-in-chief:" this remark told powerfully upon the audience.

On the 29th of April, the Earl of Cardigan was called upon to take his objections to the report. The noble lord stated that he had not demanded any inquiry, but that, upon perusal of the report, he addressed a letter to the secretary of state, which was laid before parliament; as, however, a court of inquiry was established, he cheerfully met it, confident in the justice of his cause. His lordship selected one particular passage of the report, in which

injustice was done to him; it was this:—"When the supply began to fail, the commissariat officer referred to, who appears to have done everything in his power to have met the difficulties of the case, proposed—as he knew there was plenty of barley at Balaklava—that if a detachment of the horses were allowed to go down daily, he would engage to bring up enough for the rest of the brigade. This proposition appears to have been brought under the notice of Lord Cardigan by Lieutenant-colonel Mayon, assistant quartermaster-general of cavalry, who states that his lordship declined to accede to it, as he had previously done, when a similar proposition was made to him to send the horses down for hay before that supply failed."

The noble earl pointed out to the court that no opinion had been given by the commissioners as to the propriety of his refusal, but the implication was left that the refusal was improper. His lordship then proceeded to show that the retention of his brigade on the heights of Inkerman, for which he was not responsible, left it impossible for him to carry out the suggestions of Colonel Mayon. He (Lord Cardigan) represented to Lord Raglan the consequences of keeping the brigade in that position; but his lordship intimated that it was the wish of General Canrobert, and he had promised to carry out that wish. Lord Cardigan, in fact, pleaded superior orders for the ruinous position which the cavalry occupied. It was not in his power to remove so large a portion of his men and horses without the authority of his superiors, which he did not possess. This defence seemed irrefutable.

On the 1st of May, Sir Richard Airey was called upon to make his statement. He denounced the propriety of government appointing such a commission, and could not believe that they were intrusted with the duty of sitting in judgment upon his conduct. He relied confidently upon the entire approval of his chief, Lord Raglan, whose despatches never, in a single instance, found fault with his conduct. He attributed the sufferings of the army to overwork and want of transport. As to the overwork, it was unavoidable in General Airey's opinion; everything Lord Raglan ordered was right; he eulogised his lordship as a man and a general in an extraordinary degree; and vindicated all his measures. The want of transport was no fault of General Airey's or Lord Raglan's, and the general did not appear to think that it was anybody's fault, but rather a contingent misfortune. General Airey considered that his department was perfectly managed, and that upon the departments of the adjutant-general, and commissary-general, the responsibility wholly rested. The address was apparently well received by General Airey's

judges, but its reception was very different by the assembly and the country.

On the 5th of May, Colonel Tulloch was obliged to leave the court from illness.

Colonel Gordon's defence was altogether peculiar. He denied that there was anything wrong in the management of the army, and asserted the old and oft-refuted stories about the sufferings of the soldiers having been exaggerated. The honourable gentleman spoke precisely in the spirit with which his father, Lord Aberdeen, treated the conduct of the war, and the sufferings of the soldiers.

The last person to whom opportunity of making a statement was offered was Commissary-general Filder. This officer made several serious mistakes in the management of his department, and was self-willed and dogmatical; but his defence proved that the arrangements of the home officials, and the neglect of the commander-in-chief in the Crimea, or his incapacity to see the importance of Mr. Filder's suggestions, deprived the commissariat of the power and means to be useful. Mr. Filder read to the court many applications made by him to the War-office and the Treasury, which were not attended to at all, or so imperfectly acted upon that they might almost as well be totally disregarded. Mr. Filder's defence proved, beyond all controversy, the utter incapacity of the government at home to conduct a great war, and of the commander-in-chief in the Crimea to conduct a great siege.

In July the commission made its report, and fully exonerated all the officers impeached, and, by implication rather than statement, laid the whole blame upon the home management of the war.

The effect upon the public was unfavourable to the officers who conducted the commission, and there was somewhat of an unfair eagerness in the public mind to have the accused officers condemned. A strong conviction took possession of the people, that unless military reform was promptly and extensively enforced by the Commons, the country would be in danger, should war again test its military skill and resources.

The conduct of the court and the Horse Guards in reference to the Crimean inquiry, and the conduct of the court and the Horse Guards' parasites, was such as to draw down upon them general indignation. Had the public been aware of a tenth part of the efforts said to have been made to flatter and intimidate witnesses, the indignation would have been far more general, and would probably have assumed something like a practical form. Enough transpired to call for parliamentary interference.

It will be in the recollection of many

of our readers that the veteran Colonel Griffiths was examined, and that his testimony, whether erroneous or correct, was very strong against what he pronounced to be the mismanagement by which so many horses and men perished. The next day the colonel received a communication from the Horse Guards that his coat was an inch too long or too short, or too much or too little in some other way, we forget which. This is no joke, although it may read like one; and it was felt to be no joke by those who made the communication and by him who received it. The object was to furnish the gallant officer with a hint that his evidence was offensive in a high—in a very high—place, and to influence him in adopting a different tone next day. The gallant old officer was not intimidated, and did not change his evidence. His answer was worthy of admiration:—"I have served my country for fifty years, and I will not submit now to be lectured about an inch too long or too short in my coat."

The conduct of Colonel Yorke did not emulate that of Colonel Griffiths. This officer wrote a letter to the *Times* newspaper, alleging that the heavy cavalry was not in the Crimea on the 1st of October. The letter was written to invalidate certain evidence given before the commissioners as to the neglect of the horses. Our readers will recollect that some of the heavy cavalry were landed immediately after the battle of the Alma, and the Scots Greys were debarked at the mouth of the Katcha, while the army bivouaced on the heights above the river, three days after the battle just-named, which was fought on the 20th of September.

The impudence of Colonel Yorke's assertions of course attracted the notice of the generals presiding in the inquiry at Chelsea, and Colonel Tulloch called Colonel Yorke as a witness, who stoutly maintained the absurd and wicked assertions of his letter to the *Times*. Colonel Tulloch then placed in his hand letters of his (Colonel Yorke's) own, written the 1st of October, at Balaklava! Of course the mendacious letter to the *Times* was confuted, but its writer was not ashamed, for he sought to ride away on the explanation that only part of the heavy cavalry were then there. The board of general officers administered to the colonel a firm and humiliating reproof. How did the court and the Horse Guards deal with "an officer and a gentleman" who bore such testimony? Why, the next day he dined at Windsor Castle! To withhold testimony to cruel and ruinous military abuses was the passport to the royal dinner-table! The true witness, after fifty years' service, received a letter of intimidation from the Horse Guards, not an invitation to Windsor. Of such matters our good queen

could not personally be a judge, nor was she to be held in any way responsible for these occurrences; but it was notorious that there were those about her person who interfered in everything connected with the army, so that it was as much at their command as if the office of commander-in-chief were delegated to

them—in fact, it was more so, for then there would be some responsibility to public opinion, if not to parliament, which was in such circumstances evaded. These facts acted upon the mind of the English people most prejudicially as to the moral and official influence of men in power.

## CHAPTER CXXIV.

HOME EVENTS CONTINUED.—EXCITEMENT IN THE FRENCH CAPITAL.—BIRTH OF AN HEIR TO NAPOLEON.—THE EMPEROR'S SPEECH AT THE OPENING OF THE LEGISLATIVE CHAMBERS.

"Oh! first of human blessings, and supreme!  
Fair Peace! how lovely, how delightful thou!  
By whose wide tie, the kindred sons of men  
Like brothers live—in amity combin'd,  
And unsuspecting faith! while honest toil  
Gives every joy, and to those joys a right,  
Which idle, barbarous rapine but usurps.  
O Peace, thou source and soul of social life,  
Beneath whose calm, inspiring influence  
Science his views enlarges—Art refines,  
And swelling commerce opens all her ports!  
Blest be the man divine who gives us thee!  
Who bids the trumpet hush his horrid clang,  
Nor blow the giddy nations into rage:  
Who sheaths the murderous blade—the deadly gun  
Into the well-piled armoury returns,  
And every vigour from the work of death,  
To grateful industry converting, make  
The country flourish, and the city smile!  
This is the man whose praise extends  
Far as the sun rolls the diffusive day!  
Far as the breeze can bear the gifts of peace!  
Till all the happy nations catch the song!"—JAMES THOMSON.

DURING the period the events recorded in the previous chapter had their occurrence, the excitement in the French capital was very great. The Duke of Cambridge, in the name of her majesty, had presented 15,000 French soldiers with a medal each in honour of their services in the Crimea, and this was followed by Lord Cowley, the ambassador, bestowing the decoration of the Order of the Bath upon such French officers as were deemed worthy of this high token of respect. These incidents, with the negotiations for peace, kept Paris in a state of excitement, political and military, seldom equalled among the excitable Parisians.

Another event intensified this state of mind, not only in the capital, but in all France—the birth of an heir to the imperial throne. On the morning of the 15th of March the empress was seized with the pains of labour, which were severe and protracted, so as to cause uneasiness for the welfare of the imperial lady. As is usual in cases of royal births, the princes of the family, the ministers, and other eminent persons, were summoned to the palace. The sufferings of her majesty were concealed by the tenderness and good sense of the emperor. At a little after three on the morning of the 16th the empress gave birth to a prince. At six the cannon of the Invalides announced the glad tidings to Paris, and very soon after the

Park and Tower guns in London gave forth the gratulations of the British government. During the morning the houses on the boulevards were decorated with streamers, and the theatres and other public buildings were hung with the flags of France, England, Turkey, and Sardinia. The house of the Russian embassy was decorated; and when, in the evening, illuminations lit up Paris, that embassy was among the most brilliantly illuminated.

The ceremony of the *onoiement* was performed with much pomp in the chapel of the Tuileries. Near the altar, on the Gospel side, stood Cardinals Dupont, Gousset, Donnet, and Marlot, and M. Legrand, Curé of St. Germain l'Auxerrois, the imperial parish. Opposite, on the Epistle side, were the Bishop of Nancy, first chaplain of the emperor, and his clergy. In the centre of the sanctuary, in front of the emperor's arm-chair, was a table, covered with white drapery, bearing a splendid silver-gilt baptistry. Next to it were the admirals and marshals of France, and other high dignitaries, the grand masters of the imperial household, and the masters of the ceremonies, the Princess Mathilde, and the ladies of honour of the empress. At half-past twelve o'clock the emperor entered the chapel, accompanied by the members of the imperial family, the ministers, the presidents of the senate and legislative

body, and the grand master of the ceremonies. The Bishop of Adras having celebrated mass, the Abbé Deplace rose, and taking for his text those words of the Gospel, "*Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*," called down the blessings of the Almighty on the new-born prince. The conclusion of the abbé's benediction was one of the grossest pieces of royal adulation ever uttered in a place of worship, and was the more shocking from being addressed to the Almighty. It was in the following terms:—"Bestow on him the genius and magnanimity of his father, the kindness and inexhaustible charity of his mother, the sincere faith and devotion of both; and, to sum up those wishes in one word, bestow on him a heart worthy of his destiny and of his name."

After mass was offered, the imperial infant was carried in by his governess, when his baptism took place. That ceremony was performed by the Bishop of Nancy and the parish priest of St. Germain l'Auxerrois. The name given was Napoléon Eugène Louis Jean Joseph, and after this name the emperor, in signing the registers, added *filis de France*. After the signature by the emperor there were added the names of Prince Murat, the Duke of Alba, Marshal Vaillant, M. Trapling, president of the senate, and Count de Morny, president of the legislative body. The *Domine Salvum* was subsequently chanted, and the bishop having bestowed his benediction on all present, his majesty left the chapel, and was conducted back to his apartments by the same personages who attended him on his arrival.

The birth of an heir to the French emperor had too much influence upon the French court and people, and upon those foreign governments which were openly or secretly opposed to a Napoleon dynasty, not to demand this notice in a History of the War. Perhaps the good effect produced by the auspicious occurrence was increased in Europe generally by some remarkable words which the emperor let fall when, upon the 18th of March, the plenipotentiaries of the peace congress waited upon his majesty with their congratulations: "I am happy," said the emperor, "that Providence has granted me a son at a moment when an era of general reconciliation dawns upon Europe. I will bring him up imbued with the idea that nations must not be egotistical, and that the peace of Europe depends upon the prosperity of each nation." The words of the French emperor at this crisis were weighty and well chosen.

Shortly before the birth of the prince he delivered a very remarkable address at the opening of the French chambers, which was read with the deepest interest in all the capitals and cabinets of Europe.

"The last time I convoked you our minds

were occupied with matters of grave import,—the allied armies were exhausting themselves at a siege where the obstinacy of the defence made success doubtful. Europe, hesitating, seemed to await the end of the struggle before pronouncing itself; to carry on the war, I asked of you a loan, which you granted unanimously, although it may have appeared excessive. The high price of provisions threatened to cause general distress among the labouring classes, and a perturbation in the monetary system gave rise to fears of a slackening of commercial transactions and of labour.

"Well, thanks to your support, as well as to the energy displayed in France and in England—thanks, above all things, to the support of Providence—those dangers, if they have not entirely disappeared, have, most of them at least, been averted.

"A great feat of arms has decided a desperate struggle, unexampled in history, in favour of the allied armies. Since that moment, the opinion of Europe has pronounced itself more openly. On all sides our alliances have been extended and strengthened.

"The third loan was subscribed without difficulty. The country has given me a proof of its confidence by subscribing a sum five times the amount I demanded; it has supported with admirable resignation the sufferings inseparable from a dearth of provisions—sufferings alleviated, however, by private charity, by the zeal of the municipal authorities, and by the 10,000,000 fr. distributed in the departments. At the present moment, the arrivals of foreign corn have caused a sensible fall; the fears arising from the scarcity of gold have been diminished, and labour was never more active, nor the revenues more considerable.

"The chances of war have aroused the military spirit of the nation; at no time were voluntary enlistments so frequent, or so much ardour displayed by the recruits designated by lot.

"To this brief statement of the situation facts of a high political signification must be added.

"The Queen of Great Britain, desirous of giving a proof of her confidence, of her esteem for our country, to render our relations more intimate, visited France. The enthusiastic welcome she met with must have convinced her how deep were the sentiments inspired by her presence, and that they were of a nature to strengthen the alliance of the two nations.

"The King of Piedmont, who, without looking behind him, had embraced our cause with that courageous impetuosity which he had already shown on the battle-field, also came to France, to consecrate a union already cemented by the bravery of his soldiers. Those

sovereigns were enabled to see a country, formerly so agitated and disinherited of its rank in the councils of Europe, now prosperous, peaceful, and respected; waging war, not with the momentary delirium of passion, but with the calmness, justice, and energy of duty. They beheld France, while sending 200,000 men beyond the seas, at the same time convoke all the arts of peace at Paris, as if she wished to say to Europe, 'The present war is only an episode for me; my ideas and my strength are in part always directed towards the arts of peace; let us neglect nothing to understand each other; and do not compel me to throw all the resources and all the energy of a great nation into the lists of battle.'

"That appeal seems to have been heard, and winter, by suspending hostilities, favoured the intervention of diplomacy.

"Austria resolved upon taking a decisive step, which brought into the deliberations all the influence of the sovereign of a vast empire.

"Sweden entered into closer connection with England and France, by a treaty which guaranteed the integrity of her territory: finally, advice or entreaties were sent to St. Petersburg from all the cabinets.

"The Emperor of Russia, who had inherited a position he had not created, appeared animated with a sincere desire to put an end to the causes which had occasioned this sanguinary conflict. He resolutely accepted the propositions transmitted by Austria. The honour of his arms once satisfied, he did honour to himself also by complying with the distinctly expressed wishes of Europe.

"To-day the plenipotentiaries of the belligerent and allied powers are assembled at Paris to decide upon the conditions of peace. The spirit of moderation and equity which animates them all must make us hope for a favourable result; nevertheless, let us await the end of the conferences with dignity, and let us be equally prepared, if it should be necessary, either again to draw the sword, or to extend the hand to those we have honourably fought.

"Whatever may happen, let us occupy ourselves with all the means proper to increase the power and wealth of France; let us draw still closer, if possible, the alliance formed by a participation of glory and of sacrifices, the reciprocal advantages of which will be brought into still stronger relief by peace.

"Let us, finally, at this solemn moment for the destinies of the world, place our trust in God, that He may guide our efforts in the sense most conformable to the interests of humanity and of civilisation."

It is scarcely necessary to particularise further the home incidents of France in connection

with the war. Her troops were gradually withdrawn from the Crimea, and received at Marseilles, Toulon, and Paris, a glorious welcome. In this place it may be desirable to give some documents which will complete the history as it regards our great ally at home. One of these will be peculiarly interesting to Englishmen. The *Moniteur* published an imperial decree, dated the 16th of June, by which, on the proposition of the minister for foreign affairs, the order of the Legion of Honour was conferred upon the following British officers and soldiers. The list is calculated to make every British heart bound with exultation. An Irish journal analysed the list, in search of the names of natives of Ireland who were placed on the noble roll, and stated as the result, that more than a moiety of them belonged to Irishmen. This was an invidious and uncalled for performance, for no reflection had been thrown by fellow-citizens, fellow-soldiers, allies, or enemies, upon the courage and devotion of the noble soldiers of the sister-land. On the contrary, the valour of the 18th Royal Irish, the 27th or Enniskilleners, the 88th or Connaught Rangers, the 97th or Earl of Ulster's Own, besides those regiments which, without bearing an Irish designation, were chiefly composed of Irish, as the 9th, 28th, 41st, 44th, 55th, &c., greatly distinguished themselves, and received from the British people no scanty meed of praise. The Irish cavalry regiments also, such as the 4th Royal Irish Dragoon Guards (which, by the way, numbered more English than Irish), the 6th Dragoons (Enniskillens), and 8th Royal Irish Hussars, were extolled, by the English and Scotch press, with the same pride as the Guards, Highlanders, and Scots Greys were lauded. They were all alike British soldiers, and felt the pride of British soldiers; and all invidious nationality in connection with the composition of our troops should be permitted to die away.

### LEGION OF HONOUR.

#### 1. GRAND CROSSES.

General Sir James Simpson.

General Sir George Brown.

#### 2. GRAND OFFICERS.

Lieutenant-general Sir John Fox Burgoyne, Bart.

Lieutenant-general Sir De Lacy Evans.

Major-general Sir Richard England.

Lieutenant-general Sir John Lysaght Pennefather.

#### 3. COMMANDERS.

Major-general Lord Lucan.

Major-general Sir Henry John William Bentinck.

Lieutenant-general Henry William Barnard.

Lieutenant-general Lord Rokeby.

General Sir William John Codrington.

Lieutenant-general the Hon. Sir James Yorke Scarlett.

Lieutenant-general Sir William Eyre.

Major-general Sir Hugh Henry Rose.

Major-general Sir George Buller.

Lieutenant-general Sir Richard Dacres.

Major-general Charles Ash Windham.

## 4. OFFICERS.

## STAFF.

Colonel Thomas Montagu Steele, Military-secretary.  
Colonel the Hon. William L. Pakenham.  
Dr. John Hall, Inspector-general of Hospitals.  
Colonel William M. S. Macmurdo, Land Transport.  
Major Lord Frederick Paulet.  
Colonel Alexander Gordon, Quartermaster-general.  
Colonel Arthur Augustus Thuloe Cunynghame.  
Colonel Percy Egerton Herbert, Quartermaster-general.  
Colonel Richard Wilbraham.  
Colonel Studholme Brownrigg.  
Lieutenant-colonel Anthony Sterling.

## CAVALRY.

Brigadier-general Lord George A. F. Paget.  
Brigadier-general Frederick George Shewell.

## INFANTRY.

Brigadier-general Charles William Ridley.  
Colonel the Hon. George Frederick Upton.  
Colonel Edward Walter Forester Walker.  
Major-general Lord William Paulet.  
Brig.-gen. Chas. Thos. Van Straubenzee, 3rd regiment.  
Brigadier-general Frederick Horn, 20th regiment.  
Colonel Charles Richard Sackville, Lord West.  
Colonel Daniel Lyons, 23rd regiment.  
Colonel Frank Adams, 28th regiment.  
Lieut.-col. James Thomas Mauleverer, 30th regiment.  
Brig.-gen. Duncan Alex. Cameron, 42nd regiment.  
Brig.-gen. the Hon. Augustus A. Spencer, 44th regiment.  
Major-general Robert Garrett, 46th regiment.  
Lieut.-col. Richard Thomas Warren, 47th regiment.  
Brigadier-general Charles Warren, 55th regiment.  
Brigadier-general Charles Trollope, 62nd regiment.  
Brigadier-general Horatio Shirley, 88th regiment.  
Brigadier-general Arthur Johnstone Lawrence.  
Colonel Francis Seymour.

## ARTILLERY.

Major-general John Edward Dupuis.  
Colonel James William Fitzmayer.  
Colonel John Saint-George.  
Colonel Edward Charles Warde.  
Colonel David Edward Wood.  
Lieutenant-colonel John Miller Adye.

## ENGINEERS.

Colonel Alexander Gordon.  
Colonel Frederick Edward Chapman.

## 5. KNIGHTS.

## STAFF.

Colonel Prince Edward of Saxe-Weimar.  
Capt. and Lieut.-col. Chas. Lennox Brownlow Maitland.  
Major Hon. William Colville.  
Lieutenant-colonel Francis Pym Harding.  
Lieutenant-colonel Lawrence Shadwell.  
Major Gustavus Hume.  
Lieutenant-colonel Kenneth Douglas Mackenzie.  
Lieutenant-colonel Edmund Gilling Hallewell.  
Colonel Edward Robert Wetherall.  
Lieutenant-colonel the Hon. Francis Colborne.  
Lieutenant James Talbot Airey.  
Lieutenant-colonel George Wynell Mayow.  
Lieutenant-colonel the Hon. Arthur Edward Hardinge.  
Lieutenant-colonel Joseph Edwin Thackwell.  
Lieutenant-colonel Hugh Smith.  
Colonel William Sullivan.  
Lieutenant-colonel Robert Blane.  
Lieutenant-colonel John Stewart Wood.  
Colonel Collingwood Dickson, Royal Artillery.  
Major George Latham Thompson.  
Lieutenant-colonel Charles John Woodford.  
Lieutenant-colonel William Morris.  
Major George Harry Smith Willis.  
Captain Frederick Smith Vacher.  
Major William Bellairs.  
Major Julius Richard Glyn.  
Captain Arthur Maxwell Earle, 57th foot.  
Lieutenant-colonel James Wells Armstrong, 19th foot.  
Lieutenant-colonel George Vaughan Maxwell, 88th foot.

Lieut.-col. Cuthbert George Ellison, Grenadier Guards.  
Major Robert Barnston, 90th foot, Assistant-quarter-master-general.  
Major Charles Torrens Daniell, 38th foot.  
Archibald Gordon, M.D.  
James Mounatt, M.D.  
Thomas Patrick Matthew, M.D.  
Richard Coffin Elliott, M.D.  
Inspector-general Thomas Alexander, M.D.  
Assistant-surgeon Thomas Clarke Brady.  
Assistant-surgeon Thomas Ligertwood, 40th foot.  
Assist.-surgeon Henry Thomas Sylvester, 23rd regiment.  
Assistant-surgeon George Fair.  
Assistant-surgeon Charles O'Callaghan.

## COMMISSARIAT.

Commissary-general William Henry Drake.  
Commissary-general John William Smith.  
Commissary-general Philip Turner.  
Assist.-commissary-gen. Frederick Stanley Carpenter.  
Assist.-commissary-gen. Montague William Darling.  
Assistant-commissary-general Keane Osborne.

## CAVALRY.

Major James Conolly.  
Major Alexander Jas. Hardy Elliott, 5th Dragoon Guards.  
Captain Michael Mac Creagh, 4th Dragoon Guards.  
Sergeant William Percy, 4th Dragoon Guards.  
Corporal Henry Herbert, 5th Dragoon Guards.  
Charles Babbington, 5th Dragoon Guards.  
Major William De Cardonnell Elmsall, 1st Dragoons.  
Sergeant William Keyle.  
Lieut.-colonel George Calvert Clarke, 2nd Dragoons.  
Sergeant-major William Rant, 2nd Dragoons.  
Lieut.-colonel Alexander Low, 4th Light Dragoons.  
Sergeant David Gillam, 4th Light Dragoons.  
Lieutenant-colonel Charles Cameron Shute.  
Sergeant Richard Jeffreys.  
Lieutenant-colonel Rodolph De Salis, 8th Hussars.  
Trumpeter William Gray, 8th Hussars.  
Sergeant-major George Guttridge, 11th Hussars.  
John Thomas Bambrick, 11th Hussars.  
Major Arthur Tremayne, 13th Light Dragoons.  
Sergt.-maj. Thos. George Johnson, 13th Light Dragoons.  
Captain Sir William Gordon, Bart., 17th Lancers.  
Trumpeter John Brown.

## INFANTRY.

*Grenadier Guards.*

Colonel Frederick William Hamilton.  
Colonel the Hon. Hugh Manvers Percy.  
Lieut.-col. George Wentworth Alexander Higginson.  
Major Sir Charles Russell.  
Lieutenant-colonel Viscount Balgonie.  
Lieutenant-colonel William Gregory Dawkins.  
Lieutenant-colonel Clement William Strong.  
Major Henry Armytage.  
Captain Gerard Littlehales Goodlake.  
Captain Harvey Tower.

*Scots Fusiliers.*

Lieut.-col. Frederick Charles Arthur Stephenson.  
Lieutenant-colonel the Hon. John Strange Jocelyn.  
Captain Reginald Gipps.  
Major Francis Baring.  
Captain Robert James Lindsay.

Major Frederick Wells, 1st regiment, 1st battalion.  
Capt. Jas. Archibald Ruddell Todd, 1st regt., 1st battal.  
Capt. John Martin Brown, 1st regt. royal, 1st batt.  
Captain Charles Hurt, 1st regiment, 1st battalion.  
Sergeant William Gillies, 1st regiment, 1st battalion.  
Captain Theobald M'Kenna, 1st regiment, 2nd battalion.  
Henry Crisell, 1st regiment, 2nd battalion.  
Lieut.-col. Frederick Francis Maude, 3rd regiment.  
Major John Lewes, 3rd regiment.  
Lieutenant and Adjutant George Noble Roe, 3rd regt.  
Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Williams, 4th regiment.  
Major Patrick Robertson, 4th regiment.  
Captain James Paton, 4th regiment.  
Sergeant Thomas Watt, 4th regiment.  
Lieutenant-colonel William West Turner.  
Lieutenant-colonel Arthur John Pack, 7th regiment.  
Major Hugh John Hibbert, 7th regiment.

Captain Frederick Ernest Appleyard, 7th regiment.  
 Captain Henry Mitchell Jones, 7th regiment.  
 Lieut. and Adj. George Henry Waller, 7th regiment.  
 Sergeant Joseph Bell, 7th regiment.  
 James Raines, 7th regiment.  
 Major Henry Ralph Brown, 9th regiment.  
 Captain Hopton Bassett Scott, 9th regiment.  
 Sergeant William Ryder, 9th regiment.  
 Corporal William Cook, 9th regiment.  
 Major George King, 13th regiment.  
 Captain George Henry Tyler, 13th regiment.  
 Major John Dwyer, 14th regiment.  
 Sergeant John Macdonald, 14th regiment.  
 Lieutenant Joseph Oates Travers, 17th regiment.  
 Lieutenant William Dalrymple Thompson, 17th regt.  
 Sergeant John Plant, 17th regiment.  
 Major Anthony W. S. F. Armstrong, 18th regiment.  
 Major Matthew Jones Hayman, 18th regiment.  
 Sergeant John Grant, 18th regiment.  
 Major Montagu Hamilton Dowbiggin.  
 Lieut. William Godfrey Dunham Massey, 19th regt.  
 Lieut.-col. John Lewis Richard Rooke, 19th regiment.  
 Lieutenant-colonel Robert Warden, 19th regiment.  
 Major Robert Onesophorus Bright, 19th regiment.  
 Major Edward Chippindale, 19th regiment.  
 John Lyons, 19th regiment.  
 Lieut.-col. Frederick Charles Eveleigh, 20th regiment.  
 Major Charles Richard Butler, 20th regiment.  
 Sergeant Arthur Rule, 20th regiment.  
 Joseph Brown, 20th regiment.  
 Captain Roger Killeen, 21st regiment.  
 Captain William Henry Carleton, 21st regiment.  
 Captain John George Image, 21st regiment.  
 Captain Arthur Templeman, 21st regiment.  
 Sergeant James Line, 21st regiment.  
 Lieut.-col. Henry William Banbury, 23rd regiment.  
 Major Arthur James Herbert.  
 Major Edward William Deddington Bell, 23rd regiment.  
 Captain Francis Edward Drewe, 23rd regiment.  
 Sergeant William Stait, 23rd regiment.  
 Corporal Robert Shiels, 23rd regiment.  
 Major Percy Arthur Butler, 28th regiment.  
 Major John Guise Rogers Aplin, 23rd regiment.  
 Major William Roberts, 28th regiment.  
 Captain Orlando Robert Hamond Orlebar, 28th regiment.  
 Charles Smith, 28th regiment.  
 Major Francis Topping Atherley, 30th regiment.  
 Major Charles Mengaye Green, 30th regiment.  
 Lieutenant Stamer Gubbins, 30th regiment.  
 Sergeant-major Richard Nagle, 30th regiment.  
 John M'Cormick, 30th regiment.  
 Major Frederick Spence, 31st regiment.  
 Major Robert John Eagar, 31st regiment.  
 Lieut.-col. George Valentine Mundy, 33rd regiment.  
 Major John Elias Collings.  
 Major Edward Westby Donovan, 33rd regiment.  
 Major John Edward Taubman Quayle, 33rd regiment.  
 Major William Pretymann, 33rd regiment.  
 Sergeant William Mackay, 33rd regiment.  
 Lieut.-col. Arthur Cyril Goodenough, 34th regiment.  
 Lieutenant-colonel John Simpson, 34th regiment.  
 Major John Guilt, 34th regiment.  
 Sergeant-major John Mortimer, 34th regiment.  
 Lieut.-col. John William Sydney Smith, 38th regiment.  
 Captain Compton Alwyn Scrase Dickens, 38th regiment.  
 Lieutenant William Kidston Ellis, 38th regiment.  
 Assist.-surgeon William Younge Jeeves, 38th regiment.  
 John Scott, 38th regiment.  
 Lieutenant-colonel William Munro, 39th regiment.  
 Captain William Leckie, 39th regiment.  
 Lieutenant Ralph Edward Carr, 39th regiment.  
 Sergeant-major Joseph Jobberns, 39th regiment.  
 Major George Skipwith.  
 Lieut.-col. Julius Edmund Goodwyn, 41st regiment.  
 Major Hugh Rowlands.  
 Major Lumley Graham.  
 Captain William Allan, 41st regiment.  
 Sergeant James O'Neill.  
 Corporal Peter Stockey.  
 Captain John Chetham Macleod, 42nd regiment.  
 Captain John Drysdale.  
 Assist.-surg. William Alexander M'Kinnon, 42nd regt.  
 Lieutenant and Adjutant William Wood.

Sergeant Charles Christie.  
 Colonel William M'Mahon, 44th regiment.  
 Major John Robinson, 44th regiment.  
 Major Richard Preston, 44th regiment.  
 Assistant-surgeon John Gibbons, 44th regiment.  
 Robert Thimbleby, 44th regiment.  
 Lieutenant-colonel Alexander Maxwell, 46th regiment.  
 Captain George Dallas, 46th regiment.  
 William Bond, 46th regiment.  
 William Simpson, 46th regiment.  
 Major John Henry Lowndes, 47th regiment.  
 Lieutenant-colonel James Villiers, 47th regiment.  
 Major Charles Courtney Villiers, 47th regiment.  
 Captain Charles Aldersey Stevenson, 47th regiment.  
 Sergeant John Wilson, 47th regiment.  
 Major Frederick West, 48th regiment.  
 Corporal Thomas Kelly, 48th regiment.  
 Lieutenant-colonel John Thornton Grant, 49th regiment.  
 Lieutenant-colonel John Hynde King, 49th regiment.  
 Major James William Dewar, 47th regiment.  
 Major Cadwallader Adams, 49th regiment.  
 Captain Thomas Priaux St. George Armstrong.  
 Corporal James Butler, 49th regiment.  
 Lieutenant-colonel Richard Waddy, 50th regiment.  
 Lieutenant-colonel John Lucas Wilton, 50th regiment.  
 Major Heathfield James Frampton, 50th regiment.  
 Major Andrew Campbell Knox Lock, 50th regiment.  
 Sergeant Angus Macpherson, 50th regiment.  
 Lieut. Henry Charles Barnston Daubeney, 53rd regt.  
 Major Robert Hume, 55th regiment.  
 Major Frederick Cockayne Elton, 55th regiment.  
 Captain John Richard Hume, 55th regiment.  
 Captain William Barnston.  
 Corporal Joseph Doyle.  
 Captain Richard Anderson, 56th regiment.  
 Captain Henry Butler, 57th regiment.  
 Captain Gerard John Forsyth, 57th regiment.  
 Sergeant-major George Cumming, 57th regiment.  
 Sergeant William Griffith.  
 Joseph Burgess.  
 Lieutenant-colonel James Daubeney, 62nd regiment.  
 Major Charles Gooch, 62nd regiment.  
 Captain Edward Henry Hunter, 62nd regiment.  
 Joseph Newman, 62nd regiment.  
 Major Thomas Harris, 63rd regiment.  
 Sergeant Hawthorn Christopher Elliott, 63rd regiment.  
 Lieutenant-colonel Henry Smyth, 68th regiment.  
 Captain Thomas de Courcy Hamilton, 68th regiment.  
 Lieutenant Aubrey Harvey Tucker, 68th regiment.  
 Sergeant Henry Stadden, 68th regiment.  
 Corporal Fletcher.  
 John Ogden.  
 Lieutenant-colonel Charles Ready, 71st regiment.  
 Major William Hope.  
 Lieutenant-colonel William Parke, 72nd regiment.  
 Major Alexander Dalton Thellusson.  
 Major William Rickman, 77th regiment.  
 Major Henry Robert Carden, 77th regiment.  
 Captain Edward Henry Chawner, 77th regiment.  
 Sergeant-major Henry Borritt, 77th regiment.  
 Thomas Coonin, 77th regiment.  
 Lieutenant-colonel William M'Call, 79th regiment.  
 Major William Chanval Hodgson, 79th regiment.  
 Captain Henry Wotton Campbell, 79th regiment.  
 Lieutenant-adjutant James Young, 79th regiment.  
 Sergeant William Davie, 79th regiment.  
 Lieut.-col. Edward Herbert Maxwell, 88th regiment.  
 Major Nathaniel Stevens, 88th regiment.  
 Captain George Richard Browne, 88th regiment.  
 Captain George Robert Beresford, 88th regiment.  
 Sergeant Thomas Goggins, 88th regiment.  
 Sergeant Joseph Grennan, 88th regiment.  
 Lieut.-col. Frederick Charles Aylmer, 89th regiment.  
 Major William Boyle, 89th regiment.  
 Captain John Macdonald Cuppage, 89th regiment.  
 John Fisher, 89th regiment.  
 Lieutenant-colonel Robert Grove, 90th regiment.  
 Major Thomas Smith, 90th regiment.  
 Captain Garnet Joseph Wolsely, 90th regiment.  
 Sergeant Joseph Smaller, 90th regiment.  
 Lieut.-col. John Alexander Ewart, 93rd regiment.  
 Lieutenant Robert Crowe, 93rd regiment.  
 Captain George Cornwall, 93rd regiment.

Sergeant Alexander Knox, 93rd regiment.  
 Lieutenant-colonel Henry Hume, 95th regiment.  
 Major John Neptune Sargent, 95th regiment.  
 Major the Hon. Eyre Chailoner Henry Massey, 95th regt.  
 Captain George Lynedock Carmichael, 95th regiment.  
 Lieutenant and Adjutant John Sexton, 95th regiment.  
 Timothy Abbott, 95th regiment.  
 Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Ingram, 97th regiment.  
 Major Edmund Cornwall Legh, 97th regiment.  
 Major Charles Henry Lumley, 97th regiment.  
 Sergeant Peter Lawless, 97th regiment.  
 Peter John Stone, 97th regiment.  
 Lieut.-col. Edward Arthur Somerset, 87th regiment.  
 Major the Hon. Henry Clifford, 97th regiment.  
 Lieutenant John Brett, 97th regiment.  
 Sergeant Timothy Murphy, 97th regiment.  
 Francis Wheatley, 97th regiment.  
 Lieutenant-colonel Alexander M'Donnell, 97th regiment.  
 Major William Augustus Fyers, 97th regiment.  
 Captain Edward William Blackett, 97th regiment.  
 Lieutenant John Simpson Knox, 97th regiment.  
 Sergeant John Andrews, 97th regiment.  
 Major Claud Thomas Bouchier, 97th regiment.

#### ROYAL ARTILLERY.

Lieutenant-colonel Edwin Wodehouse.  
 Lieutenant-colonel William Manley Hall Dixon.  
 Lieutenant-colonel Henry Francis Strange.  
 Lieutenant-colonel Edward Bruce Hamley.  
 Major George Thomas Field.  
 Major John Fraser Lodington Baddeley.  
 Major John George Boothby.  
 Major John Singleton.  
 Major Edmund John Carthew.  
 Major John Edward Hope.  
 Major William John Bolton.  
 Major Charles Henry Owen.  
 Brevet-major Spencer Delves Broughton.  
 Brevet-major John James Branding.  
 Brevet-major John Turner.  
 Brevet-major Edward Moubray.  
 Major William Edmund Moyses Reilly.  
 Major William Windham Augustus Lukin.  
 Major Frederick Miller.  
 Major William James Esten Grant.  
 Major Philip Dickson.  
 Major Roderick Mackenzie.  
 Major Hugh Archibald Beauchamp Campbell.  
 Captain William Powell Richards.  
 Captain John Spurway.  
 Captain William Henry Randolph Simpson.  
 Lieutenant Augustus Henry King.  
 Lieutenant Joseph Lyons.  
 Lieutenant Raynsford Cytherus Longley.  
 Lieutenant Henry James Alderson.  
 Lieutenant John Edward Luck Keene.  
 Lieutenant Henry Arbuthnot.  
 Lieutenant Stuart Maxwell.  
 Lieutenant Arthur Ridout.  
 Lieutenant Henry Hamilton Conolly.  
 Lieutenant John Andrew Price.  
 Lieutenant John Henry Brown.  
 Lieutenant Walter Aston Fox Strangways.  
 Lieutenant Edwin Markham.  
 Lieutenant Charles Edward Torriano.  
 Lieutenant William Stirling.  
 Lieutenant Ernest Courtenay Vaughan.  
 Lieutenant Henry Percy Tillard.  
 Lieutenant Legh Delves Broughton.  
 Lieutenant Francis Walter de Winton.  
 Lieutenant Henry John Foquett Ellis Hiekes.  
 Lieutenant Noel Hamly Harris.  
 Lieutenant William James Hall.  
 Lieutenant Frederick Coulthurst Elton.  
 Surgeon Stanhope Hunter Fasson.  
 Surgeon William Pearson Ward.  
 Assistant-surgeon Thomas Park.  
 Assistant-surgeon Arthur Henry Taylor.  
 Veterinary-surgeon John Surtees Stockley.  
 Commissary William Young.  
 Assistant-commissary John Isaac Lilley.  
 Assistant-commissary Arthur Hunt.  
 Sergeant-major William Norton.

VOL. II.

Quartermaster-sergeant George Mervin.  
 Sergeant Joseph Mitchell, 6th company, 11th battalion.  
 Sergeant Thomas Mitchell, 2nd company, 8th battalion.  
 Sergeant John Devine.  
 Sergeant George Kerr, 12th battalion.  
 Sergeant Robert Bruce.  
 Corporal John Hargreaves, 4th company, 12th battalion.  
 Corporal John Stevenson, 4th company, 12th battalion.  
 Hugh Wheatley, 6th company, 12th battalion.  
 William Todd, 6th company, 11th battalion.  
 William Hendry, 1st company, 12th battalion.  
 Robert Burke, 6th company, 11th battalion.  
 John Gibbs, 8th company, 3rd battalion.  
 John Mac Veight, 4th company, 11th battalion.

#### ENGINEERS.

Lieutenant-colonel George Bent.  
 Lieutenant-colonel Eustace Fane Bouchier.  
 Lieutenant-colonel Edward Stanton.  
 Major James Frankfort Manners Browne.  
 Major Horace William Montagu.  
 Captain Francis Horatio De Vere.  
 Lieutenant Arthur A'Court Fisher.  
 Lieutenant Gerald Graham.  
 Lieutenant John Clayton Cowell.  
 Lieutenant John Frecheville Dykes Donelly.  
 Lieutenant Howard Craufurd Elphinstone.  
 Lieutenant Glastonbury Neville.  
 Lieutenant William Christian Anderson.  
 Lieutenant Charles Nassau Martin.  
 Lieutenant John Mervin Cutliffe Drake.  
 Lieutenant Charles George Gordon.  
 Sergeant John Landry.

#### SAPPERS AND MINERS.

Sergeant Henry Macdonald.  
 Sergeant Joseph Stanton.  
 Sergeant George Jarvis.  
 Sergeant Peter Leitch.  
 Sergeant Samuel Cole.  
 Corporal John Paul.  
 Corporal Joseph Collins.

#### THE NAVY.

##### COMMANDER.

Rear-admiral Sir Houston Stewart.

##### OFFICERS.

##### Rear-admirals.

Sir Stephen Lushington.	Charles Graham.
Frederic Thomas Michell.	Thomas Wren Carter.

##### Captains.

Henry Keppel.	Thomas Abel B. Spratt.
Lewis Tobias Jones.	Sherard Osborne.
William Peel.	Colonel Thomas Hurdle.
William Moorsom.	Lieutenant-colonel Thomas Holloway.
William Robert Mends.	

##### KNIGHTS.

##### Captains.

John James Bartholomew	Augustus Frederick Ky-
Edward Freere.	naston.
William Farquharson Bur-	Richard Ashmore Powell.
nett.	John Borlase.
Leopold George Heath.	Rowley Lambert.
Henry Schenk Hillyar.	John James Kennedy.
Geo. Granville Randolph.	Cowper Phipps Coles.
Lord John Hay.	Henry Downing Rogers.

##### Commanders.

William Montague Dowell.	William Horton.
John Edmund Commerell.	John Hay Crang.
William Rae Rolland.	James Bull.
Henry Lloyd.	Samuel Pritchard.
William Bowden.	John William Whyte.
John Proctor Luce.	Radulphus Bryce Oldfield.
William Gore Jones.	William Brabazon Urn-
William Armytage.	ston.
Henry Frederick M'Killop.	Henry James Raby.
John Francis C. M'Kenzie.	John Halliday Cave.

*Commanders—continued.*

Joseph Henry Marryat.  
George Fiott Day.  
Hubert Campion.  
Cecil William Buckley.  
Frederick William Gough.

John Clark Byng.  
Charles Gerveys Grylls.  
Edward Hardinge.  
Hugh Talbot Burgoyne.  
Alfred Mitchell.

*Masters & Second Masters.*

Cornelius Thomas Augustus Noddal.  
William Thomas Mainprize.  
Robert Wilson Roberts.  
George Williams.  
Thomas Potter.

Narcissus Argumbean.  
Edward Codrington Ball.  
Lieut. Ed. Wolfe Brooker.  
Frederick Robert Glyndor Llewellyn.  
William Henessey Parker.

*Lieutenants, &c.*

Colin Andrew Campbell.  
Charles Frederick Palmer.  
Osborn William Dalyell.  
Wm. N. Wright Hewett.  
Horatio Laurence Arthur Lennox Maitland.  
William Derinzy Donaldson Selby.  
Andrew James Kennedy.  
George Parsons.  
Henry Knox Leet.  
John Brazier Creagh.  
John Barber Barnett.  
Thos. Livingstone Pearson.  
Neale Dottin F. Lillingston.  
John Robert Dene Cooper.  
Rich. Ramsay Armstrong.  
Frederick Wm. Hallows.  
Gordon Cornwallis Sinclair.  
Henry Evelyn Wood.  
Edward St. John Daniel.  
David James Simpson.  
Frederick Cleave.  
David Deas, inspector of fleet hospitals.  
John Rees, deputy ditto.  
James Walsh, surgeon.  
Wm. E. R. Smart, surgeon.  
James Jenkins, surgeon.  
Thomas Baker, inspector of machinery.  
George Murdoch, engineer.  
John H. Langley, engineer.  
William Rumble, engineer.  
Frank Harger, purser.  
John Beal, purser.  
George William Muir.  
John Roberts.

John Hayles.  
Richard Verey.  
George Greenirk Dunlop.  
Richard Rowe.  
Robert Spilsbury.  
Joseph Kellaway.  
J. Shepherd, *Royal Albert*.  
William Rickard, quartermaster of the *Weser*.  
John Cleverly, *London*.  
John Taylor, *London*.  
John Sullivan, *Rodney*.  
Chas. Willis, *Agamemnon*.  
Wm. Allen, *Agamemnon*.  
Peter Hanlan, *Curlew*.  
George Milestone, *Weser*.  
J. Trewavas, *Agamemnon*.  
Lieut.-Col. Geo. Gardiner Alexander, Naval Brigade.  
Major W. Friend Hopkins.  
Major Wm. Henry Mareh.  
Major Geo. Stephen Digby.  
Captain David Blyth.  
Capt. Geo. Brydges Rodney.  
Lieut. Frederick Geo. Pym.  
Lieut. Arthur Chas. Steele.  
Lieut. Archib. A. Douglas.  
Lieut. Harrison John Jull.  
Sergeant Charles Horner.  
Sergeant George Yule.  
Sergeant Edwin Richards.  
Sergeant John Jordan.  
Corporal Wm. Chappel.  
Thomas Wilkinson.  
John Bull.  
Thomas Kerr.  
John Bunton.  
John Osborn.

The French government made a liberal distribution of the military war medals among the British troops in the Crimea, and such as returned home without having obtained the distinction on the scene of their noble exploits. This mark of attention the non-commissioned officers and soldiers of the English army exceedingly prized, and it was productive of advantage in sustaining a good feeling between the two armies.

The following is an abstract of the statistical report of Marshal Vaillant, Minister of War. It is an important document, and furnishes all the official information necessary connected with the supplies, dispatch, sustenance, and return of the French army.

"The report commences with remarking on the immense resources required for the transport and maintenance of upwards of 200,000 men in the East, three-fourths of whom were

French. Then follows a table, showing the number of men sent out, and of those returned. The former, comprising not only those embarked in France, but also those shipped from Algeria, Corsica, and Civita Vecchia amounted to 309,268 men, with 41,974 horses. The losses amounted to 69,229 men, including 1781 missing, and 392 lost in the shipwreck of the *Sémillante*. The total number of men returned was 227,135, leaving a difference of 12,904 men to be accounted for. These comprise partly all who, without belonging to the army, followed it to its destination, and partly the officers and men sent to the East at different times, the wounded sent home and who had gone out again, &c. Most of the horse sent out have been sold to the Ottoman government, only 9000 having returned to France and Algeria.

"The document then proceeds to give a long list of new regiments or squadrons levied for the occasion, the creation of the Imperial Guard, and the additions made to different regiments. Nearly all the troops were embarked either at Toulon or Marseilles, under the direction of General Rostolan, whose zeal in that service is acknowledged in terms of the highest praise. All the orders of the emperor and of the minister of war were transmitted by telegraph with the greatest regularity and promptitude. The troops were encamped at different points of the 8th and 9th military divisions and not sent to Toulon or Marseilles until there were vessels ready to receive them. A committee of officers, under the presidency of a general, inspected the berths, and fixed the number of men and horses to be taken on board, so as to prevent overcrowding; and each detachment received, on embarking, printed instructions concerning sanitary precautions, and the rules to be observed on first landing in the East. Medicines and physicians were provided for merchant-vessels as well as for those of the state. The wounded or convalescent sent home were received on landing in a special depot where they were nursed for a few days, after which they were sent either to the depot of their regiment, or to the place where they were to enjoy their furlough. The hospital accommodation on the coasts of the Mediterranean had been considerably increased in order to meet the exigencies of the war, and the sick who arrived were sent to other hospitals, further inland, as soon as they were able to bear the journey.

"When it became certain that the troops were to return to France, it was ascertained that typhus fever was raging in the Crimea and at Constantinople. The emperor, being anxious about that state of things, ordered three extensive camps, provided with all possible hospital conveniences, to be established

on the shores of the Mediterranean, at the Isle of Porquerolles, at the Ile St. Marguerite, and on the beach of Cavalaire, near St. Tropez—the last being set apart more particularly for cavalry. Similar arrangements were effected in the ports of Algeria, where a considerable portion of the troops were to land. The report here enters at some length into an account of the sanitary measures determined on, and then proceeds to show that so excellent were the precautions taken, that very little necessity was found to exist for these establishments, and now they have for some time ceased to exist.

“A delay of six months from the 27th of April, the date of the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty of peace, had been fixed for the complete evacuation of the territory occupied by the allies. That operation commenced on the 11th of April, and in less than three months after, on the 5th of July, notwithstanding all the embarrassments and delays caused by the malady which then prevailed in the army, Marshal Pelissier, who desired to himself superintend the re-embarkation of all his soldiers, left the Crimea the last of all; and on the 18th of August, Constantinople beheld the last of the French troops leave her shores under General Pariset.

“The report then gives an account of the artillery and material which were at the disposal of the army of the East, and which consisted of 1676 guns of large calibre, 2083 gun-carriages, 2740 waggons, 2,128,000 shot and shells, and 4,000,000 kilogrammes of powder. It then proceeds in the following terms:— ‘As soon as the expedition to the Crimea was determined on, a siege-train of sixty guns, which had been collected at Toulon to provide for all eventualities, was embarked and dispatched to the Crimea. It was with this siege-train that we presented ourselves before Sebastopol. The energy of the defence; the immense quantity of cannon possessed by the town; the absence of a regular investment, which lent to the siege a peculiar character, by allowing the enemy to replenish their stores, speedily proved the insufficiency of the means of attack, and measures were therefore taken to give them a sufficient development. Three supplementary siege-trains were dispatched to the Crimea: the first of 58 pieces, the second of 46, the third of 150. Each piece was supplied with from 1500 to 2000 rounds. The Pyrotechnic School succeeded in constructing 7000 to 8000 rockets, having a flight of from 5000 to 7000 metres, which were sent to the sea of war. The commander-in-chief of the army withdrew from the arsenal of Constantinople 140 pieces of cannon and an immense amount of powder. He demanded from the fleet, for the arming of his batteries during

the course of the siege, 605 cannon of the heaviest calibre, of which 238 were firing in the last days of the siege. Finally, as the defence was prolonged, the emperor commanded 400 mortars to be sent out, each supplied with 1000 rounds, which were to bombard the place without cessation, and render the Russian works uninhabitable. By this means more than 830 shells could have been thrown every hour, or 14 every minute, during 20 consecutive days and nights. A portion of these mortars only were placed in battery, the siege having terminated before the remainder arrived. The consumption of gunpowder was enormous, and exceeded 4,850,000 kilogrammes. The transport of all this immense amount of material, which weighed above 50,000,000 kilogrammes, would have been impossible in times when railroads did not exist; but with the network of lines which connect Marseilles with the principal cities of the empire, impossibilities disappeared, and not the slightest delay ever occurred to interrupt or disturb the continued embarkations. Such was, besides, the care which presided over these operations, that 3,000,000 kilogrammes of gunpowder, 70,000,000 infantry cartridges, 270,000 rounds for field-pieces, and an immense quantity of bombs, shells, and other articles arrived at their destination without an accident. The artillery, seconded by six companies of marines, by sailors from the fleet, and by the assistance of infantry, constructed, armed, and served during the siege, 118 batteries. These batteries necessitated the employment of 800,000 sandbags and 50,000 gabions. On the day of assault their armament was composed of 620 pieces. They had fired more than 1,100,000 rounds, and had consumed more than 3,000,000 kilogrammes of powder. In spite of this enormous consumption, which has no equal in history, each piece remained, after the capture, supplied with from 800 to 900 rounds. Forty pieces were alone unserviceable. The material brought back to France amounts to 50,000,000 kilogrammes, of which 12,000,000 had belonged to Russia.’

“The report then goes into a detail of the different *matériel* of the engineering department, giving both the numbers and the total weights of the different articles. Among them were 920,000 sandbags, 250 ladders of different kinds, &c.; and, in short, an immense supply of every kind of tool that could be required. The wood to be employed for siege-works, and the construction of temporary hospitals, hut-barracks, and storehouses for provisions and stores, weighed 7,971,600 kilogrammes; tar, 223,000 kilogrammes; canvas for covering huts, 10,000 kilogrammes, &c. The total weight amounted to 14,159,520 kilogrammes, and that of the *matériel* brought back

to 2,400,000 kilogrammes. The document then observes:—‘The engineering, mining, and siege implements were furnished chiefly by the engineering arsenals of Metz and Algiers, but partly by private industry. One thousand and fifty wooden huts for 30,000 men were embarked in the month of February, 1855; and 1850 for 45,000 men were ordered in England, and left Southampton in January, 1855. Every hut was supplied with a stove. Stabling for about 10,000 horses was made in Paris, and embarked at Marseilles in January, 1855. The engineers dug, in the course of this ever-memorable siege, 20 leagues of trenches, employed 80,000 gabions, 60,000 fascines, and nearly 1,000,000 sandbags. The bays of Kamiesch and Kazatch were defended by a line of works connected by redoubts, known as the lines of Kamiesch, which was 8000 metres long. These lines were formed of a broad parapet, protected by a ditch hollowed out of the rock, and were flanked by eight heavily-armed redoubts. But what above all distinguishes this siege from all others is the immense difficulties of the covered ways made in the rock by means of blasting with gunpowder, and in front of a fortified place, having for garrison a whole army, constantly renewed and supplied with provisions. One obstacle included in those triumphed over by the engineers was the skilful subterranean defence of the enemy, which formed an immense network of passages, 6000 metres in extent, and established in the rock, in the form of several galleries, one over the other, the deepest of which was 16 metres beneath the earth.’

‘The commissariat supplies dispatched to the army comprised the following articles:—Biscuits, 12,792,300 kilogrammes; flour, 21,405 kilogrammes; dried vegetables, 193,000 kilogrammes; preserved vegetables, 341,900 kilogrammes; rice, 3,586,800 kilogrammes; salt, 79,400 kilogrammes; sugar, 2,763,100 kilogrammes; coffee, 2,149,600 kilogrammes; salt pork, 5,242,400 kilogrammes; salt beef, 518,200 kilogrammes; preserved beef, 3,053,700 kilogrammes; fresh meat, 10,000 head; wine, 116,567 hectolitres; brandy and rum, 13,766 hectolitres; firewood, 1,944,900 kilogrammes; coal, 15,772,300 kilogrammes; hay, 77,403,400 kilogrammes; barley or oats, 83,700,000 kilogrammes. The amount of commissariat stores brought back to France amounted to about 25,000,000 kilogrammes. The transport of the supplies taken out was effected in 1800 voyages; the cargoes were loaded at ports in the following countries:—460 in France, 566 in Algeria, 4 in Spain, 77 in England, 5 in Belgium, 600 in Italy, 88 in Egypt and Syria.

‘The report, under the head of clothing and equipments, gives the following list:—‘Flannel belts, 654,882; portable tents, 347,319; camp blankets, 371,787; calico shirts, 354,529;

leather gaiters, 42,527 pairs; linen gaiters 163,429 pairs; grey linen trousers, 9000 shoes, 328,269 pairs; boots with spurs, 32,390 pairs; drawers, 132,336; houses, 25,010; supports for portable tents, 183,265; cotton cravats, 200,000; wooden shoes, 238,597 pairs; worsted socks, 189,162 pairs; greatcoats with collar and hood, 251,399; worsted stockings, 220,000 pairs; worsted gloves, 215,000 pairs; comforters, 253,576; sheepskin coats, 90,000 pairs; Bulgarian gaiters, 163,739 pairs; sheepskin gaiters, 15,000.’

‘The above list of articles of clothing is followed by another of camp equipage, which it is needless to specify, but which was most abundantly supplied. The number of horse-shoes stands in the list at 817,216, and the horseshoe nails at 6,193,400. The report then makes the following observations:—‘The camp material which existed in the government stores, at the opening of the war, was only sufficient for the wants of an army of from 70,000 to 80,000 men; but, by means of private contracts, the number of tents for the East was in a short period raised to an amount sufficient to shelter 280,000 men, exclusive of those designed for officers. The first tents were constructed with a roof; but the experience of the hurricane of the 14th of November, 1854, proved that the conical form employed in Turkey offered a greater resistance to the weather, and that form was afterwards adopted in the construction of all the tents dispatched in 1855. An important portion of the camp material and clothing was not made use of, and was brought back to France and Algeria.’

‘The document then gives a list of the different articles supplied for the service of the hospitals. Among them were 12,000 iron bedsteads; 15,000 wooden ditto, purchased in Turkey; 39,500 blankets in wool, and 3500 cotton; 30,000 mattresses; 546 cases, complete, of surgical instruments of all kinds; 133,000 kilogrammes of large and small linens for dressings; 32,000 roller bands; 49,000 kilogrammes of lint; 80,000 kilogrammes of different kinds of linens for dressings; 5000 trusses for ruptures; 8000 kilogrammes concentrated milk; 1000 kilogrammes of portable soup; 3000 kilogrammes of granulated gluten; 25,000 kilogrammes of preserved vegetables. On these articles the report remarks:—‘The 27,000 beds collected during the first few months of the war represented a greater number than those contained in the permanent military hospitals of all France, where there exist only 19,000 beds. According to orders received from the emperor, a religious service was organised, and spiritual assistance was always at the call of the soldier. The hospital attendants displayed the greatest devotedness,

and, with the admirable Sisters of St. Vincent de Paulo watched over the wounded and sick, both in the ambulances and hospitals, with incessant attention. The Catholic service in the fourteen hospitals in Constantinople was confided to the congregation of Lazarists, which has a college in that city. . . . Each ambulance waggon contained 2000 sets of linen for the dressing of wounds; consequently the army was provided with 220,000 sets, which were replaced by supplies from Constantinople. . . . Concentrated milk, portable soup from England, and preserved vegetables were found of great value, and will in future form part of all hospital stores. About a third of the hospital *matériel* was brought back to France.'

"Among the principal articles mentioned in the list of military equipages are 920 military waggons, 118 ambulance waggons, 477 park waggons, 70 portable forges, 4796 sets of harness, 2560 saddles, 16,611 horse-cloths, spare articles for replacing with wood, iron, &c., for repairs, making up a weight of 2,700,000 kilogrammes. On this point the report observes:—'The means of land transport possessed by the army of the East, considerable as they were (11,000 men and 8000 horses or mules), would have been unable to assure the perfect execution of the services required without the conveyances purchased in the East and in France. This auxiliary material consisted of 400 Maltese carts, 300 Larseilles carts, 100 Boukoure carts, and 1600 Turkish arabas and tekis. At the end of the campaign there existed at the disposal of the commander-in-chief, 2728 native drivers, 11,346 animals (horses, mules, oxen, and buffaloes), and 2425 carts of all kinds. The harness and other material sent out represented a weight of 7956 tons.'

"The report then briefly refers to the organisation of a civil administration at Kamiesch, and the means taken to ascertain and note down the death of all persons connected with the army. It also speaks of the means adopted for paying the troops. Everything in this department was so perfectly organised that the troops received their pay and allowances exactly as they had done in France. The persons intrusted with that department were also placed over the post-office department. The report on this point says:—'The service of the treasury has been assured, as in preceding campaigns, by the following means—1. The direct dispatch of funds. 2. Realisation on the spot by the issue of bills. The latter plan produced important results, and the favour which the bills of the treasury obtained in the East was so great, that it was necessary to issue some of 20,000f. and 10,000f. The issues amounted to as much as 12,000,000f. a month. The payments effected in the East from the month

of April, 1854, from the credits granted by the minister of war, amounted, to July 1st, 1856, to 285,646,160f. 45c., of which 275,457,340f. 64c. were on draughts of the Intendance Militaire, 1,914,265f. 16c. on those of the chiefs of service of the artillery, and 8,274,554f. 65c. on those of the chiefs of the service of engineers. The expenses of the war have always been verified, paid, and definitely examined within the periods fixed by the regulations for the expenses on a peace footing, an advantageous solution in every point of view, and the more remarkable from the fact that in no preceding war could such a result be obtained.'

"At the commencement of the campaign the necessity of establishing rapid communications between head-quarters and detached corps was at once recognised. With this view, a corps composed of two inspectors, five directors, and fifty-one clerks, furnished with sixteen portable semaphore telegraphs, was dispatched to the Crimea. Subsequently, the English government having had the idea of connecting Balaklava and Varna by a submarine telegraph, the emperor ordered at once that Varna should be placed in connection with the Germanic telegraphs. In a short time the line from Bucharest to Varna, sixty leagues in length, was established and united to the submarine cable. A lithographic press, which had been attached to head-quarters at the opening of the campaign, being found insufficient, a printing-press was dispatched to the Crimea by the care of the director of the imperial printing establishments. The report then refers as follows to the measures adopted for conveying troops and stores:—'The imperial navy, without ceasing to meet all the other wants of the service, co-operated as follows in the work of transport:—thirty-two sail of the line, thirty-eight frigates, twenty-one corvettes, twenty-four transports, and seventeen small steamers, making together 132 vessels, made 905 voyages, and transported either out or home 270,780 men, 4266 and 116,661 tons of *matériel*. The English government placed at the disposal of the emperor eight vessels of the Royal Navy and forty-two merchantmen, chartered by the Admiralty, which carried together to the East 38,353 men, 1972 horses, and 6624 tons of stores. The French War Department chartered, in 1854 and 1855, sixty-six steamers and 1198 sailing vessels of all sizes. The sixty-six steamers and twenty-two large clippers formed a kind of fleet which, until the end of the war, kept constantly running to and fro between the East and the different ports where the supplies were collected. The steam-packets of the Compagnie des Messageries Impériales also carried troops and stores twice a week. For bringing back the army the War Department continued to employ

forty-eight steamers and 253 sailing vessels, of which fourteen were large clippers. The total transport effected by the War Department amounted to 224,270 men, 44,736 horses or mules, and 601,251 tons of stores. In addition to the means of transport indicated above, the *intendant-général* in the Crimea and the military intendant at Constantinople chartered a great number of vessels for revictualling the army. These vessels were exclusively employed in conveying to the Crimea the provisions and forage purchased on the coast of the Black Sea and in other parts of Turkey. The *ensemble* of the maritime transports may be thus summed up:—Sent to the East 309,268 men, 41,974 horses, and 597,686 tons of stores; brought back, 227,135 men, 9000 horses, and 126,850 tons of stores; making together, 536,403 men, 50,974 horses, and 724,536 tons.’

“The report concludes as follows:—‘The troops and stores embarked at Marseilles were conveyed to that port principally by the railway from Paris to the Mediterranean, and had that line not existed the operations of the war would certainly have lost much of their unity and rapidity. The emperor, in throwing back his thoughts to a few years only, may remember with satisfaction that one of his energetic initiative was to remove the obstacles which, up to that period, had prevented the termination of that great line which was promptly

destined to contribute to the brilliant success of his army.’”

Small as was the part taken by the navy of France in the war, its losses were great. The *Moniteur de la Flotte* published the returns of the casualties experienced by the French imperial navy during the expeditions to the Crimea, the Baltic, and Petropaulovski, in 1854, 1855, and 1856. The ships’ crews lost eleven officers and 144 seamen killed by the enemy’s fire, and thirty-nine officers and 3237 men who died of their wounds or from sickness—in all, fifty officers and 3381 men; the naval artillery corps had two officers and thirty-one non-commissioned officers and soldiers killed, and three officers and 231 non-commissioned officers who died of their wounds or from sickness—in all, five officers and 262 men; and the marine infantry, nine officers and seventy-three non-commissioned officers and men killed, and twelve officers and 1057 non-commissioned officers and men who died of their wounds or from sickness—in all, twenty-one officers and 1130 men. Total—270 killed and 4579 dead; in all, 4849.

As this chapter has been chiefly devoted to the home events bearing upon the war in connection with our ally, the next will be devoted to such remaining incidents as concern England more especially.

## CHAPTER CXXV.

HOME EVENTS CONNECTED WITH THE WAR CONTINUED.—PARTY DEBATES IN PARLIAMENT.—GREAT NAVAL REVIEW AT PORTSMOUTH.—INCOME AND EXPENDITURE OF THE YEAR.—PROCLAMATION OF PEACE.—PUBLIC THANKSGIVING.—ORDERS AND DECORATIONS FOR THE ARMY AND NAVY.

“What the citizens are of a state such are the soldiers. If the former deal with public affairs resolutely and wisely, respecting and maintaining independence, liberty, and order, the army will be brave, well-disciplined, and equally characterised by foresight and enterprise.”—*Extract from a Leader, written by the Author of this History, in a London Journal.*

The parliamentary debates in England were very stormy during the whole session; and just as the policy of the war had been eagerly discussed in previous sessions, so the policy of the peace was discussed with much fervour in this. One of the subjects which most fiercely engaged the opposite parties in the legislature was the application of the Turkish loan, the granting of which had so nearly broken up the ministry on a previous occasion. It was now contended that by withholding the instalments from the Turkish government it was unable to meet the requirements of its armies, to pay or feed the troops either in the Crimea or Asia; and that if the Turkish loan had been paid, the Porte would have seasonably sent troops and resources to General Williams. The government declared that it had been laid under

necessity in its mode of distributing the loan, as so thoroughly did speculation prevail among the pashas, and in the whole administration of the sultan’s service, civil and military, that the money would have been applied to personal purposes had it not been carefully doled out by the English government. That error existed in the way the agents of the British government managed this matter could hardly be disputed, but that the motive was good where the mode was bad was equally plain; and no one could doubt, who knew anything of Turkish affairs, that the whole loan would have been plundered by the pashas, if some precautions had not been taken against such an event. The matter was not investigated in the British parliament in a spirit of fair and loyal inquiry, but debated with a temper and

party spirit undignified and unpatriotic. The opposition dishonoured themselves, their party, and country, in this and other of the sessional debates.

Sir de Lacy Evans made an attempt to convince the house that the purchase of commissions in the army was bad in principle and in policy; but neither the extensive support which he received, nor his own knowledge, experience, and eloquence, enabled him to overcome the prejudice or the power of those who were in favour of the old order of things. The gallant general had to defend himself against wanton and malicious attack; he committed the crime, in the eyes of a large section of the house, of being true to the popular institutions of his country, and of desiring to conform the army to their spirit, as far as the nature of military institutions allowed.

Among the incidents which drew forth attention was a visit from the King of the Belgians to the queen. His majesty's visits generally preluded some political movement, and therefore excited considerable interest among the quidnuncs of London clubs and coffee-houses. The king's visit was, however, unostentatious, and whether it was connected with the political movements in Paris never clearly transpired. It may have been only a visit of affection and courtesy to his royal niece and nephew.

On the 23rd of April one of the grandest sights ever witnessed from the shores of England was presented at Portsmouth. Never were the waters of the Solent so crowded with "craft of all dimensions" as on that day. Notwithstanding the shameful failures of the English navy in the Pacific, and the dilatory proceedings of the Admiralty, which rendered the blockades in the White Sea so much less effective than they ought to have been—although the massacre of Sinope did take place, and "Old Charley" nursed his gout or drank his grog, when he ought to have been reconnoitring Sweaborg,—still the Russian navy of the Euxine had perished rather than meet Dundas; the stores, granaries, and fisheries, were swept from the coasts of the Sea of Azoff; and not a ship of the enemy dare put to sea for two years in the Baltic. After all, Britannia did "rule the waves," and was more able to rule them than ever.

The fleet was assembled for her majesty's personal review, and consisted of 240 steam vessels, including gun-boats, mortar-boats, and floating batteries. There were three vessels of 100 guns each, six of 91, an equal number of 80 guns, and vessels of every order; frigates, brigs, sloops, &c., had their proportionate numbers. The steam-power equalled that of 31,000 horses, and the guns carried were 3000. The fleet covered a space of twelve

miles, and was manned by 30,000 sailors and marines.

From every part of the British Isles, and from various parts of the continent, visitors crowded to witness the glorious array. A beautiful French screw corvette made her appearance, having on board Rear-admiral La Gravière, and about forty officers of rank in the French navy. The day was sunny as April days in the pleasant south of England so often are, and nothing occurred to mar the enjoyment which the vast multitude expected. At eight o'clock the whole fleet was "dressed," gay flags flaunted in the air from every appropriate position; martial music from French and English ships sounded sweetly over the scarcely rippled waters; and the sea gleamed with light, as if it exulted in the smile of the morning sky. The beautiful clearness of the scene was not dimmed by the smoke of the steamers, for an Admiralty order had been issued to burn anthracite. Everything connected with the Admiralty was destined, however, to exhibit some mismanagement, from the proclamation of war until, in the pride of victory, the fleets of England were paraded before their queen; it was, therefore, not surprising that the rule to burn anthracite was disregarded by the Admiralty itself—for its own yacht, the *Black Eagle*, steamed up to the fleet with a huge volume of smoke reeking from its funnels.

Her majesty arrived by train at mid-day, and proceeded on board her yacht, the *Victoria and Albert*, having in her suite the Marquis Townsend, Mr. Osborne, secretary to the Admiralty, Sir Edmund Lyons, and Admiral de la Gravière. As the yacht steamed out towards Spithead the multitudes rent the air with their acclamations. The ships also manned their yards as her majesty's vessel passed. The manœuvres were conducted with great skill, and without accident; and her majesty's cheek was flushed with pride and pleasure to behold these "wooden walls" of Old England still impregnable. Her majesty did not return to London until six o'clock in the evening. At nine the fleet was illuminated, and seldom was a more brilliant sight witnessed in connection with a pyrotechnic display. The yards and port-holes were simultaneously lit with blue-lights, and the effects produced by the difference of elevation, the extensive line of the ships, and the reflection of the water, were unique and beautiful. So sudden was the gush of light that the multitudes on shore raised a mighty and simultaneous cheer, which was answered vociferously by the tars, whose cheers were followed by flights of rockets and a display of other fireworks. Sir George Seymour, the commander of the fleet, entertained the officers at the Admiralty

House, and the gentlemen of the French navy were treated with marked distinction.

The *mal apropos* smoking of the Admiralty yacht was not the only blunder committed by "the board." It was a part of the programme of this brilliant day that her majesty should be attended in passing through the fleet by the members of both houses of parliament. Their lordships and honourable members proceeded by rail to Southampton, and were delayed two hours by the breaking down of an engine. When they arrived at Southampton Water there was but one tender provided for so large a number of gentlemen. The steamers *Transit* and *Perseverance* received them from on board the tender. The peers passed into the *Transit*, but she was an incapable hulk, and their lordships did not arrive until the review was nearly at a close. Yet this miserable ship was afterwards used to transport large bodies of troops, when fresh disasters to her machinery exposed her still more noble freight to imminent destruction. If Mr. Osborne was right in saying that the *Serpentine* should be turned through the Horse Guards, as the Admiralty is not far off, it would be a pity not to give it the same benefit. Explanations were demanded in parliament of this disgraceful proceeding. Lord Campbell said it enabled him to understand the doings at Balaklava, and he no longer wondered at the misfortunes which occurred there. He declared that such scenes of confusion and mismanagement he never before witnessed. The government could give no explanation—it was the fault of the "system" somehow, no one knew how; but as the *Times* pertinently asked on another occasion—"Who made the system, who keeps it up, and who by mal-administration renders it still worse than it is?" Mr. Stafford declared that affairs were conducted in the East, as he had constantly witnessed, precisely in the same way. The press of the Continent and of the United States made merry at the expense of the English government and people, and tauntingly asked of what avail were the greatest naval resources, and the bravest men, if the people did not possess genius to manage these resources, or that the character of their administrative institutions was such as to deprive that genius of its legitimate opportunity. On the whole, the effect of the review with the people and with foreigners was to raise the resources of England in their esteem, but to lower still more their respect for the administrative talent of those in official places.

The financial returns for the year ending with March, 1856, were most encouraging, and proved the great pecuniary resources of England for war or peace. The following is a brief abstract of income and expenditure:—

"The public income for the year ended the

31st of March, 1856, amounted to £70,552,148 against £64,091,571 in 1855, and the expenditure to £93,149,310 against £70,236,817 in 1855. Thus there was an excess of expenditure over income in 1855-56 of £22,597,165, and an excess of £6,145,246 in the year 1854-55. The customs (in 1855-56) yielded £35,635,552; the excise, £5,210,384; stamps, £7,063,610; the assessed and land taxes, £3,136,077; the income-tax, £15,159,458 against £10,922,267 in the year ended the 31st of March, 1855; the post-office, £2,767,201; and crown lands, £421,715. The duties on spirits and wines remain very stationary; those on malt, coffee, tobacco, snuff, and sugar have increased. The house-tax yields £728,689, and land-taxes £1,157,525. The expenditure in 1855-56 included £2,863,353; for collecting the revenue, £28,112,825; for the public debt, £1,695,052; for the civil government, £3,192,420; for law and justice, £366,443; for diplomatic salaries, £47,461,188; for the army, navy, and ordnance (against £28,321,707 in the preceding year), and £4,200,000 for the vote of credit (war with Russia). The army cost the country £17,395,059; the navy, £19,654,585, and the ordnance, £10,411,544. The civil list, privy purse, the salaries of the royal household, and the payments of the queen's tradespeople include the sum total of £371,808, and the allowances to the several branches of the Royal family £151,788. King Leopold repays into the exchequer £33,500 out of his pension of £50,000, after making sundry deductions for the discharge of annuities and pensions to the establishment of the late Princess Charlotte."

On the 29th of April peace was proclaimed. Great curiosity was felt by the public, and early in the day crowds assembled in the neighbourhoods of St. James's Palace and along Charing Cross. About twelve the procession left the Palace Yard, when three blasts were given from a trumpet, and "garter king-of-arms" read aloud the proclamation; the people gave three cheers, the trumpets gave another blast, and the procession proceeded on its way to Charing Cross, in the following order:—A troop of the 2nd Life Guards, under the command of Lieutenant-colonel Ogilvy; the beades of Westminster, walking two and two, with staves; the high constable, with his staff, on horseback; the high bailiff and deputy-steward of Westminster; knight marshal's men, two and two; drums, drum-major, trumpets, and sergeant-trumpeter; Sir Charles Young, garter king-of-arms, on horseback; three pursuivants, habited in their tabards—viz., Mr. J. R. Planché, rouge croix, riding alone, followed by H. M. Lane, blue mantle, and Mr. G. W. Collen, portcullis, riding abreast, and flanked on each side by three.

sergeants-at-arms, three of whom carried each a gold mace; four heralds, also habited in tabards, riding two and two abreast—viz., Mr. W. Courthope, Somerset herald, Mr. G. Harrison, Windsor herald, Mr. T. W. King, York herald, and Mr. A. W. Woods, Lancaster herald; Mr. R. Laurie, Norroy king-of-arms, followed by another troop of Life Guards, bringing up the rear. When the party reached Charing Cross, the proclamation was read for the second time by Norroy king-of-arms, “looking towards Whitehall,” in conformity with ancient precedent. The proclamation itself was as follows:—

“Whereas, a definite treaty of peace and friendship between us and our allies and his imperial majesty the Emperor of all the Russias, was concluded at Paris on the 30th day of March last, and the ratifications thereof have now been duly exchanged; in conformity thereunto we have thought fit hereby to command that the same be published throughout all our dominions; and we do declare to all our loving subjects our will and pleasure that the said treaty of peace and friendship be observed inviolably, as well by sea as by land, and in all cases whatsoever, strictly charging and commanding all our loving subjects to take notice hereof, and to conform themselves thereunto accordingly. Given at our court at Buckingham Palace this 28th day of April, in the year of our Lord 1856, and in the 19th year of our reign.—God save the Queen.”

At Temple Bar, according to custom, the city gates were closed. The junior pursuivant, after three soundings of the trumpet, gave the knocks, upon which the city marshal demanded—“Who comes there?” The pursuivant replied that they were “Officers of arms,” and were come for the proclamation of peace. The pursuivant was then permitted to enter alone, to present his warrant to the lord mayor. His lordship then authorised the opening of the gates, and the procession entered the city amidst the cheers of the multitude. The proclamation was read within the city bounds, and the lord mayor took his place in the procession as it moved on to the Mansion House and the Royal Exchange, where the proclamation was read for the last time. The concourse was very great all along the line, especially within the city; but there was no grandeur nor even dignity in the way in which the matter was conducted; and although the people cheered, especially at Temple Bar and the Exchange, there was no enthusiasm; all felt, however, the importance of the event thus formally recognised.

The first act of the government in connection with the proclamation of peace was the appropriate one of appointing a day of public thanksgiving. The 4th of May was selected for that

purpose, and was recognised by nearly all the religious communities in the British Isles.

Scarcely had the day of religious acknowledgments to God for the providential bestowment of peace passed away, when the fierce party spirit of the British parliament broke loose. On the 5th of May the Earl of Ellesmere proposed a vote of the peers upon a congratulatory address to her majesty. His lordship lauded the good faith of Russia in terms which were all falsified by subsequent events, when only in the result of another conference at Paris, and renewed demonstrations of force on the part of England and Austria, Russia fulfilled her part of the treaty stipulations. His lordship was equally unfortunate in his panegyrics upon the French ministry, who so soon did their best to sacrifice their allies to the enemy, and accept that enemy as an ally, conniving at his perfidious designs. The conduct of France was more treacherous than that of Russia, when the good faith of all the parties to the treaty came to be tested. The motion proposed by the noble earl was happily expressed:—“That a humble address be presented to her majesty, to return to her majesty the sincere acknowledgments and thanks of this house for the important communication, which her majesty has been graciously pleased to make to this house, of the general treaty concluded at Paris on the 30th of March, between her majesty, the Emperor of Austria, the Emperor of the French, the King of Prussia, the Emperor of Russia, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, by which peace has been re-established between her majesty, the Emperor of the French, the King of Sardinia, and the Sultan, on the one hand, and the Emperor of Russia on the other. To assure her majesty that, while we should have deemed it our duty cheerfully to afford her majesty our firm support, if it had unfortunately been found necessary to continue the war, we have learnt with joy and satisfaction that her majesty has been enabled to re-establish peace on conditions honourable to her majesty’s crown, and which fully accomplish the great objects for which the war was undertaken. To express to her majesty the great satisfaction which we feel at finding that while those alliances which have so mainly contributed to the vigorous and successful prosecution of the war have been equally effective in the consolidation of peace, powers which have not taken an active part in the war have combined with the belligerents to give additional firmness to the arrangements by which the repose of Europe is in future to be protected from disturbance. To state to her majesty that we rejoice that, notwithstanding the great exertions which the late war has rendered necessary, the resources of the empire remain unimpaired. To express our hope that the peace

which has now been concluded may, under the favour of Divine Providence, long continue to shed its blessings over Europe, and that harmony among governments, and friendly intercourse among nations, may steadily promote the progress of civilisation, and secure the welfare and happiness of mankind." This proposition was seconded by Lord Glenelg, and gave rise to a debate upon the merits of the war, in which Lord Malmesbury appeared to rather better advantage than usual, which could hardly be said for any other noble lord who took part in the debate, except Lord Clarendon, who, always able and eloquent, in this instance surpassed himself. Lord Aberdeen, while ostensibly approving of the peace, slyly depreciated the efforts of the ministry, as well as the result of their labours. A similar motion in the Commons was made by Mr. E. Denison, and seconded by Mr. H. Herbert. The debate which followed was more captious than that in the Lords, and much less clever. The speech which most ably and faithfully represented the feelings and opinions of the people of England, was that delivered by Mr. Monckton Milnes.

The home proceedings which bore upon the war of course ceased with the proclamation of peace, and the parliamentary debates attendant upon that event; but there were various incidents connected with the arrival of the troops full of interest; these, however, we reserve for another chapter, which will relate the events connected with the army, from the proclamation of peace until the arrival of the troops at home. Arrangements were made by the government to confer honour upon the troops by the distinction of various badges and orders. The following comprise the decorations thus accorded:—

#### *I.—Medals and Clasps.*

A medal was ordered for service in the Crimea, and a clasp for each of the great actions.

The following admiralty order shows the arrangement under this head for the navy:—

*Admiralty, May 1, 1856.*

Her majesty having been graciously pleased to signify her intention of granting the "Sebastopol" clasp to the officers and crews of her majesty's ships employed in co-operation with the land-forces in the reduction of Sebastopol, as well as a clasp, bearing on it the word "Azoff," to the officers and crews of her majesty's vessels employed in the Sea of Azoff, the lords commissioners of the Admiralty hereby give notice of the same.

The period for which the "Sebastopol" clasp is to be awarded for services as aforesaid, dates from the 1st of October, 1854, to the 9th of September, 1855.

The "Azoff" clasp will be awarded to the officers and crews of such ships as served in the Sea of Azoff between the 25th of May, 1855, and the 9th of September, 1855, as well as to the officers and men who were employed in the boats of line-of-battle ships, which took part in the operations against Taganrog, or elsewhere within the Sea of Azoff.

In cases in which officers or men have been engaged in any expedition or operation in the Sea of Azoff after the 9th of September, 1855, the period for which the "Azoff" clasp is to be awarded will be extended to the 22nd of November, 1855, and the service for which the same is claimed must in such cases be duly certified.

#### *II.—Inscriptions on Flags.*

*Horse Guards, October 16th, 1855.*

The queen has been graciously pleased to command that, in commemoration of the gallant conduct of the troops concerned, the words "Alma," "Balaklava," and "Inkerman," be borne on the regimental colour of the regiments specified in the accompanying list.

Also that the several corps composing her majesty's army in the Crimea on the 5th of September, 1855, shall bear the inscription "Sebastopol" on the regimental standard or colour, as a memorial of the arduous and successful operations which have led to the reduction of that fortress.

Regiments which have no standards or colours will bear these distinctions on their cap or helmet-plates.

Rifle regiments will wear them on their breastplates and cap-plates.

By command of the Right Hon. Field-marshal  
Viscount Hardinge, commanding-in-chief.

*Regiments authorised to bear the words 'Alma,' 'Balaklava,' 'Inkerman,' and 'Sebastopol.'*

ALMA; BALAKLAVA; INKERMAN; SEBASTOPOL.

4th Light Dragoons; 8th Hussars; 11th Hussars; 13th Light Dragoons; 17th Lancers.

ALMA; INKERMAN; SEBASTOPOL.

Grenadier Guards, 3rd battalion; Coldstream Guards, 1st battalion; Scots Fusilier Guards, 1st battalion; 1st foot, 1st battalion; 1st foot, 2nd battalion; 4th foot; 7th foot; 19th, 20th, 21st, 23rd, 28th, 30th, 33rd, 38th, 41st, 44th, 47th, 49th, 50th, 55th, 63rd, 68th, 77th, 88th, and 95th foot; Rifle Brigade, 1st and 2nd battalions.

ALMA; BALAKLAVA; SEBASTOPOL.

93rd foot.

INKERMAN; SEBASTOPOL.

57th foot.

BALAKLAVA; SEBASTOPOL.

4th Dragoon Guards; 5th Dragoon Guards; 1st Dragoons; 2nd Dragoons; 6th Dragoons.

ALMA; SEBASTOPOL.

42nd foot; 79th foot.

SEBASTOPOL.

1st Dragoon Guards; 6th Dragoon Guards; 10th Hussars; 12th Lancers; 3rd, 9th, 13th, 14th, 17th, 18th, 31st, 34th, 39th, 46th, 48th, 56th, 62nd, 71st, 72nd, 82nd, 89th, 90th, 97th.

### III.—Victoria Order of Merit.

*War Department, February 5th, 1856.*

The queen has been pleased, by an instrument under her royal sign manual, of which the following is a copy, to institute and create a new naval and military decoration, to be styled and designated "The Victoria Cross," and to make the rules and regulations therein set forth under which the said decoration shall be conferred:—

VICTORIA, by the Grace of God, of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. To all to whom these presents shall come greeting;

Whereas we, taking into our royal consideration that there exists no means of adequately rewarding the individual gallant services either of officers of the lower grades in our naval and military service, or of warrant and petty officers, seamen and marines, in our navy, and non-commissioned officers and soldiers in our army; and whereas the third-class of our most honourable Order of the Bath is limited, except in very rare cases, to the higher ranks of both services, and the granting of medals, both in our navy and army, is only awarded for long service or meritorious conduct, rather than for bravery in action or distinction before an enemy, such cases alone excepted where a general medal is granted for a particular action or campaign, or a clasp added to the medal for some special engagement, in both of which cases all share equally in the boon, and those who by their valour have particularly signalled themselves remain undistinguished from their comrades; now, for the purpose of attaining an end so desirable as that of rewarding individual instances of merit and valour, we have instituted and created, and by these presents, for us, our heirs and successors, institute and create a new naval and military decoration, which we are desirous should be highly prized and eagerly sought after by the officers and men of our naval and military services, and are graciously pleased to make, ordain, and establish the following rules and ordinances for the government of the same, which shall from henceforth be inviolably observed and kept:—

1. It is ordained that the distinction shall be styled and designated "The Victoria Cross,"

and shall consist of a Maltese cross of bronze, with our royal crest in the centre, and underneath which an esrol, bearing this inscription—"For valour."

2. It is ordained that the cross shall be suspended from the left breast by a blue ribbon for the navy, and by a red ribbon for the army.

3. It is ordained that the names of those upon whom we may be pleased to confer the decoration shall be published in the *London Gazette*, and a registry thereof kept in the office of our Secretary of State for War.

4. It is ordained that any one who, after having received the cross, shall again perform an act of bravery, which, if he had not received such cross, would have entitled him to it, such further act shall be recorded by a bar attached to the ribbon by which the cross is suspended, and for every additional act of bravery an additional bar may be added.

5. It is ordained that the cross shall only be awarded to those officers or men who have served us in the presence of the enemy, and shall have then performed some signal act of valour or devotion to their country.

6. It is ordained, with a view to place all persons on a perfectly equal footing in relation to eligibility for the decoration, that neither rank, nor long service; nor wounds, nor any other circumstance or condition whatsoever, save the merit of conspicuous bravery, shall be held to establish a sufficient claim to the honour.

7. It is ordained that the decoration may be conferred on the spot where the act to be rewarded by the grant of such decoration has been performed, under the following circumstances:—

I. When the fleet or army in which such act has been performed is under the eye and command of an admiral or general officer commanding the forces.

II. Where the naval or military force is under the eye and command of an admiral or commodore commanding a squadron or detached naval force, or of a general commanding a corps, or division, or brigade on a distinct and detached service, when such admiral, commodore, or general officer, shall have the power of conferring the decoration on the spot, subject to confirmation by us.

8. It is ordained, where such act shall not have been performed in sight of a commanding officer as aforesaid, then the claimant for the honour shall prove the act to the satisfaction of the captain or officer commanding his ship, or to the officer commanding the regiment to which the claimant belongs, and such captain or such commanding officer shall report the same through the usual channel to the admiral

or commodore commanding the force employed on the service, or to the officer commanding the forces in the field, who shall call for such description and attestation of the act as he may think requisite, and on approval shall recommend the grant of the decoration.

9. It is ordained that every person selected for the Cross, under Rule 7, shall be publicly decorated before the naval or military force or body to which he belongs, and with which the act of bravery for which he is to be rewarded shall have been performed, and his name shall be recorded in a general order, together with the cause of his especial distinction.

10. It is ordained that every person selected under Rule 8 shall receive his decoration as soon as possible, and his name shall likewise appear in a general order as above required, such general order to be issued by the naval or military commander of the forces employed on the service.

11. It is ordained that the general orders above referred to shall, from time to time, be transmitted to our Secretary of State for War, to be laid before us, and shall be by him registered.

12. It is ordained that as cases may arise not falling within the rules above specified, or in which a claim, though well founded, may not have been established on the spot, we will, on the joint submission of our Secretary of State for War and of our commander-in-chief of our army, or on that of our Lord High Admiral or lords commissioners of the Admiralty in the case of the navy, confer the decoration, but never without conclusive proof of the performance of the act of bravery for which the claim is made.

13. It is ordained that, in the event of a gallant and daring act having been performed by a squadron, ship's company, a detached body of seamen and marines, not under fifty in number, or by a brigade, regiment, troop, or company, in which the admiral, general, or other officer commanding such forces, may deem that all are equally brave and distinguished, and that no special selection can be made by them, then, in such case, the admiral, general, or other officer commanding, may direct, that for any such body of seamen or marines, or for every troop or company of soldiers, one officer shall be selected by the officers engaged for the decoration; and in like manner one petty officer or non-commissioned officer shall be selected by the petty officers and non-commissioned officers engaged; and two seamen, or private soldiers, or marines, shall be selected by the seamen, or private soldiers, or marines, engaged respectively, for the decoration; and the names of those selected shall be transmitted by the senior officer in command of the naval force, brigade, regiment, troop, or company, to

the admiral or general officer commanding, who shall in due manner confer the decoration as if the acts were done under his own eye.

14. It is ordained that every warrant officer, petty officer, seaman, or marine, or non-commissioned officer or soldier, who shall have received the cross shall, from the date of the act by which the decoration has been gained, be entitled to a special pension of £10 a year, and each additional bar conferred under Rule 4 on such warrant or petty officers, or non-commissioned officers or men, shall carry with it an additional pension of £5 per annum.

15. In order to make such additional provision as shall effectually preserve pure this most honourable distinction, it is ordained, that if any person on whom such distinction shall be conferred be convicted of treason, cowardice, felony, or of any infamous crime, or if he be accused of any such offence, and doth not after a reasonable time surrender himself to be tried for the same, his name shall forthwith be erased from the registry of individuals upon whom the said decoration shall have been conferred by an especial warrant under our royal sign manual, and the pension conferred under Rule 14 shall cease and determine from the date of such warrant. It is hereby further declared, that we, our heirs, and successors, shall be the sole judges of the circumstance demanding such expulsion; moreover, we shall at all times have power to restore such persons as may at any time have been expelled both to the enjoyment of the decoration and pension.

Given at our court at Buckingham Palace this twenty-ninth day of January, in the nineteenth year of our reign, and in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six.

*To our Principal Secretary of State for War.*

By her majesty's command,

PANMURE.

The list of candidates for this order were made up so slowly and irregularly, that they were not complete until long after the war was over. We can only give a specimen of the mode in which at intervals the public were informed by the medium of the *Gazette* of the proceedings of the War-office in this respect:—

*War-office.*

The queen has been graciously pleased to signify her intention to confer the decoration of the Victoria Cross on the undermentioned officers of her majesty's army, who have been recommended to her majesty for that decoration (in accordance with the rules laid down in her majesty's warrant of the 29th of January, 1856) on account of acts of bravery performed by them before the enemy during the late

war, as recorded against their several names, viz. :—

*Grenadier Guards.*

Colonel the Hon. Henry Hugh Manvers Percy; date of act of bravery, the 5th of November, 1854.—At a moment when the Guards were at some distance from the Sandbag Battery, at the Battle of Inkerman, Colonel Percy charged singly into the battery, followed immediately by the Guards. The embrasures of the battery, as also the parapet, were held by the Russians, who kept up a most severe fire of musketry. At the battle of Inkerman Colonel Percy found himself, with many men of various regiments who had charged too far, nearly surrounded by the Russians, and without ammunition. Colonel Percy, by his knowledge of the ground, though wounded, extricated these men, and, passing under a heavy fire from the Russians then in the Sandbag Battery, brought them safe to where ammunition was to be obtained, thereby saving some fifty men, and enabling them to renew the combat. He received the approval of His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge for this action on the spot. Colonel Percy was engaged with and put *hors de combat* a Russian soldier.

*7th Regiment.*

Lieutenant William Hope; date of act of bravery, the 18th of June, 1855.—After the troops had retreated on the morning of the 18th of June, 1855, Lieutenant William Hope being informed by the late Sergeant-major William Bacon, who was himself wounded, that Lieutenant and Adjutant Hobson was lying outside the trenches badly wounded, went out to look for him, and found him lying in the old agricultural ditch running towards the left flank of the Redan. He then returned, and got four men to bring him in. Finding, however, that Lieutenant Hobson could not be removed without a stretcher, he then ran back across the open to Egerton's Pit, where he procured one, and carried it to where Lieutenant Hobson was lying. All this was done under a very heavy fire from the Russian batteries.

Assistant-surgeon Thomas Egerton Hale, M.D.; date of act of bravery, the 8th of September, 1855.—First, for remaining with an officer who was dangerously wounded (Captain Henry Mitchell Jones, 7th regiment) in the fifth parallel, on the 8th of September, 1855, when all the men in the immediate neighbourhood retreated, excepting Lieutenant William Hope and Dr. Hale; and for endeavouring to rally the men in conjunction with Lieutenant William Hope, 7th Royal Fusiliers; secondly, for having, on the 8th of September, 1855, after the regiments had retired into the trenches, cleared the most advanced sap of the wounded, and carried into the sap, under a heavy fire, several wounded men from the open ground, being assisted by Sergeant Charles Fisher, 7th Royal Fusiliers.

*Coldstream Guards.*

Brevet-major John Augustus Conolly (late of the 49th regiment); date of act of bravery, the 26th of October, 1854.—In the attack by the Russians against the position held by the second division on the 26th of October, 1854, Major Conolly, then a lieutenant in the 49th regiment, while in command of a company of that regiment on outlying picket, made himself most conspicuous by the gallantry of his behaviour. He came particularly under the observation of the late Field-marshal Lord Raglan while in personal encounter with several Russians in defence of his post. He ultimately fell dangerously wounded. Lieutenant Conolly was highly praised in general orders, and promoted into the Coldstream Guards as a reward for his exemplary behaviour on this occasion.

Concerning the losses of the British army the people were much surprised when they heard the official declarations. Notwithstanding all the battles and encounters, the double slaughter at the Redan, the light cavalry sacri-

fice at Balaklava, the long and desperate defence at Inkerman, the labour and cold of the trenches, the filthy horrors of Balaklava, the famine of the camps, the abominations and neglect of the transport ships, the hurricane in November, 1854, the cholera, and the confusion and official heartlessness in the hospitals in Turkey, less than 20,000 men, according to the government reports, perished, and less than 3000 in addition were discharged from sickness and wounds, dating from the landing in the Crimea to the treaty of peace. The following was Lord Panmure's statement, made in the House of Lords on the 8th of May, 1856:—"From the 19th of September, 1854, the day on which the army was first engaged in action, to the 28th of September 1855, there were 158 officers and 1775 men killed; died of their wounds, 51 officers and 1548 men; died of cholera, 35 officers and 4244 men; died of other diseases, up to the 31st of December, 1855, 20 officers and 11,425 men; died of their wounds up to the 31st of March last, 322 men: making a total loss by death of 270 officers and 19,314 men. In the same time there were discharged from the service as incapacitated from disease and wounds, altogether 2873 men, making a total loss of 22,467 men killed, died of their wounds, and discharged, up to the 31st of March." Of this loss Lord Panmure assured the peers that only 4000 men were killed in action or died from wounds. Of course many were put *hors de combat* in more than one action who recovered from all their wounds or fell victims to sickness, so that the names of soldiers would occur again and again, swelling the list of casualties, who, returning from the war, were still efficient in the service.

Lord Panmure's statement referred to the army, but it did not include soldiers on board ship, nor the naval brigade, nor the marines. His lordship's account does not agree with a corrected calculation from the various reports made from time to time. These bring up the computation to a figure higher by several thousands. This may be accounted for by several circumstances. His lordship's lists excluded the commissary and hospital departments, also the Army Works and Land-Transport Corps. Besides, his computations only begin with the encounter of the Bulganak, previous to which the sufferings of the soldiers in landing at Old Fort were so great, that on the short march to the bivouac of the Bulganak many men dropped out from cholera, dysentery, thirst, or weakness, who never rejoined their corps; and some of whom, it is to be feared, from the want of transport and ambulances, perished unaided where they fell. Forty thousand would be nearer the total loss than 23,000.

TABULAR STATEMENT, showing the Number KILLED, WOUNDED, and MISSING in each Regiment of the British Army from the Date of the First Landing in the Crimea till the Capture of Sebastopol, September 8th, 1855.

REGIMENTS AND DEPARTMENTS.	KILLED.				WOUNDED.				MISSING.			
	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.	Officers.	Sergeants.	Drummers.	Rank and File.
Staff .....	9	..	..	..	29	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
4th Dragoon Guards .....	..	..	..	2	..	2	..	3	..	..	..	9
5th Dragoon Guards .....	..	..	..	2	4	1	1	5	..	..	..	5
1st Dragoons .....	..	..	..	2	4	5	..	48	..	..	..	..
2nd Dragoons .....	2	5	3	24	2	1	..	23	..	..	..	..
4th Dragoons .....	..	..	..	2	..	3	..	10	..	..	..	..
6th Dragoons .....	2	3	..	25	3	2	1	14	..	..	..	..
8th Dragoons .....	..	2	..	30	3	3	..	21	..	..	..	..
11th Dragoons .....	3	3	1	20	..	2	..	12	..	..	..	..
13th Dragoons .....	3	1	..	32	5	1	2	32	..	..	..	..
17th Dragoons .....	5	3	1	51	15	16	1	348	..	..	..	30
3rd Battalion Grenadier Guards .....	..	..	..	15	8	7	1	210	..	..	..	53
1st Battalion Coldstream Guards .....	10	4	..	55	24	21	3	316	..	..	..	19
1st Battalion Scots Fusileer Guards .....	4	2	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1st Battalion 1st Regiment .....	1	..	..	15	3	5	..	74	..	..	..	..
2nd Battalion 1st Regiment .....	..	1	..	13	7	5	1	92	..	..	..	..
3rd Regiment .....	1	6	..	44	13	16	3	224	1	..	..	2
4th Regiment .....	..	..	..	26	4	3	..	122	1	..	..	18
7th Regiment .....	6	7	2	78	36	34	2	429	1	2	..	..
9th Regiment .....	1	..	..	7	2	5	..	83	..	..	..	..
14th Regiment .....	..	..	..	10	..	2	..	46	..	..	..	..
17th Regiment .....	1	1	..	20	4	8	..	108	..	..	..	1
18th Regiment .....	1	1	..	40	11	26	..	280	..	..	..	1
19th Regiment .....	4	4	1	76	20	15	3	419	..	..	..	7
20th Regiment .....	1	2	..	24	13	17	2	171	..	..	..	29
21st Regiment .....	1	1	..	31	9	18	..	80	..	..	..	13
23rd Regiment .....	11	7	1	116	20	24	7	398	1	1	2	46
28th Regiment .....	..	1	..	20	8	3	1	48	..	..	..	3
30th Regiment .....	8	1	2	101	20	15	4	363	..	..	..	1
31st Regiment .....	2	2	..	14	1	6	1	86	..	..	..	..
33rd Regiment .....	5	5	..	96	23	25	2	350	1	..	..	3
34th Regiment .....	5	2	..	66	17	22	4	308	2	..	..	10
38th Regiment .....	2	4	..	22	8	12	..	212	..	..	..	5
39th Regiment .....	1	..	..	3	..	2	..	42	..	..	..	..
41st Regiment .....	8	7	..	116	16	27	4	387	..	..	..	16
42nd Regiment .....	1	..	..	20	2	5	1	111	..	..	..	1
44th Regiment .....	3	..	2	24	10	13	2	169	..	..	..	7
46th Regiment .....	1	1	..	9	4	5	1	100	..	..	..	12
47th Regiment .....	..	4	..	49	13	6	1	246	..	..	..	..
48th Regiment .....	..	..	..	6	2	5	..	54	..	..	..	1
49th Regiment .....	4	5	1	44	12	20	3	259	..	1	..	1
50th Regiment .....	2	3	..	36	4	3	1	79	2	..	..	11
55th Regiment .....	5	1	..	68	20	23	1	366	..	..	..	9
56th Regiment .....	..	..	..	3	1	1	..	8	..	..	..	..
57th Regiment .....	5	10	1	45	11	21	1	224	..	2	..	3
62nd Regiment .....	6	3	1	24	7	4	..	117	1	1	..	11
63rd Regiment .....	4	..	..	17	10	9	2	111	..	..	..	..
68th Regiment .....	5	..	..	23	4	4	2	114	..	4	..	39
72nd Regiment .....	..	..	..	6	2	1	..	47	..	..	..	..
77th Regiment .....	5	7	1	61	8	18	1	242	..	1	..	11
79th Regiment .....	1	..	..	8	2	7	..	52	..	..	..	..
88th Regiment .....	6	7	..	62	18	27	2	332	..	..	..	21
89th Regiment .....	..	..	..	2	..	4	..	77	1	..	..	..
90th Regiment .....	4	1	..	14	17	15	..	246	..	4	..	33
93rd Regiment .....	1	..	..	16	1	4	1	106	1	..	..	..
95th Regiment .....	7	7	..	69	20	21	1	271	..	..	..	3
97th Regiment .....	6	3	2	43	11	16	..	220	..	4	..	36
1st Battalion Rifle Brigade .....	2	6	1	52	6	7	1	214	..	3	..	10
2nd Battalion Rifle Brigade .....	5	9	..	81	15	22	7	462	..	..	..	..
Royal Artillery .....	12	10	..	94	26	22	..	428	..	..	..	..
Engineers .....	12	1	..	29	16	8	..	70	1	..	..	..
Land-Transport Corps .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
Ambulance Corps .....	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	3	..	..	..	..
Total .....	195	153	20	2104	577	645	71	10084	13	23	2	466

No return of casualties published after the battle of the Alma till the 13th of October.  
The casualties in the Fleet, Naval Brigade, and Royal Marines not ascertained.

Military authorities estimate that an army of 50,000 men requires 16,000 draught horses and baggage mules, with 9000 commissariat mules for its due service—that is, half as many horses as men.

Loss of English Horses in Six Months during the Winter 1854-55.

	Strength.	Died by Sickness.
Heavy Cavalry .....	1055	493
Light Cavalry .....	1161	439
Artillery .....	2832	1190
Total .....	5048	2122

The following, as to tents and huts, will account for much of the sickness:—

The Total Number of Tents issued to the Army up to March, 1855.

Hospital Marquees .....	194
Officers' Marquees .....	223
Circular Tents .....	10,736

The scale on which the circular tents were issued was,—  
To officers, one tent for each.  
To infantry regiments, one tent for fifteen men, four tents extra for Guards.  
To cavalry regiments, one tent to twelve men, four tents extra for Guards.

Two thousand four hundred large wooden huts were sent from England during the winter, but as it required 300 men to carry up to the front from Balaklava a single hut, they did not afford the relief intended.

According to the English war minister, the loss of Russia was half a million of soldiers! which he accounted for by the sickness, accidents, and fatigues attendant upon their forced marches over such vast and inhospitable regions as they had to traverse. The most reliable French opinions reduce the Russian loss to nearly half the amount at which the English minister set it, but there was a disposition in France after the war to exaggerate the English losses, and make those of France and Russia appear less than they really were. The expense of the war to England was computed by the chancellor of the exchequer to be forty-four millions to the 14th of February, 1856; but when the cost of the troops for several months in the Crimea, and of the fleet which, under Lord Lyons, had to watch the efforts which Russia made to violate the treaty, are taken into account, millions more must be added. If to this expenditure the additional costs of pensions and rewards were put, the whole would probably exceed sixty millions sterling.

The disposition in France to underrate the part taken by England in the war (a disposition which found many supporters at home) received a check when the transport returns were made public. The French army for the Baltic, in 1854, was carried in English ships of war. The British conveyed nearly 200,000

French and Sardinian soldiers to the Euxine, and conveyed a total of 210,000 troops—French, English, Turks, and Sardinians—from one part of the Euxine to another. A total of nearly 60,000 horses—military, artillery, and transport, belonging to all the allies—were transported by English ships, and about 350,000 tons of military stores. Without the transport power of England, France would have done little in the war; her means were utterly inadequate to conduct her own men or stores from one place to another in the various enterprises which the war comprised. As a lieutenant-general in the Turkish service remarked to the author, “The will and the wealth of England beat Russia in this war.”

The following is a correct list of the sailing-vessels and steamers employed in the transport service. This list will give the reader some notion of the vast demand upon English resources for this purpose.

SAILING VESSELS.

Alipore.	Canterbury.
Earl of Shaftesbury.	Argo.
Edendale.	Alps.
John Masterman.	Arabia.
Joseph Shepherd.	Jason.
Lady Valiant.	Burmah.
Magnet.	Chanticleer.
Mary Ann.	Sutlej.
Mary Louisa.	Ivanhoe.
Morayshire.	William Jackson.
Sibella.	Deva.
St. Hilda.	Estcourt.
St. Vincent.	Belgravia.
Caduceus.	Clifton.
Pride of the Ocean.	Eden.
Edmondsbury	Hertfordshire.
Dunbar.	Edwin Fox.
Bombay.	Columba.
Gomelza.	Nimrod.
Eveline.	True Briton.
Sultana.	Eliza.
London.	Lord Dalhousie.
Northfleet.	Coldstream.
Lady M'Naughten.	Minden.
Crest of the Wave.	Robert Small.
Wideawake.	Hugomont.
Lancashire Witch.	Calphurnia.
Kent.	Prince Alfred.
Calliope.	Bucephalus.
Echunga.	Poictiers.
Medora.	Rockliff.
Mary Ann.	Gottenberg.
Blundell.	Edward.
Shooting Star.	Dinapore.
Star of the South.	Riverdale.
Timandra.	Killingsworth.
Paramatta.	Croesus (burnt).
Gertrude.	Baltic.
War Cloud.	Victory.
Lady Russell.	Mariner.
Pedestrian.	Ormelie.
Negotiator.	Great Tasmania.
Monarchy.	Saldanha.
Onward.	Windson.
Chalmers.	Veloz.
Coronella.	Caroline.
Holyrood.	Arthur Gordon.
Orient.	

STEAMERS.

Alma.	Europa.
City of Carlisle.	Indomitable.

Hope.  
Tonning.  
City of London.  
Emperor.  
Sovereign.  
Albatross.  
Magdalena.  
Victoria.  
Melbourne.  
Emeu.  
Golden Fleece.  
Sydney.  
Sir George Pollock.  
Harbinger.  
Hydaspes.  
Balbec.  
Thames.  
Trent.  
Arabia.  
Jura.  
Bacchante.  
Mercia.  
Ripon.  
Jackall.  
Kangaroo.  
Borrussin.  
Alice Jackson.  
Hesper.  
Hamburgh.  
Iron Age.  
Colombo.  
Europa.  
Lindsay.  
Alice Lambton.  
Andes.  
Cambria.  
Tynemouth.  
Cormorant.  
Empress Eugenie.  
Royal Adelaide.  
Mercatore.  
Simla.  
Australian.  
Ephesus.  
Nubia.  
Faith.  
Lion.  
Robert Lowe.  
Queen of the South.  
Ottawa.  
Cleopatra.  
Adelaide.  
Brandon.  
Charity.  
Manilla.  
Esk.  
Clyde.  
Sydney Hall.  
Indiana.  
Metropolitan.  
William Hutt.  
Imperatriz.  
Cumberland.  
Sir J. Easthope.  
Firefly.  
Norman.  
Hetton.  
Cosmopolitan.  
Oscar.

John Bowes.  
Bahiana.  
Black Prince.  
East Anglian.  
Alster.  
Royal Victoria.  
Lady Eglinton.  
Union.  
Foyle.  
Prompt.  
Marley Hill.  
Kangaroo.  
Eagle.  
Peninsula.  
Black Boy.  
Whitley Park.  
Cochrane.  
Canadian.  
Amity.  
Imperador.  
Durham.  
Retriever.  
Rajah.  
Chester.  
Gibraltar.  
Telegraph.  
New Pelton.  
Ætna.  
Great Britain.  
Imperial.  
Snowdon.  
Severn.  
Calcutta.  
Black Sea.  
Indian.  
Volunteer.  
Edina.  
Akbar.  
City of Aberdeen.  
William Beckett.  
William Aldham.  
Hansa.  
Germania.  
Progress.  
Zebra.  
Saxon.  
Candia.  
Resolute.  
Assistance.  
Orinoco.  
Samuel Laing.  
Imperatrice.  
Dodo.  
Oneida.  
Hollander.  
Armenian.  
Medway.  
Rob Roy.  
Glance.  
Cape of Good Hope.  
Countess of Durham.  
Earl of Durham.  
Jupiter.  
Pioneer.  
Sarah Sands.  
Isabella Napier.  
Excelsior.  
Prince of Wales.  
Jarrow.

Added to the foregoing 238 transports were 140 vessels employed in the commissariat department for the conveyance of provisions, stores, &c.

The following naval statistics will interest our readers, and being made up at a late date, will correct any previous errors on the subject:—

## THE BLACK SEA FRENCH FLEET.\*

Ships.	Guns.	Horse-power
La Friedland .....	120	—
Le Valmey .....	120	—
La Ville de Paris .....	120	—
Le Henri IV. ....	100	—
Le Bayard .....	90	—
Le Charlemagne .....	90	450
Le Jena .....	90	—
Le Jupiter .....	90	—
Le Marengo .....	80	—
Le Gomer .....	16	450
Le Mogadore .....	8	650
Le Descartes .....	20	540
Le Vauban .....	20	540
Le Cacique .....	14	450
Le Magellan .....	14	450
Le Sane .....	14	450
Le Caton .....	4	260
Le Promèthe .....	4	200
Le Salamandre .....	2	120
Le Sérieuse .....	30	—
Le Mercure .....	20	—
L'Olivier .....	20	—
Le Beaumanoir .....	20	—
Le Cerf .....	10	—
Le Heron .....	2	200
Le Mouette .....	2	200
Total .....	1120	4960

## THE BALTIC FRENCH SQUADRON OF 1854.†

Ships.	Guns.	Horse-power.
Le Tage .....	100	—
L'Austerlitz .....	100	500
L'Hercules .....	100	—
Le Jemappes .....	100	—
Le Breslau .....	93	—
Le Duguesclin .....	90	—
L'Inflexible .....	90	—
Le Duperré .....	80	—
Le Trident .....	80	—
Le Sémillante .....	60	—
L'Andromaque .....	60	—
La Vengeance .....	60	—
La Poursuivante .....	50	—
La Virginie .....	50	—
La Zénobie .....	50	—
La Psyché .....	40	—
Le Darien .....	14	450
Le Philégéton .....	10	400
Le Souffleur .....	6	220
Le Lucifer .....	6	200
L'Aigle .....	6	200
Le Milan .....	4	200
Le Daim .....	3	220
Total .....	1250	2290

## THE RUSSIAN FLEET AT SEBASTOPOL.‡

SHIPS OF THE LINE.		Guns.	Guns.
Twelve Apostles .....	120	Selaphoe .....	84
Paris .....	120	Three Hierarchies .....	84
Three Saints .....	120	Tre Sviatitale .....	84
Grand-duke Constantine .....	120	Varna .....	84
Vladimir .....	120	Gabriel .....	84
Sviotoslaw .....	84	Empress Maria .....	84
Rotislav .....	84	Tschesme .....	80

\* At first under the command of Vice-admiral Hamelin, afterwards under Admiral Bruat.

† This squadron was commanded by Vice-admiral Parseval Deschenes; only a few vessels were sent out in 1855.

‡ These ships were either sunk or destroyed.

## FRIGATES.

Guns.	Guns.
Cagul . . . . . 80	Kavarna . . . . . 60
Koulefgi . . . . . 60	Medea . . . . . 60

## CORVETTES AND BRIGS.

Guns.	Guns.
Calypso . . . . . 18	Theseus . . . . . 20
Pylade . . . . . 18	Eneas . . . . . 20
Ptolemy . . . . . 20	

## SMALLER VESSELS.

Vladimir.	Drolik.
Nearch.	Ziabiaka.
Sheilla.	Lastorga.
Orlanda.	Smaglaga.

Also eleven transports and sixty-four gun-boats.

## THE RUSSIAN BALTIC FLEET.

The entire force of the Baltic consisted of thirty ships of the line,\* all sailing vessels, six sailing frigates, five sailing brigs and corvettes, and ten paddle-wheel steamers, besides the gun-boat flotilla and the miscellaneous craft—as schooners, transports, luggers, and yachts.

## FLEET AT CRONSTADT.

## SHIPS OF THE LINE.

Guns.	Guns.
Emperor Peter I. . . . . 120	Smolensko . . . . . 74
St. George the Conqueror . . . . . 112	Finland . . . . . 74
Emgeiten . . . . . 112	Katsbach . . . . . 74
Krasnoi . . . . . 84	Culm . . . . . 74
Gunule . . . . . 84	Ingermanland . . . . . 74
Volga . . . . . 84	Pamyat Azofou . . . . . 74
Empress Alexandrina . . . . . 84	Lisoi the Great . . . . . 74
Warra . . . . . 74	Villagash . . . . . 74
Berezina . . . . . 74	Watson-menya . . . . . 74
Borodino . . . . . 74	Fére-champenoise . . . . . 74
	Michael . . . . . 74

## FRIGATES.

Guns.	Guns.
Alexander Newski . . . . . 58	Amphitrite . . . . . 44
Constantine . . . . . 44	Castor . . . . . 44
Ceserna . . . . . 44	

## BRIGS AND CORVETTES.

Guns.	Guns.
Paris . . . . . 20	Prince of Warsaw . . . . . 20
Philoctetes . . . . . 20	

## PADDLE-WHEEL STEAMERS.

Guns.	Horse-power.	Guns.	Horse-power.
Kamschatka . . . . . 16	540	Bogatir . . . . . 6	300
Girssaschi . . . . . 6	400	Diana . . . . . 6	200
Rurie . . . . . 6	300	Hercules . . . . . 6	200
Chrubee . . . . . 6	300		

## FLEET AT HELSINGFORS.

## SHIPS OF THE LINE.

Guns.	Guns.
Russia . . . . . 120	Brienne . . . . . 74
Pultowa . . . . . 84	Assis . . . . . 74
Prochar . . . . . 84	Ezekiel . . . . . 74
Vladimir . . . . . 84	Andrew . . . . . 74

## FRIGATE.

Guns.
Cesarowitch . . . . . 44

## BRIGS AND CORVETTES.

Guns.	Guns.
Ajax . . . . . 20	Palinurus . . . . . 20

## PADDLE-WHEEL STEAMERS.

Guns.	Horse-power.	Guns.	Horse-power.
Olaf . . . . . 16	450	Gremiaschi . . . . . 6	400
Smiloi . . . . . 12	400		

These data, in respect to allies and enemies, were the result of careful inquiry by our home naval and military authorities, and give our readers a more adequate and complete view of the forces engaged.

## CHAPTER CXXVI.

## THE ARMY IN THE CRIMEA FROM THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE TO ITS RETURN HOME.

"The battles, sieges, fortunes,  
That I have past."

SHAKSPERE. *Othello*.

The incidents in the allied armies from the proclamation of the armistice to the announcement of peace only require a brief notice. The celebration of the birth of "a child of France" excited more interest among the French than even the armistice itself, and the pompous, bombastic order of the day put forth by the chief of the French army was received with unbounded delight by those to whom it was addressed.

When the tidings arrived on the 2nd of April that peace was indeed established, spring had scattered her floral profusion around the camps, and the graves of the gallant men who had died for honour and country were covered with the bright Crimean verdure: Nature seemed to rejoice at the prospect of peace, and

to offer her own beautiful tribute to the remains of the fallen brave. The electric telegraph had scarcely conveyed the tidings that the war was over, when the guns of the allied armies thundered their salutes, and the rocks echoed the jubilee of these rude instruments of joy, so lately the implements of carnage and woe. Each of the allied armies fired a salute of 101 guns, but all was silent in the camp of the Muscovs and in the northern forts: the tidings had not yet reached those who had so much cause to rejoice in their relief from unparalleled privations and prospective defeat—perhaps entire destruction. On the same day that these joyous tidings arrived Pelissier put forth a characteristic address to his army:—

"Soldiers! the emperor lately said to your brethren, 'You have well deserved of the

\* Of the thirty ships of the line not more than twenty were said to be in a serviceable condition.

country.' You will successively hear, in your turn, the same expressions from the august lips of his majesty.

"Soldiers! by your energy, by your resolution, your heroic constancy, your indomitable courage, you have achieved, with our brave and faithful allies, the peace of the world.

"I have a right to say it, at the sight of so many fields of battle sprinkled with your blood, witnesses of your calm self-denial, and from which each time your glory rose more radiant and noble, and crowned your sublime efforts.

"You will shortly see again your country, happy at your return, happy at a glorious peace—a peace signed at the cradle of an imperial infant. Let us all be impressed with that augury; let us find in it a new sign of Divine protection, and, if necessary, an additional inducement to accomplish all our duties towards the emperor and the country.

"The Marshal Commander-in-chief,

"A. PELISSIER."

In a few days after, having waited in the vain expectation that the English general would put forth an order of the day, congratulating his army, the Sardinian commander addressed his troops:—

"Soldiers! the peace signed at Paris on the 30th of March last puts an end to the hopes each of us entertained for the glory of our arms. This feeling is more keenly felt by those who know the important task which was reserved to us had hostilities continued. But the object for which the sword was drawn having been attained, we ought not to desire the prolongation of the calamities which are inseparable from war. Let us console ourselves with the thought that what we have done, and what we were ready to do, is appreciated by our generous allies, and will not be lost for the future of our country.

"I owe you praises and thanks for your constant self-denial, for your exemplary discipline, for your ingenious activity, and for your bravery; but you will hear them with greater pleasure from the mouth of our beloved monarch, whom we hope shortly to behold again.

"Whatever may be the post in which the sovereign will may place me, I shall never forget how, on the 16th of August, after having contributed in driving back the formidable attacks of the enemy, you all eagerly desired to follow the flag which crossed the Tchernaya. I shall always remember with what ardour, on the 8th of September, each of you was desirous of taking part in the assault, one of the most murderous recorded in history.

"And should fate hereafter lead us to other

battle-fields, I shall esteem myself happy to be with you, my present comrades in this memorable war of the Crimea.

"The Commander-in-chief,

"DELLA MARMORA."

The English became rather curious to hear and see what their commander would say to them, but Sir William, whose pen was generally rather incautiously used, and loosely held, remained silent.

During the month of April the visits of the Russians to their late enemies were constant, and a large number of the common soldiers returned drunk to their own side of the Tchernaya. The officers also drank hard, but, like men used to it, they avoided becoming absolutely drunk.

Sebastopol afforded some striking scenes when the Russians, and especially certain Greek volunteers, returned to seek their former dwellings. Their amazement and grief were generally strongly expressed, as they sought amidst the scattered rubbish for the spots on which their demolished homes once stood.

Mr. Russell describes the army as "having a fine appetite, consuming daily 250,000 lbs. of barley, 250,000 lbs. of hay, and 90,000 lbs. of bread, and monthly devouring 3000 bullocks and 15,000 or 18,000 sheep, besides little pickings of potted meats, preserved vegetables, private stores, poultry, geese, turkeys, and game, washed down with floods of wine and spirits, and oceans of rum." He represented the men as "looking fat and hearty; and full of fight, upon the diet."

On the 9th of April a general order was published to the English troops:—

"The army is no longer restrained from passing the Tchernaya. All officers are to be present in camp at night; and all non-commissioned officers and men to be present at the usual roll-calls, unless in possession of written passes from their own commanding officers."

After this the British officers visited Bagtché Serai and Simpheropol, and other portions of the interior, although typhus fever raged in those places, of which they were warned by the Russians. Few received any injury from their rash enterprises. There were also pleasant expeditions along the southern shores of the Crimea, in which the mansions of the empress-dowager, of Prince Woronzoff, and others of the nobility (described in an earlier chapter), were visited. These noble abodes, with their beautiful parks and pastures, remained uninjured. But, alas! it was different with the poor Tartars of the interior; their dwellings were levelled with the dust, their fields trodden down, and they were wanderers and beggars on their own land. The conduct of

the Russian authorities to those hapless people was in the excess of brutality. The visitors found that Simpheropol and Bagtché Serai had no defences; the houses were all hospitals, for disease revelled there; and the troops were huddled in the neighbourhood, if the excavations in which they burrowed could be called huts. Our officers heard with some surprise that if, after the battle of the Alma, the allies had marched upon Simpheropol, they could have taken it without difficulty, and have effectually cut off all supplies from Sebastopol, which of course must have fallen without a struggle.

Through the month of April the generals of the allies and their late enemies exchanged hospitalities, and *réunions* were given in honour of one another. However the Russians may have been excelled by their foes in the field, they were not surpassed by their new friends in the courtesies and hospitalities of the camp. The receptions given to the allied officers by those of the czar were sumptuous; their bearing also was cordial, but more so to the French than to the English, notwithstanding the old hostility to the former, and the national good-will which so extensively prevailed towards the latter.

On all occasions of public assemblage Sir William Codrington and the English were characterised by the absence of display and the possession of gentlemanly dignity in appearance and manners. The Russians also avoided display, unless where it could be made with substantial and distinguished advantage, then they were proud of it. While Marshal Pelissier and his officers neglected no opportunity to exhibit their rank and honours, and show off their finest uniforms. The Sardinians were modest and retiring in their deportment, as unassuming in friendly intercourse as they had been unconquerable in combat.

Although the Russian officers were so polite and hospitable when acting from their own impulses, they were sometimes placed in very unpleasant relations to their new friends when policy prevailed over personal feeling. There was one very peculiar exemplification of this. Prince Gagarin, who was especially civil to the English officers with whom he came in contact, invited them to visit him at Kaffa when occasion would allow. General Windham, hearing of this on his way from Kertch, put into Kaffa. He was astonished to find the harbour crowded with merchant vessels, and, on inquiry, heard that many of them had been sent back from Taganrog because they had not performed quarantine, which had been ordered at Kaffa. General Windham saw that the object was to render the evacuation of the Crimea personally uncomfortable to the British officers. The general was placed in a quarantine prison of

the regular Russian type, and had to send a note to the prince through the bars which ribbed the apertures. The prince hastened to express his regret that his orders were too strict to allow of his receiving the general, but if he would do him the honour to come round by land, he would be only too happy to receive him. He begged permission, however, to detain the general while he sent for authority from his superior to receive him. The answer was that the orders of the superior officer were too strict to allow of such a favour. General Windham departed as he had come, but informed the prince that he saw through the design of the whole proceeding, and would recommend his superiors to hold Kertch until every atom of material was removed from it, notwithstanding the request which the Russian government had made, that, in the interests of commerce, the restitution of Kertch should immediately take place. The opportunity was consequently lost to the Russian government of embarrassing the removal of stores from Kertch, and putting the English government to increased trouble and expense, and individuals connected with the army and navy to discomfort and loss. The Muscovites began already to show the spirit of bad faith in which they afterwards endeavoured to elude the fulfilment of the treaty.

The officers of the allied armies, especially the English, took much interest in revisiting the battle-field of the Alma, which retained traces of battle more marked than those found at Inkerman, Balaklava, or the Tchernaya.

About the middle of May the British army was actively withdrawing from the Crimea. The third division was the first to move, and all its regiments were speedily embarked.

The departure of General della Marmora and his staff was the signal for a general manifestation of respect on the part of the British, between whom and the Sardinians the warmest cordiality existed throughout the occupation. The British commander-in-chief issued a "general after-order," dated Sebastopol, May 17th, and signed by General Windham, as chief of the staff:—

"The greater part of the Sardinian army has quitted the Crimea, and General della Marmora himself will soon embark.

"A guard of honour, with artillery, will be held in readiness for the departure of the Sardinian commander-in-chief.

"The commander of the forces trusts that General della Marmora will himself receive, and convey to those whom he has commanded in the Crimea, the good wishes of the English army for their future prosperity.

"With steadiness, with discipline, with resource, the Sardinian army has long main-

tained and efficiently guarded the advanced position entrusted to it; and it bore its honourable share, with the troops of France, in the battle of the Tchernaya.

"In our intercourse there has been neither difficulty nor difference, and this good feeling between all the armies of the alliance has had a very important influence in determining the peace of Europe."

The efforts and losses of the Sardinian army were, perhaps, most correctly stated by the author of *The Camp and the Cutter* (Mr. Edwin Galt):—"The Piedmontese army of the East attained a maximum of 17,584 men. Up to October 31, 1855, it lost 1632 men, of whom 1211 died of cholera, 170 of typhus fever, and 251 from wounds and other causes. In this number there were 56 officers, 1563 non-commissioned officers and soldiers, and 13 belonging to the commissariat. From October 31 to the evacuation, though the official returns are not complete, the losses of the Sardinian army may be estimated at 900, making a total of 2532. The Piedmontese government also sent to the East 3659 horses and mules, 48 pieces of cannon, 52 carriages for fieldpieces, 310 caissons, 1190 chests of arms and tools, 200 tents, bought at Marseilles, and 200 cast-iron stoves."

The Sardinian army was gradually and safely removed by the extensive transport power of the English. The work of removing our own troops was no light one, any more than their conveyance to the theatre of war.

The general impression is, that while the French sent an overwhelming force to the Crimea, the English sent comparatively few men; this is an error; the proportions were as follow:—

French . . . . .	170,000
British . . . . .	105,000
Turks . . . . .	40,000
Sardinians . . . . .	18,000

The forces of the Turkish contingent augmented the number of the British troops sent to the Crimea to the considerable figure above-written. The labour of removing the British forces may be conjectured by a statement of the various corps which then occupied the Crimea and Turkey. It will also interest the reader to peruse the divisional list at the period when the final armistice was concluded:—

#### CAVALRY.

1st Dragoon Guards.	6th Dragoons.
4th Dragoon Guards.	8th Hussars.
5th Dragoon Guards.	10th Hussars.
6th Dragoon Guards.	11th Hussars.
1st Dragoons.	12th Lancers.
2nd Dragoons—Scots Greys.	13th Light Dragoons.
4th Light Dragoons.	17th Lancers.

#### ROYAL ARTILLERY.

Royal Horse Artillery, A.C.I., and  
Batteries A, B, E, F, G, H, W, I, V, T, Q, Y, Z.

#### SAPPERS AND MINERS.

Companies 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.

#### INFANTRY.

Third battalion Grenadier Guards, 1st battalion Coldstream Guards, 1st battalion Scots Fusilier Guards, 1st battalion 1st foot, 2nd battalion 1st foot, 3rd foot, 4th, 7th, 9th, 13th, 14th, 17th, 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 23rd, 28th, 30th, 31st, 33rd, 34th, 38th, 39th, 41st, 42nd, 44th, 46th, 47th, 48th, 49th, 50th, 55th, 56th, 57th, 62nd, 63rd, 68th, 71st, 72nd, 77th, 79th, 82nd, 88th, 89th, 90th, 92nd, 93rd, 95th, and 97th foot, and 1st and 2nd battalion Rifle Brigade.

#### HEAD-QUARTER STAFF, ETC.

Commander-in-chief—Gen. Sir W. J. Codrington, K.C.B.  
Chief of the Staff—Major-general Charles Ash Windham, C.B., unattached.  
Adj.-gen.—Col. Hon. W. L. Pakenham, C.B., unattached.  
Quartermr.-gen.—Col. Hon. Percy Herbert, C.B., unatt.  
Inspector-general of Hospitals—John Hall, M.D.  
Deputy Judge-advocate—William Govett Romaine, Esq.  
Principal Chaplain—Rev. H. P. Wright.

#### Staff at Balaklava.

Commandant—Brevet Lt.-col. F. P. Hardinge, 22nd foot.

#### Sebastopol.

In charge of Karabelnaia.—Lieut.-col. N. Turner, unatt.

#### Ordnance Department.

Commanding Royal Artillery—Lieutenant-general Sir Richard J. Daeres, K.C.B.  
Commanding Royal Horse Artillery—Col. D. Wood, C.B.  
Troops—Royal Horse Artillery, A.C.I. Batteries—A, B, E, F, G, H, W, P, I, Y, Q, Y, Z.  
Commanding Royal Engineers—Lieutenant-col. Lloyd.  
Companies—Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11.  
The Queen's Commissioner at the Head-quarters of the French Army—Major-general H. Rose, C.B.  
The Queen's Commissioner at the Head-quarters of the Sardinian Army—Colonel Hon. G. Cadogan, Gr. Gds.  
Director-general of Land-transport Corps—Colonel William M. S. M'Murdo, unattached.  
Commandant at Scutari—Major-gen. H. K. Storcks, K.H.  
Commandant of Artillery Department at Pera—Lieutenant-colonel Wodehouse.  
Commanding Depot of Prisoners of War at Proti—Major Neville, 1st foot.  
Staff Officer, Smyrna—Captain W. Burden, 9th foot.  
Commandant, Abydos—Brev.-Maj. W. J. Chads, 64th foot.  
Staff Officer, Renkoi—Lieutenant Bennett, 7th foot.  
Director of Submarine Telegraph, Varna—Captain Oldershaw, Royal Artillery.

#### DIVISIONAL STAFF.

##### Cavalry Division.

Lieutenant-general Commanding—Lieut.-gen. Hon. Sir J. Y. Scarlett, K.C.B.  
Commanding Heavy Brigade—Brigadier-general J. Lawrenson, 17th Lancers.  
Troops—1st Dragoon Guards, 4th Dragoon Guards, 5th Drag. Guards, 1st Drag., 2nd Drag., 6th Drag.  
Commanding Light Brigade—Brigadier-general Lord George Paget, C.B., 4th Light Dragoons.  
Troops—6th Dragoon Guards, 4th Light Dragoons, 12th Lancers, 13th Light Dragoons.  
Commanding Hussar Brigade—Brigadier-general F. G. Shevell, C.B., 8th Hussars.  
Troops—8th Hussars, 10th Hussars, 11th Hussars, 17th Lancers.

##### First Division.

Lieutenant-gen. Commanding—Lieut.-gen. Lord Rokeby.  
Commanding Brigade of Guards—Brigadier-general J. R. Crauford, Grenadier Guards.  
Troops—3rd battalion Grenadier Guards, 1st battalion Coldstream Guards, 1st bat. Scots Fusilier Guards.  
Commanding Second Brigade—Brigadier-general C. W. Ridley, Grenadier Guards.  
Troops—9th foot, 13th foot, 31st foot, 56th foot.





GENERAL NELSON.

*From a Portrait by Sir J. Smith.*

*Highland Division.*

Lieutenant-general Commanding—Major-general Duncan A. Cameron, C.B., 42nd foot.  
 Commanding First Brig.—Col. M. K. Atherley, 92nd foot.  
 Troops—42nd foot, 92nd foot, 79th foot, 93rd foot.  
 Commanding Second Brigade—Brigadier-general F. Horn, C.B., 20th foot.  
 Troops—1st battalion 1st foot, 2nd battalion 1st foot, 71st foot, 90th foot, 72nd foot.

*Second Division.*

Lieutenant-general Commanding—Lieutenant-general H. W. Bard, C.B.  
 Commanding First Brigade—Brigadier-general M. Barlow, 14th foot.  
 Troops—3rd foot, 30th foot, 55th foot, 95th foot.  
 Commanding Second Brigade.—Colonel W. O'G. Haly, C.B., 47th foot.  
 Troops—41st foot, 47th foot, 49th foot, 62nd foot, 82nd foot.

*Third Division.*

Lieutenant-general Commanding—Lieutenant-general Sir William Eyre, K.C.B.  
 Commanding First Brigade—Brigadier-general C. Warren, C.B., 55th foot.  
 Troops—4th foot, 14th foot, 39th foot, 50th foot, 89th foot.  
 Commanding Second Brigade—Brigadier-general C. Trollope, 62nd foot.  
 Troops—18th foot, 28th foot, 38th foot, 44th foot.

*Fourth Division.*

Lieutenant-general Commanding—Major-general R. Garrett, K.H., 46th foot.  
 Commanding First Brigade—Brigadier-general Hon. A. A. Spencer, C.B., 44th foot.  
 Troops—17th foot, 20th foot, 21st foot, 57th foot, 63rd foot.  
 Commanding Second Brigade—Brigadier-general G. Staunton, 31st foot.  
 Troops—46th foot, 63rd foot, 68th foot, 1st battalion Rifle Brigade.

*Light Division.*

Lieutenant-general Commanding—Major-general Lord William Paulet, C.B.  
 Commanding First Brigade—Brigadier-general C. T. Van Straubenzee, 3rd foot.  
 Troops—7th foot, 23rd foot, 33rd foot, 34th foot, 2nd battalion Rifle Brigade.  
 Commanding Second Brigade—Col. Lysons, C.B., 23rd ft.  
 Troops—19th foot, 77th foot, 88th foot, 97th foot.

Besides the large numbers to be removed from before Sebastopol, there were the numerous forces of the Turkish Contingent occupying Kertch and Yenikale, which had been under the command of General Vivian, but who left their command soon after the declaration of peace, and addressed his farewell to the contingent early in May. The general brought that force into fine order, although very little was expected from him, as he was not known to the public as an officer of especial merit, and it was understood that he had been appointed to the command from official favouritism at a time when able and experienced competitors for the honour, like General Mayne, were set aside. In a work published by Colonel Atwell Lake, entitled *Narrative of the Defence of Yars, Historical and Military*,\* he writes of General Vivian as an able and experienced officer. There appears, however, one blot on

the general's command of the contingent—his treatment of General Beatson, an officer of whom it may be written without any disparagement to either General Vivian or General Shirley, whom he made his instrument in the ill-treatment of General Beatson, that he was as much or more entitled to public confidence than either. General Beatson organised the Bashi-bazouks after other British officers had failed. Even General Yusef, who had reduced to discipline the wild cavalry of Northern Africa, had given up, as hopeless, the task of making regular soldiers of these wilder Asiatics. General Beatson was not, however, a favourite with the officers at home, but was employed because he could do what none of the favourites had succeeded in accomplishing, or were disposed again to attempt. As soon, however, as this noble soldier had completely performed the onerous task committed to him, his command was desired for one of the government *protégés*, and every effort was made to find a pretext for accusing the general of some professional offence. Brigadier Shirley was sent to *find out by private inquiries* among the officers of the force whether General Beatson had not acted insubordinately, or spoken disloyally, as certain *private informers* in the corps had made known to General Vivian. This degrading farce was played off—General Beatson, without trial or formal impeachment, was suspended; a “man of interest” got the command; and the injured officer, who had so well served his country, in vain appealed for a fair and honourable investigation to those who ought to have protected him from the wrong, and the public from the disgrace, of such inequitable and base proceedings. Lord Panmure did grant a *quasi* inquiry, which did not extend in its range to the merits of the case, and was about as much, or nearly as much, of a *bond fide* investigation as that conducted by the Chelsea Board of general officers. The wrongs of the gallant Bashi-bazouk chief are, to the day of our writing, undressed. The contingent was broken up at Constantinople, a part of the force joining the sultan's service. There were many able and valiant officers connected with it, and had the war continued it would have rendered effective service against the enemy.

During the period occupied by the British in the work of evacuating the neighbourhood of Sebastopol, they employed themselves in repairing the graves and tombs of their comrades, to whose remains they were about to bid farewell for ever. Never did Englishmen manifest so profound a respect for the places of the dead, as those composing the British army for the spots which contained the material relics of their fallen companions. The French, who are by national habit respectful to places of sepulture, were far behind the British in this particular in the Crimea. The English

\* A later work than *Kars and our Captivity in Russia*, already quoted in this History.

army left the fields of burial in a condition highly to their honour.

There was during the events in the Crimea after the fall of Sebastopol a large force in Turkey. The following is a correct statement of the troops stationed during part of the years 1855 and 1856 in the Bosphorus command:—

The cavalry division, consisting of—

1st Dragoon Guards.  
4th Dragoon Guards.  
5th Dragoon Guards.  
6th Dragoon Guards.  
1st Royal Dragoons.  
2nd Dragoons (Scots Greys).  
4th Light Dragoons.  
6th Dragoons.  
8th Hussars.\*  
10th Hussars.  
One squadron 11th Hussars.  
12th Lancers.  
13th Light Dragoons.  
17th Lancers.

Two troops of Horse Artillery.

The Royal Artillery depot, with remount horses.

Three companies of Royal Engineers.

The Infantry depot at Scutari, composed of all the regiments in the army.

One brigade (four regiments) of the German Legion at Kulali, on the Bosphorus.

One brigade (three regiments) of the Swiss Legion at Smyrna.

The division of the Cossacks of the Sultan.

Poles.

Cavalry and Infantry.

Land-Transport Corps.

Osmanli Horse Artillery, twenty-four guns.

All the departments of supply.

The hospital establishments at Scutari, Renkoi, and Abydos.†

The force during the winter of all arms was about 18,500 men.

There was a very warm and friendly feeling amongst the English, French, and Sardinian troops. The British troops at Scutari and Constantinople certainly got on better with the Turks than the other allied troops.

Major-general Lake Storks was the last man who left Turkey on the withdrawal of the troops. The ratifications of the treaty were exchanged at the end of April, 1856, and the news reached Constantinople early in May. By the 31st of July the whole army, with its stores and *matériel*, had left the Crimea and the Turkish territory. General Storks himself embarked on the 13th of August. The Sardinian contingent, and the Turkish contingent from Kertch, were transported in British vessels—the former to Italy, the latter to the Bosphorus, where a large proportion of them were handed over to the service of the Porte. This arrangement did not, however, work well; most of these troops were disbanded, some re-

turning to England in a very destitute state; others remaining in Turkey, where land was assigned to them—Germans, Poles, and Hungarians, with a few Italians. The Mussulmen were either retained in the military service of Turkey or found their way to their respective homes.

The forces of the foreign legions which had to be removed from Turkey, Smyrna, Malta, &c., were very considerable, and the expense incurred by the British government in recruiting, organising, removing to their homes, or otherwise providing for them, was very great. We extract the following particulars from a return moved for by Sir de Lacy Evans, which shows that during the war there were enlisted in the British service 441 German, 136 Swiss, and 160 Italian officers; 539 German, 165 Swiss, and 195 Italian non-commissioned officers; 8702 German, 2995 Swiss, and 3226 Italian rank and file. The expenses incurred were—for the German corps, £687,800; for the Swiss, £235,486; and for the Italian Legion, £195,655. Four of the German regiments (4250 strong) were sent to the seat of war; the other stations were the depots at Heligoland and Shorncliffe, Haslar, Aldershot, Colchester, Hythe, Terlingham, and Brown-down. A Swiss brigade of 2200 was sent to the seat of war. Of the Italian Legion no men were sent to the seat of war. The German, Swiss, and Italian Legions were finally disbanded in the autumn of 1856.

In the same document we find an account of the mode in which these various bodies of foreigners were disbanded and carried to their respective countries. The German Legion was retained for service at the Cape of Good Hope, where it was supposed they would prove more useful settlers than Poles, Hungarians, Swiss, or Italians. There were, however, many of the legion of Hungarian and Polish birth, and the former very willingly accepted the provision made for them as military colonists of the Cape. It will no doubt interest our foreign readers to know the particulars as to the numbers of the troops thus sent to Africa, and the provision made for them; the parliamentary data above referred to afford this information. The expense of arming and equipping this force, on proceeding to the Cape, was £18,305, and that of clothing £6375. The pay for three years will cost £81,982, and the rations for one year £21,493. The annual expense will be borne by the colonists. The numbers of each rank located at the Cape include one major-general, one brigadier-general, two lieutenant-colonels, five majors, twenty-two captains, twelve lieutenants, three paymasters, three surgeons, six sub-surgeons, two dispensers, two chaplains, forty-four cadets, eleven sergeant-majors, one bugle-major, twenty-two

\* The Hussar Brigade, consisting of the 8th Hussars, the 10th Hussars, and the 17th Lancers, was stationed at Ismid, the ancient Nicomedia.

† The condition of the hospitals was perfectly equal, if not superior, to any hospitals in the world.

colour-sergeants, eighty-seven common sergeants, 114 corporals, and 2024 common or private soldiers. The German Legion at the Cape will be liable to serve as military settlers for seven years, to resist the attacks of the enemy, or to aid the civil power. They are to attend for exercise on certain days by the governor appointed (not exceeding thirty days a year), and to muster every Sunday for church parade. Their pay per diem is as follows—viz., major-general, 37s. 11d.; brigadier-general, 31s. 3d.; lieutenant-colonel, 8s. 6d.; major, 8s.; captain, 7s. 3½d.; second captain, 5s. 9½d.; lieutenant, 4s. 6d.; second lieutenant, 3s. 3d.; paymaster, 12s. 6d.; surgeon, 13s.; assistant or sub-surgeon, 7s. 6d.; dispenser, 7s. 6d.; chaplain, 5s. 5½d.; cadet, 1s. 2d.; sergeant-major, 1s. 6d.; colour-sergeant, 1s. 2d.; common sergeant, 11d.; corporal, 8d.; and privates, 6d.

Notwithstanding all the drawbacks upon the efficiency of our army, arising from our military system, and the consequent difficulty of providing troops in numbers equal to the authorised establishment, England had reason to be proud of her heroes who returned from the Crimea. Some of the regiments were detained in Malta and the Ionian Isles; some, after passing through the Straits of Gibraltar, were sent across the Atlantic to the West Indies, and to Canada, without having the opportunity of visiting their native shores after absence and the toils of war. Such as did arrive in the British Isles received a hearty welcome. The people of Dublin, Leeds, and Sheffield, were especially enthusiastic in their congratulations. Grand banquets were given in these places, especially in the Irish metropolis, where, at a vast expense, one of the noblest public entertainments ever given in Great Britain or Ireland, honoured the brave. In London, the public reception of the Guards was the most splendid pageant connected with the reception of the Crimean conquerors. It occurred on the 9th of July. The troops had been landed shortly before, and were marched to Aldershot from the port of debarkation. On that day they were to be publicly received by their sovereign, the *élite* of the English people, and by their companions in arms, in a grand triumphal entry. It will facilitate the task, in giving a description of the event, to present the reader with the previous order of the day, as issued by the quartermaster-general.

1. The brigade to be formed by regiments, at the Nine Elms Station of the South-Western railway, ready to march off right in front, at 1 o'clock A.M. on the day named.

2. The column (each regiment preceded by its band) to move by "fours" along the Wandsworth Road, over Vauxhall Bridge, turn to the

right along Crescent Road, New Road, Millbank Row, Millbank Street, Abingdon Street, Old Palace Yard, Margaret Street, Parliament Street, Whitehall, through the Horse Guards, up the Mall to Buckingham Palace, where the column will turn to the left and enter the railing of the Palace at the south gate, pass out at the north gate, up Constitution Hill, and so into Hyde Park.

3. Her Majesty will see the troops pass from the balcony of the Palace.

4. The three battalions of Guards now in London, and the battalion at Windsor, will, before the arrival of the Crimean brigade, be formed in Hyde Park, by the field officer in brigade waiting, in a line of quarter distant columns at ninety-five paces interval, right in front and facing Park Lane, with the rear of the line resting on the trees.

5. The colonels of the three regiments of Guards will be at the head of their respective regiments, and in this order the brigade will await the arrival of their comrades from the Crimea.

6. Upon the Crimean battalion successively gaining the open space after entering Hyde Park, they will be formed into quarter distant columns, and be marched direct upon points placed opposite to the intervals left in the line of columns already formed. Here they will wheel to the left, and halt till the three battalions are formed on the alignment of the 3rd battalion Grenadiers, when the Crimean brigade will be marched by Major-general Craufurd, under the orders of Major-general Lord Rokeby, to its place in the formed line of columns, and countermarch by sub-divisions round the centre.

7. The whole of the brigade of Guards will then stand in a line of quarter distance columns, right in front at twenty-five paces interval.

8. Upon the Crimean battalions commencing to march upon the intervals left for them, the regiments already formed will present arms, bands playing, &c., and when they have completed the countermarch of sub-divisions round the centre, they also will present arms by order of their respective commanding officers.

9. The line will then "shoulder," order arms, and stand at ease, by word of command from the respective colonels of regiments.

10. His Royal Highness Field-marshal Prince Albert will then proceed to meet and to conduct her majesty into the Park.

11. Major-general Lord Rokeby and Major-general Craufurd, having handed over to the colonels of the respective regiments the battalions comprising the Crimean brigade, their duties will cease, and they will be pleased to join the staff of the field-marshal commanding-in-chief.

12. The field officer in brigade waiting will

be pleased to do the same, and the troops on the ground will remain under the command of Lieutenant-general H.R.H. the Duke of Cambridge.

13. The whole brigade being thus formed, her majesty will drive to the ground, and be received at Hyde Park Corner by the field-marshal commanding-in-chief and staff, and the military procession, as established for reviews by the queen's regulations, will immediately be formed to precede her.

14. On the arrival of her majesty at the saluting point, the troops will present arms, the bands playing, &c.

15. Her majesty will then proceed down the line, and return to the saluting point from the left, without passing along the rear.

16. The troops will then march past in quick time, in open column, the consolidated bands of the brigade playing "See the Conquering Hero comes."

17. After re-forming the original line of columns, the troops will advance to the "royal salute."

18. The Crimean battalions will then proceed to their barracks, and the rest of the brigade to the new quarters assigned to them.

19. The order of march to be observed at reviews performed before the sovereign, as laid down at page 250 of the *Regulations for Field Exercise*, is to be strictly adhered to.

20. With the object of not interfering with the view of those on foot, no person on horseback can be admitted within the railings of Hyde Park, except those named in the order of march, the mounted officers belonging to each battalion engaged, and the cavalry regiments employed to keep the ground. No private grooms, with the exception of those of her majesty, are to be admitted on the ground.

21. The place of entry for persons on horseback will be the bar at Hyde Park Corner—all others to be kept locked, and no one allowed through the bar without a ticket of admission from the quartermaster-general.

22. No carriages to be allowed inside the Park, except those of the Queen.

23. Previous to marching past her majesty, all mounted officers not moving with the troops, with the exception of those in immediate attendance upon the sovereign, will take post at camp colours, placed opposite the saluting point, on each side of the band, under the direction of an officer of the head-quarter staff.

24. Persons on foot only will be admitted into Hyde Park on the day of the review by her majesty—all the gates leading into Hyde Park will, therefore, be closed against the admission of carriages and persons on horseback.

25. The ground will be kept by the 2nd Life Guards, the Blues, the 3rd Light Dragoons, and the mounted police.

The arrangements of the foregoing order were carried out with scarcely any deviation. The foreign service battalions of the brigade left Aldershot early in the morning, numbering 3200 men. It was one of the "queen's days" as to weather—bright and genial as English summer day could be, and a vast concourse of persons was enabled consequently to assemble along the line of march. At 11 o'clock the roll of drum and sound of bugle announced that the brigade was on its march, as it emerged from the railway station at Nine Elms. The shout of the people, as the head of the columns approached, indicated the deepest sympathy and the most triumphant welcome. The bands played "Home, sweet home," and "Auld lang syne." The regiments marched four deep, "in heavy marching order." All were objects of interest to the people, but the veterans with the Crimean medal and many clasps on their breasts, with long beards and bronzed faces, and the gait and step of the experienced soldier, were especial objects of attention—for these were the men who had borne the brunt of battle, and had endured the terrible starvation. As they proceeded along the route specified in the quartermaster-general's order, flags floated from almost every window; women waved their kerchiefs, men their hats; the crowd cheered with such continuous shouts, that the roar of their voices ascended in waves like the voice of the far-sounding sea. The bells of the churches rang joyous peals. The windows of the houses of parliament were filled with peers, peeresses, and commons. The windows and balconies of the public buildings in Whitehall were full of spectators, and eager crowds gazed and cheered from the roofs. Competent judges of such matters alleged that the number of the multitude was greater than on the occasion of the emperor and empress of the French making their public entry. Opposite the Treasury, a squadron of the 2nd Life Guards was drawn up to honour the procession. The Horse Guards was reached at twenty minutes to twelve; here a number of general officers were assembled; in one of the windows the brave commander of these heroes at Inkerman took his place, with several ladies of the court. His royal highness bowed to many in the procession who had fought by his side at the Alma, and Inkerman. As soon as the soldiers perceived the duke, their steady gravity gave way, and they honoured him with the heartiest cheers. The bands, as they approached the Horse Guards, played "God save the Queen," "The British Grenadiers," "Here's a Health to all good Lasses," in reply to which the ladies showered bunches of laurel upon the troops. The brigade was fifteen minutes passing the Horse Guards. In Pall-Mall the fronts of the War-office and the clubs were hung with red

cloth, and many veteran officers, whose day of service was over for ever, and many ladies connected with their families, received the troops with hearty demonstrations. Passing between Marlborough House and St. James's Palace, the brigade entered St. James's Park, and marched along the Mall to Buckingham Palace. The 2nd Life Guards, who had preserved the line of march, were relieved at St. James's Palace by the Royal Horse Guards Blue, who performed this duty the rest of the route to Hyde Park Corner. Experienced observers alleged that the multitude along the Mall and around Buckingham Palace exceeded those which were assembled at the Horse Guards and in Trafalgar Square. From the spot whence the queen had taken her farewell of one of these fine battalions two years and a-half before, she was now, with triumph and joy, ready to welcome the survivors home.

Before the arrival of the columns, various notable persons rode past to Hyde Park, who attracted the attention of the crowd; among these was the Earl of Cardigan, mounted on the charger which bore him through the glorious light cavalry charge at Balaklava; he was received with loud cheers. Prince Albert, in the uniform of the Grenadier Guards (one of the regiments of which he is colonel), rode out from the palace gate to proceed to Hyde Park. His royal highness became well his brilliant uniform; the people received him without warmth, and some laughed derisively, but were instantly checked, and in some cases chastised, by the bystanders. The Duke of Cambridge rode smartly up the Mall from the Horse Guards, while the procession was on its way thence, and as he passed along, the demonstrations of enthusiastic regard were almost as great as subsequently were accorded to the gallant Guards, of whom, indeed, he was one.

Before the troops reached the palace gates, her majesty came out upon the balcony, accompanied by the royal children, her mother, her uncle the King of the Belgians, her aunt the Duchess of Cambridge, her cousins the Princess Mary of Cambridge, the Princess Charlotte of Belgium, and the Count of Flanders; also by Prince Oscar of Sweden, and other illustrious persons. Her majesty wore a white dress and blue bonnet, and occupied the centre of the royal group, with the Prince of Wales by her side. When her majesty appeared upon the balcony, the shouts of the people arose in front of the palace, and were caught up along the Mall, rolling like thunder over the park. The eyes of her majesty turned towards Marlborough Gate, and she bent gently but earnestly forward; it was a quarter past twelve; a roll of drums, followed by huzzas, announced the Grenadier Guards, and instantly the head of the column was seen wheeling into the Mall.

Waving their tattered flags, their bands filling the air with triumphant music, these veterans of her household troops arrived in presence of the queen. She waved a white handkerchief with animation, and her countenance beamed with triumph. Her brave soldiers entered the south gate of the palace, and drew up before the balcony on which her majesty stood. She again waved her handkerchief, and the soldiers responded by such a cheer as they could only surpass if, in vindication of her rights and honour, they had met her majesty's enemies. The eagerness of the multitude was so great, that the Horse Guards and police were unable to keep the line, and some confusion ensued, the formation of the Fusileer Guards having been broken. After passing before her majesty, the troops left the palace enclosure by the North Gate, and passed up Constitution Hill to Hyde Park Corner. When the last rank had passed the palace balcony, her majesty retired, but the loud and long-continued cheers of the people recalled her; her countenance indicated a pleasure that could not be concealed, as she acknowledged their loyalty with grace and dignity.

At Hyde Park, the remaining four battalions of the household brigade of infantry were drawn up in the way indicated by General Airey's order of the previous day. Prince Albert was at the head of his regiment, the Grenadier Guards; the Duke of Cambridge at the head of his, the Fusileers; and the gallant Lord Strafford, colonel of the Coldstreams, too old to head his regiment, was in the carriage of the minister of war. A splendid assemblage of the nobility and gentry were present as spectators. The Duchess of Gloucester, her majesty's aunt, chose to witness the glory of the day from this point; here also were the cabinet ministers and the ambassadors. Count Persigny was conspicuous among these by the interest which he took in the scene.

At half-past twelve "the conquering heroes" came. When they reached the point of review, they were marched into line by Major-general Craufurd, under the orders of Major-general Lord Rokeby; the bands played, the other battalions presented arms, the people cheered, and from the windows, balconies, and house-tops in Park Lane flags were waved, and the voice of welcome came. Each of the "service battalions" was handed over to the colonel of the regiment to which they respectively belonged, and the Duke of Cambridge assumed the command of the troops on the field. Prince Albert then went to meet her majesty, and conduct her to the park. The queen, meantime, had left Buckingham Palace with her suite, in seven carriages, escorted by the Royal Horse Guards. The Duke of Wellington, her

master of the horse, rode immediately behind her carriage. On her majesty arriving at the saluting point, attended by the most brilliant and numerous military staff that ever followed her, the bands struck up the national anthem, and troops and people hailed their queen. Her majesty rode along the line, the soldiers and the populace making the park "ring again" with their acclamations. The bands of the Guards were then formed into one, and playing "See the conquering Hero comes," led the whole division past her majesty and a long line of general officers drawn up near her. The Guards, having marched past, were halted, the Duke of Cambridge at their head giving the word of command; they advanced to the flag-staff, to the royal salute. Her majesty then departed, the troops raising, as if with one voice, a loyal hurrah; this they prolonged, throwing up their bearskin caps, or waving them aloft on the points of their bayonets. They were, however, destined to pass before her majesty again, as they returned by way of the Birdcage Walk and St. James's Park to their quarters. Before they left Hyde Park, an incident occurred which showed the heartiness of the popular feeling. As soon as

her majesty left the park, the people, no longer able to bear restraint, broke with a wild cry through the cavalry who kept the line, and rushed upon the square in which the Guards were formed. The soldiers were not prepared for this, and viewed with astonishment the rush made upon them by the people. In an instant, husbands and wives, parents and sons and brothers, were clasped in one another's arms, and friends met friends with manly greeting.

There was one error only in the arrangements—no plan had been laid for the refreshment of the soldiers. After a long journey, while marching in heavy order, in a hot July sun, excited as they were by the welcome they received, and their arrival at London quarters once again, some of them complained of thirst on the line of march in the hearing of the people, many of whom made desperate efforts to provide a remedy; but the shops were shut in the line of progress, and the denseness of the multitude impeded the generous intention. Banquets and hospitalities, however, soon made up for past oversights, and the day was made throughout a season of festivity and joy.

## CHAPTER CXXVII.

### MODIFICATIONS OF THE TREATY OF PARIS.—DIPLOMATIC CONTESTS CONCERNING THE ISLE OF SERPENTS, THE NEW TURCO-RUSSIAN FRONTIER, AND THE UNION OF THE PRINCIPALITIES.

"Russia, in her diplomacy, is not a European but an Asiatic power: she regards no treaties except when those with whom she has contracted have power to enforce them, and then she endeavours, with consummate cunning, to evade the stipulations."—*Extract from an article by the Author in a Metropolitan Journal.*

REFERENCES have been made in the foregoing pages to the bad faith of Russia in the matter of the "Treaty of Paris:" it remains to present the terms of adjustment, as they were determined upon in one of the last general diplomatic transactions connected with the war.

After the Paris conference had terminated its sittings, and Europe had supposed that the terms of peace were definitively settled, new difficulties presented themselves. The Russians made various attempts to seize the Isle of Serpents; and, but for the vigilance of Admiral Lyons, they would have effected their purpose. The modes adopted to accomplish this object were as furtive and faithless as the object itself was fraudulent. On the ostensible ground that the Isle of Serpents belonged properly to Bessarabia, Russia at first endeavoured to vindicate her conduct in this particular. When she perceived that all Europe pronounced that ground untenable, Russia assumed that the Isle of Serpents belonged to Moldavia, and as a portion of Moldavia was to be ceded to her,

according to the treaty of Paris, she declared that the Isle of Serpents fairly belonged to the cession. Unfortunately, nothing had been said of this island in the Paris treaty. None of the plenipotentiaries for a moment supposed that any pretence on the part of Russia would be set up for claiming the island—much less that her agents and emissaries would try to seize it. The haste with which the settlement made by the Paris conference was accomplished, in order to please the French emperor, allowed of many things being omitted, or only imperfectly arranged. The omission of all mention of the Isle of Serpents was quietly connived at by the Russian plenipotentiaries, who were no doubt alive to its importance, and had already concocted the future proceedings of their government in the matter. Accordingly, when they attempted quietly to take possession, and were defeated in the attempt by Lord Lyons, the Russian ministers at the various courts assumed the tone of representatives of a confiding and ill-used government. The French emperor took no interest in this occurrence, and his

government clandestinely favoured the pretensions of the czar. No appeals on the part of England, Turkey, and Austria, to the French government had any effect, until it perceived that the three powers were resolute, and that France must be prepared to see the war renewed, under other auspices, unless she herself insisted on the faithful fulfilment of the treaty of Paris. The Russians had sought to deceive the English admiral, by falsifying a document which purported to come from the Turkish authorities, authorising Russia to take possession. Admiral Lyons and his officers saw through the trick and exposed it; England called the attention of France to the baseness and perfidy of the Russian government; but, neither in the case of the Isle of Serpents, nor of the Danubian frontier, did the treachery of the czar rouse the honour of the French government. English representations were slighted, and the most fulsome eulogies were interchanged between the two emperors, and the members of their cabinets. The first indication of the perfidiousness of the Russian *chancellerie*, and the time-serving of the French court and cabinet, arose in connection with the Isle of Serpents—another speedily followed. By an ingenious suppression of the superior local intelligence possessed by the Russian plenipotentiaries at the Paris conferences, the line of rectification for the Russian territory was so drawn as to favour the secret designs of the czar. The intention of the allies was to exclude Russia from the Danube, so that she could no longer have a pretence for controlling the freedom of its navigation. Russia determined, if possible, to retain some contiguity with that river, so as to obtain once more the control of its waters. For this purpose she tried to seize the Isle of Serpents, which would have enabled her to command the Delta almost as effectually as if she still held the Sulina mouth. So, in like manner, her plenipotentiaries allowed the Paris conference to trace the line of her Bessarabian frontier according to a French map, which they knew to be erroneous, and which, therefore, would enable the Russian government to hold an inlet from the river, by which communication with it might be maintained by gun-boats and other small craft. Had the line of the French map been adopted, Russia, in spite of the allied objects in waging the war, and of the terms of peace they had conquered, would have still been a Danubian power. A misappropriation of names, especially of one particular locality which was called by several designations, was the error of which the faithless negotiators of the czar took advantage at Paris. When the commissioners appointed to define the boundary went over the line, they perceived its impracticability, and that Russia

would, with such a boundary conceded to her, reconquer by negotiation all that she had lost by arms. Plain as the case was to every honest mind, Russia insisted upon the terms of the treaty, and her own right of interpreting them. France dishonourably backed her in these pretensions; England, Austria, and Turkey resisted, and there seemed a prospect that peace, so newly concluded, would be disturbed; but the French emperor, who had been much in retirement, and was or affected to be indifferent to what he supposed, or seemed to suppose were minor arrangements, had his attention called to the state of affairs, overruled his ministers, and reanimated the English alliance. The Russian government, finding an unexpected difficulty in the good-will of the French emperor to England, called for another conference to reconsider the treaty of the 30th of March. This was resisted by England, Austria, and Turkey, but the French, Prussian, and Sardinian governments supporting the demands of the czar, the other three powers conditionally consented. The conduct of the Prussian government throughout these proceedings was in all respects unjust to the allies; that government acted as the tool of Russia in the whole affair. The government press of Berlin justified the attempts of the czar's emissaries to seize the Isle of Serpents, and supported the Russian interpretation of the treaty of March 30th, although all Europe saw that such interpretation was dishonest. The personal behaviour of the king of Prussia throughout these transactions was as bad as the policy of his government, and the spirit of the press of Berlin.

At last, a re-assembling of the conference was resolved upon, as the least of the various evils which presented themselves to the powers in the result of these questions being kept open. Accordingly, the representatives of the governments concerned met in Paris at the beginning of the year 1857. On the 6th of January a protocol was signed for carrying out the provisions of the treaty of the 30th of March, 1856. All the ministers who attached their signatures to the protocols of March, 1856, were not present at the renewed conference. Baron Hübner on the part of Austria, Count Walewski for France, Lord Cowley for England, Count Hatzfeldt for Prussia, Baron Brunnow for Russia, the Marquis Villa-Marina for Sardinia, and Mehemmed Djemil for Turkey, constituted the congress of plenipotentiaries who assembled at Paris in January, 1857.

On the 7th of January Lord Cowley communicated to the Earl of Clarendon the final adjustment of these difficulties, which was received by the English minister of Foreign Affairs on the 8th, and met with the approba-

tion of the cabinet. A telegraph announcing the approval of the English government caused much rejoicing in Paris, where the desire for peace did not correspond with the French reputation for martial spirit. The great majority of all ranks in the social scale were eager for "peace at any price." Every one had in his mouth the saying, "The glory of France has culminated at the Malakoff!" and this seemed a sufficient reason for sacrificing the substantial objects of the war to the enemy, and for sacrificing to that enemy also faithful allies and friends. Considering that the success of the Malakoff was a surprise, and that everywhere else during the final assault the French experienced ruinous defeat, the "culmination" of French glory was not so much to boast of as the exhibition of French endurance and of French valour throughout the war, and which so much influenced the great result. At all events, our neighbours, not only in Paris, but throughout France, hailed the decision of England with unbounded joy. From the emperor to the peasant there was no dissembling—the intelligence was welcomed with exuberant satisfaction. What the decision of the British government would be was well known to the emperor and his cabinet, and pretty well understood by political society in France, but there was an apprehension that the supposed warlike propensities of Lord Palmerston would at the last hour possibly prevail; and as England was the arbitress of peace and war, the decision of the English cabinet was received with one accent of joyous acclamation throughout *la belle France*.

The letter of Lord Cowley and the protocol itself were published by order of the British parliament early in 1857. The former document is full and explicit, and lays the terms of settlement fairly before the English government and nation. That there were efforts made by France, Prussia, and Sardinia, antagonistic to the other three powers, to gain as much concession as possible for Russia, were, however, clearly indicated by the letter of Lord Cowley, and drew down upon the French emperor and the Prussian king the severest denunciations of the British press and the unmeasured disapprobation of the British people. Still it was felt that but for the personal bias of the French emperor on the side of his august ally, Queen Victoria, and of her people, things would have been less satisfactory,—for it was understood that the will of the emperor, in opposition to the most earnest importunities of his ministers, and even their intrigues, cast the balance so far in favour of English policy. It was also alleged that the empress and Prince Napoleon used all their influence to defeat the machinations of Walewski and Morny, and others of the emperor's admirers who were so

solicitous to inaugurate a pro-Russian-anti-English policy.

Russia finding that the triple alliance of England, Austria, and Turkey, could not be broken, and that the French emperor was at once decided to maintain his friendship with Victoria, and be concessive to his new friend the czar, pretended to accept Komrat, on the Yalpouk, in exchange for Bolgrad, especially as England insisted sternly that both New and Old Bolgrad should belong to Moldavia. Turkey demanded, with more firmness than was expected, that in future the Delta of the Danube should not belong to her simply as a part of her Moldavian provinces, but be counted a part of Turkey proper. Austria did not support this so warmly as England, but the plenipotentiaries of all these powers persisted in the demand. The Isle of Serpents was recognised also as belonging to Turkey proper.

These arrangements filled the Russian court, cabinet, and people with chagrin and anger. The triumph of English policy and Turkish interests was signal. Austria had counted for something; she was not the mere vassal which the Czar Nicholas chose to represent her to Sir Hamilton Seymour before the war began. All the efforts in war and negotiation which Russia had put forth were foiled by England; the genius of one man, Viscount Palmerston, and the spirit of the people of the British Isles, had defeated all the force and guile for which the Muscovite had won so great a reputation.

The following is a copy of Lord Cowley's letter to Lord Clarendon, and of the protocol which it inclosed. In the papers published by parliament maps and plans are annexed, showing the outline of the boundaries; to these plans reference is made in the protocol under the indices of the letters printed in the copy here given. The plans are not of sufficient interest to copy in this volume, as all that the general reader can feel concerned to know of the boundary is upon what principle it is laid down, and whether Muscovite access to the Danube is completely excluded by it; the precise topographical limitation is of no importance, except so far as that great end is accomplished.

It may be necessary to observe, that however the omission by the plenipotentiaries at the congress of 1856 of all mention of the Isle of Serpents showed a want of vigilance and of proper distrust of Russia, yet there is this extenuation of their error, that in no previous treaty between Turkey and Russia was any mention made of that island. The conference of January, 1857, however, settled for ever all dispute concerning it, by pronouncing it an appendage of the Delta of the Danube.

*Protocol, signed at Paris, the 6th of January, 1857, for carrying out the Provisions of the Treaty of the 30th of March, 1856.*

LORD COWLEY TO THE EARL OF CLARENDON.

(Received January 8th.)

Paris, January 7th, 1857.

MY LORD,—I have the honour to inclose herewith a certified copy of the protocol of conference, with the plans annexed thereto, signed yesterday at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs by the plenipotentiaries of Great Britain, Austria, France, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, wherein are recorded the results of the discussions which have taken place on certain points connected with the execution of the treaty of the 30th of March, and by which, I trust, are definitively set at rest the differences of opinion which had arisen among the powers, parties to that treaty, respecting the right interpretation of Article XX., in consequence of its being found on actual survey that certain localities were not situated as had been supposed by the Paris Congress.

Although it is matter of regret, it is not surprising, considering the scanty information which could be obtained respecting the geographical details of the countries bordering the Lower Danube, that these errors should have occurred, or that, in endeavouring to rectify them, differences of opinion should have manifested themselves among the parties interested. But it was the duty of all, if a common centre of union was to be sought; if disagreement was not to degenerate into animosity; if the treaty of the 30th of March was not to remain a dead letter—to abate somewhat of their respective views, and to meet each other in a conciliatory spirit. The decision of the majority of the conference might, indeed, have been appealed to, but when opinions had been so strongly pronounced, it could not have been enforced without leaving a feeling of soreness to be deprecated in the minds of those whose judgment was overruled. The necessity of a compromise, if harmony was to be preserved, was felt by all, and the emperor, moved by this consideration, took upon himself to propose a settlement, which has been accepted by all parties.

The arrangement proposed by his majesty, while it maintains inviolate, by assigning both New and Old Bolgrad to Moldavia, the principle on which Article XX. was originally framed, of removing Russia from all communication with the Danube and Lower Pruth, meets the desire of the Russian government to have a capital for the Bulgarian colonies which remain to Russia, by giving her the town of Komrat, on the Yalpouk. At the same time the wish expressed by Turkey that the Delta of the Danube, of which she formerly was

mistress, should be restored to her instead of being transferred to Moldavia, is acceded to, and the Isle of Serpents is declared to be an appendage of the Delta.

Her majesty's government having met this proposal in the same conciliatory spirit in which it had been made by the French government and the other governments interested, moved by sentiments equally honourable, having notified their acquiescence in it, the task of the plenipotentiaries has been limited to recording in a collective instrument the agreement at which their governments had separately arrived.

It only remains for me to congratulate your lordship and her majesty's government on this termination of difficulties and discussions, which have not been without their gravity, and to express the hope that the agreement which has thus been attained may prove an omen of continued peace and friendship among the powers who have given this proof of goodwill and respect for each other.

I have, &c.,

COWLEY.

INCLOSURE.

(Translation.)

[Protocol, signed at Paris, January 6th, 1857.]

Present:—

The Plenipotentiaries of AUSTRIA,	FRANCE,
"	GREAT BRITAIN,
"	PRUSSIA,
"	RUSSIA,
"	SARDINIA,
"	TURKEY.

The plenipotentiaries of the courts of Austria, France, Great Britain, Prussia, Russia, Sardinia, and Turkey, duly authorised, having assembled in conference in order to devise the means of terminating the difficulties which the Boundary Commission, charged with the execution of Article XX. of the Treaty of Paris, has encountered in consequence of the position of places, have decided, after an examination of the reports of the Boundary Commissioners, that the said frontier shall be definitely traced, according to the Plan No. 1, initialled by the undersigned, and annexed to the present protocol; that it shall, consequently, commence from the Black Sea at a point 2936 metres to the east of Lake Bournasola, marked on the said plan by the letter *b*, and following a broken line shown by the letters *c, d, e, l, k, j, i, h, m, n, o*, where it joins the Akerman Road, which it follows as far as the letter *p*; proceeding from thence to the Val de Trajan by the letters *q, r, s, t, v, x, y, d', e', f', g', v'*; following the Val de Trajan as far as the letter *p'*; again taking the Akerman Road as far as the ravine of Ali-Aga, which it ascends

as far as the letter *t'*; passing thence by the letters *u', v', x', y'*; reaching from thence, in a straight line, to the Val de Trajan at the point where it is intersected by the River Karakourt coming from Koubey, and following it as far as the River Yalpouk, the mid-channel of which it ascends to the mouth of the Kirsau, to the north of Kongas, and at the letter *A*; ascending this stream till the line meets the road from Komrat to Borogani, at the letter *A'*, which road it follows as far as the letter *B*, and thence ascends the Lower Yalpougel as far as the letter *C*, and proceeds as far as the letter *D*, where it meets the Saratsika, which it ascends as far as the letter *E*; proceeding from thence towards the Pruth, by the line indicated by the letters *v'', x'', y'', z'', r'', a''', b''', c''', d''', e''', f''', g''', h''', i''', j''', and k'''*.

The plenipotentiaries having agreed that the marking out of the boundary, and the delivery of the territory to Moldavia, shall be completed by the 30th of March next, at the latest, it is understood that the Austrian troops shall have evacuated the principalities of Wallachia and Moldavia, and that the British squadron shall have quitted the Black Sea and the Bosphorus, at latest, at the same date.

The Convention of the Straits will, from that time, come into force.

The plenipotentiaries agree that the islands included between the different branches of the Danube at its mouth, and forming the Delta of that river, as shown by the Plan No. 2 hereto annexed, and initialled, shall, instead of being annexed to the principality of Moldavia, as stipulated by Article XXI. of the Treaty of Paris, be replaced under the immediate sovereignty of the Sublime Porte, of which they formerly held.

The plenipotentiaries agree, moreover, that the Treaty of Paris having, like the treaties previously concluded between Russia and Turkey, been silent with regard to the Isle of Serpents, that island is to be considered as an appendage to the Delta of the Danube, and must, in consequence, follow its destination.

In the general interest of maritime commerce, the Ottoman government engages to maintain on that island a lighthouse destined to render secure the navigation of vessels proceeding to the Danube and to the port of Odessa; the River Commission, established by Article XVII. of the Treaty of Paris for the purpose of maintaining the mouths of that river, and the neighbouring parts of the sea, in a navigable state, will see to the regular performance of the service of such lighthouse.

The present protocol shall have the same force and validity as if it had assumed the form of a convention; but it is understood that, when the Boundary Commission shall have concluded its labours, a convention shall

be signed by the high contracting powers, recording the frontier such as it shall have been established by the commissioners, and the resolutions taken on the subject of the Isle of Serpents and the Delta of the Danube.

(Signed)

HÜBNER.  
WALEWSKI.  
COWLEY.  
HATZFELDT.  
BRUNNOW.  
VILLA-MARINA.  
MEHEMMED DJEMIL.

It will be seen that when this protocol was signed the Boundary Commission had not concluded its labours. Ultimately these were brought to a successful termination, Russia no longer offering any impediment. She saw at last that the course of obstruction previously pursued could render no service to her interests, and might still further expose her to humiliation.

Still there were discussions of a painful and protracted nature connected with Wallachia and Moldavia, in which Russia was the agent of mischief, and Turkey exposed to apprehensions concerning the nature of the future relations of her trans-Danubian provinces.

The government of those territories, it was hoped, placed for ever beyond Russian control, or even a pretext for Russian interference, had to be fixed in accordance with the treaty of Paris, and the czar here found another opportunity for meddling mischievously with Turkish interests, and for intriguing against Turkish influence and authority, and even the future integrity of the sultan's empire. It will be recollected that the religion of the Rouman race is according to the Greek rite, and that this circumstance gives to the czar an influence in those provinces. The Greek priests of Russia have necessarily much intercourse with their brethren of the borders. A sympathy, natural and even proper, would be supposed *a priori* to exist between the Russian and Rouman peoples, but more especially their clergy. When the czar installed himself, under pretence of this sympathy, the *quasi*-protector of the whole territory from Podolia to the Danube, from the Pruth to the Austrian frontier,—having previously conquered Bessarabia, another province inhabited by the Roumans,—he was regarded in Europe generally as virtually master of all that fertile realm. So oppressive were his exactions, so haughty his military officers, so dishonest his civil officials, so coarse and brutal his soldiery, so jealous was he of the legitimate influence of the patriarch of Constantinople, and so hotly eager for the recognition of his own official religious supremacy, without waiting for time, and the intrigues of his clerical and

official agents, to draw the people quietly beneath his ecclesiastical yoke—that the Roumans became hostile to him, and preferred their allegiance to Turkey under the existing guarantees of religious liberty, or, more properly, their religious ascendancy, in the provinces. There has always been a large party, even in Bessarabia and Podolia, who regarded the Greek patriarch as the centre of Greek unity, and the czar as an ecclesiastical usurper. This feeling was still stronger in Wallachia and Moldavia, although Turkey took no pains to cultivate it; while within the Austrian borders, the Roumans were encouraged to look to Constantinople rather than St. Petersburg for the head of their rite, while of course Austria “left no stone unturned” to loosen the connection with both capitals, and insidiously to disseminate the religious influence which has its spring and centre at Rome. Under these circumstances the only hope, after the treaty of Paris, especially as interpreted and defined by the protocol of January, 1857, which Russia could entertain of infringing upon the authority of the Porte in Danubian Turkey must be found in the exercise, if possible, of a powerful fanatical religious influence in the Moldo-Wallachian territory. The new boundary in Bessarabia left it impossible for Moscow to come politically to the Danube, except through the influence of the Greek priesthood in the two provinces. The czar, therefore, by his agents, embarrassed in every possible way the settlement of the treaty of Paris in reference to those provinces. A large party in those countries was desirous for their political union. This desire sprung from patriotic motives in the main. It was thought that the Rouman race united would wield a power which surrounding governments would be compelled to respect. This party demanded that, in any settlement of the future government of Wallachia and Moldavia, the union of the two provinces, politically, religiously, judicially, and commercially, should be a *sine quâ non*. Russia at once laid hold of this patriotic feeling for her own purposes: for seeing that it would be easier for her to move by her intrigues one government than two governments, she favoured the union. Besides, the more compact and strong a Greek province (Greek in religion, although not in race) on the Turkish frontier, the more formidable in any outburst of religious fanaticism or secular differences that province would be. The more easy also would it be to incorporate the whole of Wallachia and Moldavia with Bessarabia and Podolia, in case any convulsion gave Russia an opportunity of so doing, when “the sick man” might be ailing more than heretofore, and the Western governments, at war with one another, or so occupied with adverse powers or their

own internal affairs as to prevent their interposition. Besides, a strong province, with a single government (that government possessing an independence unknown to a provincial constitution in any other empire) professing the same religion—the religion of Russia, the people, by race and religion, allied to those inhabiting the contiguous provinces of Austria, would be a standing menace to that power as well as Turkey. Russia in fact felt that Moldavia and Wallachia united, their government substantially independent of the Porte, connected with Russia by religious sympathy at least, perhaps in a little time by ecclesiastical official relations also, she could use that province as a fulcrum for the lever of her power, to upheave and break, not only the empire of the sultan, but also that of the *kasir*.

Russia had not abandoned her designs against Turkey—she had only deferred them. The snake was scotched, but that was all. The czar still believed in Peter the Great, both as a statesman and a prophet, and the policy shadowed forth by Menschikoff at Constantinople, in 1853, was furtively cherished at St. Petersburg in 1857. The tide of Russian glory had been rolled back, but as where the waters of the sea have ebbed, a spring tide may roll them higher than before; so Russian statesmen hoped for Russian power, and especially for the flow of that power on towards the great capital of Eastern Europe, even yet. The Porte perceived this covert ambition, and resisted the union of the provinces. Not only so; but the ministers of the sultan pressed their views unfairly and impolitically upon the provinces, by practical measures inconsistent with the existing constitutions there, and the basis of future government laid down by the Paris conference. The agents of the vizier inflamed the evils; it was the interest of his government to soothe and heal. Constantinople, Bucharest, and Jassy, became so many new *foci* of political *finesse* connected with this subject. The interest of the Porte lay in the absence of all trick, and a close clinging to England, her counsels, her policy, and her protection. “The *divans ad hoc*” were convoked and revoked, and were the subjects of ceaseless intrigue, diplomatic clamour, and misunderstanding.

Austria took a firm footing at last amidst this hubbub. She feared for the safety of her Dacian provinces, where the people were loyal: she dreaded Russian ambition and Russian revenge. It had not been her desire to see Turkey strong on her frontier, but her eyes were at last opened to the truth that alliance with Turkey and England is the true policy of Austria. She should make it as much the interest of the Western governments to preserve the integrity of the Austrian empire, as it regards Russia, as they find it to be their interest to preserve

the integrity of the dominions of the sultan, so far as the encroachment of any great European power is concerned. Under these circumstances Austria sided with Turkey, and declared boldly that, until there was some sufficient guarantee that the power of the Porte should not be undermined in the provinces, Austrian troops would hold them for the sultan. This language was adopted at the instigation of the Porte itself, and with the sanction of England, who saw the danger, and resolved, with the characteristic firmness of her premier and of her foreign minister, to meet it with adequate resolution.

The menace of an English fleet in the Bosphorus, and an Austrian army in the principalities, were not unnecessary to meet the new intrigues of Russia. This was especially the case, as France once more played false to England, and coquetted with her recent enemy. As the elder Napoleon with the elder Alexander, so the younger Napoleon with the younger Alexander. The upstart emperor, in either case, instead of relying upon his own genius and the suffrage of France, sought to conciliate legitimacy, and ally a despotism, created by genius and the popular will, with one which pleaded the *jus divinum*, and pointed back with mailed hand to generations of undisputed authority. France backed Russia unrighteously and shamefully in the scheme of provincial union, although it was as clear to the French government as to that of England, Austria, or Turkey, that it would not promote the freedom of the provinces, and that the ends of Russia would alone be answered by such a measure. It had been agreed at Paris by the plenipotentiaries that the opinion of the inhabitants should be taken as to the future government of those countries, and that "the powers" should not interfere with the expression of this opinion in any way. Russia at once violated this compact, as she does every agreement into which she enters; for her agents were forthwith set to work, and the Greek priests of the provinces became also her agents, to incite the people in favour of the plan upon which she had set her heart. It was France, however, that first *publicly* violated the agreement. Counts Walewski and Morny once more conspired to counteract Turkish and English views. The *Moniteur* announced the opinion of the French government. This was done in a tone of insolent braggadocio, resembling very much an imperial decree. It was met, however, by the English government by quiet, dignified, but firm remonstrance; and from that hour the English ministry, before neutral, took its course against the union. The English press also noticed, in a defiant tone, the grandiloquent announcements of the *Moniteur* and the other Parisian journals. The

spirit of the British government and press caused the French government and press to recede from their bold and imperious tone. The Austrian government, and the press of Vienna, emboldened by the example of England, declared the fixed resolution of the emperor to resist the pro-Russian measure. The Walewski-Morny gang of politicians by whom the French imperial throne was so unworthily surrounded were alarmed at the decided stand of the three great powers, but did not abandon their intrigues. Russia maintained a more astute policy than France, avoiding such overt acts as would further outrage the indignant feelings of the Austrian court, cabinet, and army, or of the English government and people.

Prussia during all this turmoil worked with what little influence she had for Russia and France. She cared nothing about the union of "the provinces," but she hated Austria, feared France, loved Russia; as France and Russia were on one side, and England and Austria on the other, and she had most to apprehend from the former two powers, she used the small modicum of her influence once more against the latter. Sardinia had been so flattered by Russia, and was in a position of such natural hostility to Austria, that her moral power was also against Turkey; still, the court and cabinet of Turin behaved with justice, moderation, and good taste throughout the controversy.

In this embroglio the Belgian government incurred most disgrace. Throughout the war the minister of that power offered impotent but malicious affront to the allies at Constantinople. The individual himself, as well as the government he represented, was, politically, too contemptible for France and England to take notice of either; besides, it was the interest of the French emperor to see an ultramontane government at Brussels much more than it was an inconvenience to have an ambassador of that government at Constantinople sympathising with the Russian autocrat. The king of the Belgians was the uncle of the Queen of England, and also of her consort, and the king himself was said to be embarrassed by the despotic principles of the government forced upon him by a parliamentary majority, whose representative the ambassador at the Turkish court might be considered. At last, in May, 1857, the intrigues of the Belgian ambassador to disturb the provinces led to his expulsion from Constantinople by the Turkish government, and made him the laughing-stock of so many members of the diplomatic corps of that capital as thought it worth while to laugh at him. It was, however, believed in Northern and Western Europe that the King of the Belgians was not so much opposed

to the conduct of his ostensible envoy as he himself wished to be believed in Paris and in London. A desire to see the provinces united, for the purpose of their entire separation from the government of the sultan, was attributed to the Belgian king. His motive in wishing their entire independence was said to be the appointment of his second son, the Count of Flanders, to the sovereignty. The King of Prussia was in favour of this scheme; and as a marriage between the Princess Charlotte of Belgium and an Austrian grand-duke was on the *tapis*, it was thought that the opposition of the *kasir* to the union of the provinces would be mollified by the prospect of their independence under a Belgian prince. Russia and France saw through the flimsy veil by which Belgium affected to cover her policy, and they accordingly used the agents of that government as if they had been their own, repudiating them when it was necessary or convenient.

The French emperor was supposed to be playing a similar game to that so absurdly played by the King of the Belgians. The emperor wanted for Prince Napoleon a kingdom somewhere, and it was supposed the principalities would suit him. The prince and the emperor were probably not of the same mind. It would be easier for a scion of the house of Cobourg to accommodate his conscience to the Greek rite than for the Prince Napoleon to do so.

Whatever might be the separate interests of the czar, the Emperor of the French, and the King of the Belgians, their policy was not conflicting—they played into one another's hands, but all lost. The firmness of the Pal-

merston cabinet defeated all the wiles and machinations of these *intrigantes*. The Austrian and Turkish governments were encouraged by the decision of England, and France again gave way after much bluster and some arrogance. Count Walewski was a very unfortunate minister, and proved himself utterly unable to cope with Lord Clarendon. Were it not for the superior ability of the emperor himself, the French government would have been the easy dupes of Russia, and France would have been committed to a policy at once humiliating and destructive. The English government finally conceded the judicial and commercial union of the provinces, but this was, in fact, to soothe the offended vanity of the French politicians, for England never had any motive or desire to resist the application to either province of a judicial and commercial system applicable to both; her objection was to a political union—a blending of the two states into one, so as to subserve the national designs of Russia, or the personal designs of any of the petty princes of Christendom, against the integrity of the Turkish empire, for which she had so bravely battled and bled.

The termination of this struggle concerning the Dacian provinces was the termination of the diplomatic and actual history of the war.

One more chapter shall be devoted to home, and to a single event at home—an event which, from its domestic appeal to our patriotic sympathies, more appropriately closes our story than could a record of diplomatic craft and foreign intrigue.

## CHAPTER CXXVIII.

DISTRIBUTION OF THE VICTORIA CROSS, THE BADGE OF THE NEW ORDER OF VALOUR, IN HYDE PARK, BY THE QUEEN IN PERSON, IN THE PRESENCE OF HER TROOPS AND PEOPLE. —CLOSE OF THIS HISTORY.

"For valour."—*Inscription on the Victoria Cross.*

THE bestowment of the Victoria Cross by her majesty in person, in the presence of her troops, was looked forward to with the deepest interest by the recipients, the army, and the general public. The badge itself was unworthy of the occasion, and of the order of which it was the symbol. It was poor in appearance, and the conception was without dignity. It consisted of a cross cast from the metal of cannon captured from the enemy, bearing as the effigy a coarse design of the lion and crown, and on the lower part of the perpendicular bar a scroll, with the words "FOR VALOUR." The execution was rude, and its whole appearance was regarded both by the army and the public

with displeasure.\* Friday, the 26th of June, 1857, was appointed as the day for the distribution of these tokens of the esteem in which her majesty and her people held the bravest of their brave. The place selected for the celebration was only appropriate because of its local and historic associations. In every other respect it was the worst that could be possibly selected. The quartermaster-general thought

\* A witty satirist thus cleverly wrote concerning it:—

THE PLAIN CROSS OF VALOUR.

"Here's Valour's Cross, my men; 'twill serve,  
Though rather ugly—take it.  
John Bull a medal can deserve,  
But can't contrive to make it."

otherwise, and he was supported by a portion of the press. The *Daily News*, generally so impartial and accurate, described the position thus:—"For some days previous to the ceremonial, opinions had been freely expressed that Hyde Park was not the best site for its celebration, but in our judgment it presented more of the requisites and fewer of the drawbacks for such a pageant than the Horse-guards' Parade, which is in the centre of the heat and dust of the town, is circumscribed in extent, and has exceeding narrow means of ingress and egress, matters of deep importance whenever great crowds of people are to be collected. Hyde Park, in short, looked exceedingly well as seen through the mellow mist of a mid-summer morning, with its bronze Achilles in the foreground pointing to the scene of the review, its wide expanse of grassy plain, its clumps of fine trees, and its ever-moving crowd, all converging in long streams towards the great centre of attraction." This language fairly represents the views of those who approved of the quartermaster-general's selection. The site chosen was somewhat convex; the parade of the Horse Guards is not in the centre of the smoke and dust of the town, and the means of exit from St. James's Park were numerous and ample, while the nature of the ground around the grand parade of the Horse Guards would have afforded a far greater number of persons an opportunity of witnessing the scene. However, the site chosen was not made the most of. The praises accorded by the *Morning Chronicle*, *Morning Post*, *Daily News*, and other daily papers, to the accommodation provided for the people were not merited by the authorities, while the censures lavished upon them by the *Times* and *Morning Advertiser* undoubtedly were deserved. The arrangements for the privileged public to whom tickets were given were described by the *Daily News* as "a line of convenient open galleries running along the whole length of the ground, and capable of accommodating from ten to twelve thousand persons." "These galleries—or pens, as they might be called—were, except the three central ones, without seats, an omission which caused serious inconvenience, and was much remarked on. On the other hand, their admirable viewing capabilities, and the strength of their construction reflected great credit on Sir Benjamin Hall, and the staff of the board of works by whom the right honourable baronet's judicious arrangements were carried out." As the author of this book possessed a peer's ticket, and traversed nearly the whole line of the galleries, very well described as "pens," he can aver that it would be utterly impossible to contrive any arrangement for the ostensible accommodation of that portion of the public for which it was designed more awkward and

unsuitable. As there were no seats, tall men—officers with their helmets and shakos among them—occupied front places, while in the centre and at the top of the "pens" or galleries delicate ladies, aged persons, and others of low stature, could see no more of the glorious transactions of the day than the vendors of lemonade and ginger beer, who moved to and fro in the rear of the unprivileged crowd, who were left to push their own way as best they could to a view of the field. Had there been seats, ladies, the aged, and the feeble, could have taken front positions, which would have been readily conceded, while the tall and strong would have had an equally good view from the rear. The galleries being on an inclined plane of coarse planking, without seats, those behind pressed upon those before, under the fiercest sun that for forty years had shone upon London, and ladies of the highest distinction suffered much. The galleries ran along in straight lines to the right and left of that provided for her majesty and suite (which she did not enter); and as she did not move far forward into the field for the purpose of the distribution, only a few hundred persons out of the 16,000 who were "accommodated" in the horse-boxes called galleries had even a glimpse of the august ceremonial.

The distribution of the cross was made the occasion for a grand review of the troops in London who could be spared from the routine duties of the garrison, and such regiments as the authorities chose to bring up from Aldershot. In this matter the secretary of war showed an unfair partiality to his countrymen. The 79th Highlanders were honoured with a post on the occasion, although the regiment had seen comparatively little service during the Crimean campaign, while the 19th, the 88th, and other regiments at Aldershot which had borne the brunt of war, were not called upon to partake in the glory of the occasion. No corps in the service was more ready to do its duty—no men in the army were more forward to serve her majesty in the field or the breach than her gallant Highlanders, for when did Scotsmen ever turn their back upon a foe? but in this particular celebration those regiments were most entitled to take part who had suffered and performed most in the actual conflict. The men reviewed consisted of the household cavalry and infantry, some troops of horse artillery, the Enniskillen Dragoons, 11th Hussars, 79th Highlanders, Rifle Brigade, a battalion of the Royal Marines, detachments of engineers, sappers, and miners, ambulance, army works, and land-transport corps, about 200 sailors, the Chelsea pensioners, and the boys of the Duke of York's Military School and of the Royal Naval School. The whole were under the command of Sir Colin Camp-

bell: the artillery was commanded by Sir W. F. Williams, Bart., of Kars; the infantry by Lords de Ros and William Paulet; the Earl of Cardigan had charge of the cavalry.

From the early hour of seven o'clock the populace poured to the field in vast streams by every thoroughfare which conducted to the park; and long before the hour appointed for the ceremony the stands set apart for the nobility, gentry, and officers not on duty, were filled to inconvenience, fashionable crowds in vain resorting to importunity to conquer the obstructive fidelity of the police for a place within the enclosures.

The royal "stand" was profusely decorated, and chairs of state were placed within it. In front of it stood a table covered with scarlet cloth, and the crosses were strewed upon it. The troops were drawn up in line, the centre being opposite to the place set apart for her majesty. The cavalry occupied her majesty's left; next to them the household infantry; then the engineers, sappers and miners, Highlanders, Rifle Brigade, sailors, and marines. The Guards occupied the flanks. The boys of the military and naval schools were placed on the flanks at right angles with the artillery. The pensioners of Chelsea Hospital were drawn up in line upon her majesty's right as spectators; the position assigned to them was in front of what may be called the grand stand, occupied by those of the public who had tickets—a very inconvenient arrangement, as they intercepted the view of those who stood lowest within the enclosure. Many of these veterans wore medals, badges of honour for their participation in the Peninsular struggle, and the Belgian and French campaign of 1815, and some for services in India. The appearance of the troops was very fine; many of them were bronzed with the sun of the Crimea, and the younger men with that of the camp at Aldershot. Among the spectators was a large number of veterans, whose breasts were covered with decorations—the badges of high military orders, as well as medals commemorative of great battles or important campaigns. The position of the mass of the people was remote, and not one in a thousand could catch so much as a glimpse of the grand ceremonial.

Immediately in front of the royal pavilion was drawn up the line of heroes—sixty-two in number—upon whom the honorary reward was about to be conferred. They were marshalled by Lieutenant Knox, of the Rifle Brigade, whose breast was a blaze of military decorations, and whose empty sleeve showed that he had lost an arm in defence of his queen and country. He was the object of very especial interest and sympathy; and even the titled and aristocratic persons who crowded the position at which the author of these pages was

favoured with a place, not only regarded Lieutenant Knox with sympathy, but commented freely upon the circumstance of such a man still remaining a subaltern. The names and rank in the service of these recipients of the Victoria Cross were as follow:—

ROYAL NAVY.

(Including the Naval Brigade employed on Shore.)

Commander Henry James Raby.  
Commander John Bythesea (Baltic).  
Commander Hugh Talbot Burgoyne.  
Lieutenant Charles Davis Lucas (Baltic).  
Lieutenant William Nathan Wright Hewett.  
Mr. John Roberts, gunner.  
Mr. Joseph Kellaway, boatswain.  
Mr. Henry Cooper, boatswain.  
Joseph Trewas, seaman.  
Thomas Reeves, seaman.  
Henry Curtis, boatswain's mate.  
George Ingouville, captain of the mast (Baltic).

ROYAL MARINES.

First Lieutenant George Dare Dowell (Baltic).  
Thomas Wilkinson, bombardier.

THE ARMY.

2nd Dragoons.—Sergeant-major John Grieve.  
4th Dragoons.—Private Samuel Parkes.  
11th Hussars.—Lieutenant Alexander Robert Dunn (late of).  
17th Lancers.—Troop-sergeant-major John Berryman.  
Royal Artillery.—Colonel Collingwood Dickson, C.B.; Captain Andrew Henry, quartermaster (late of the Land Transport Corps); Captain Gronow Davis; Sergeant Daniel Cambridge; Gunner and Driver Thomas Arthur.  
Royal Engineers.—Lieutenant Gerald Graham; Corporal John Ross; Corporal William J. Lendrim; Sapper John Perie.  
Grenadier Guards.—Colonel the Hon. H. Hugh Manvers Percy; Brevet-major Sir Charles Russell, Bart.; Sergeant Alfred Ablett; Private Anthony Palmer.  
Coldstream Guards.—Brevet-major Gerald Littlehales Goodlake; Brevet-major John Augustus Conolly (late of the 49th regiment); Private George Strong.  
Scots Fusilier Guards.—Brevet-major Robert James Lindsay; Sergeant James McKechnie; Private William Reynolds.  
4th Regiment.—Private Thomas Grady.  
7th Regiment.—Lieutenant William Hope (late of); Assistant-surgeon Thomas Egerton Hale, M.D.; Private Matthew Hughes; Private William Norman.  
8th Regiment.—Ensign Andrew Moynihan.  
19th Regiment.—Private Samuel Evans; Private John Lyons.  
23rd Regiment (A.).—Lieutenant Luke O'Connor; Corporal Robert Shields (late of).  
34th Regiment.—Private William Coffey; Private John Sims (late of).  
44th Regiment.—Sergeant William M'Wheaney.  
49th Regiment.—Sergeant George Walters (late of); Corporal James Owens.  
97th Regiment.—Brevet-major Charles Henry Lumley; Sergeant John Coleman.  
Rifle Brigade, 1st Battalion.—Brevet-major the Hon. Henry H. Clifford; Private Francis Wheatley.  
Rifle Brigade, 2nd Battalion.—Captain William James Cunningham; Lieutenant John Knox; Private Roderick M'Gregor; Private Robert Humpston; Private Joseph Bradshaw.  
Rifle Brigade, 3rd Battalion.—Brevet-major Claude Thomas Bouchier.

Royal Navy . . . . .	12
Royal Marines . . . . .	2
The Army . . . . .	48

Grand total for both services . . . 62

While all those gallant men attracted the notice of the troops, and of the privileged few who were in a position to see them distinctly, some more particularly drew attention as well as Lieutenant Knox. One of these was a man named Shields, a park-keeper. He had been in the 23rd (Royal Welsh Fusiliers). His dress as a park-keeper made him conspicuous, and led to inquiries concerning his services. He received the decoration for going out three times under a desperate fire to carry in wounded officers. A policeman, numbered 444 in the R division, also by his garb attracted the notice of the public, and many inquiries were made concerning his services. He had been a soldier in the 49th regiment, and repeatedly distinguished himself by acts of intrepidity; among them an act of heroism similar to those which made Shields the object of public honour. Lieutenant Hewett received more particular notice from her majesty than any other upon whose breast she placed the badge of this most honourable order. It will be recollected by the readers of this History, that this officer behaved most heroically in the siege of Sebastopol. He commanded the Lancaster battery, and when, in a moment of peril, the Russians advancing upon his flank, and the British infantry retiring, he was ordered to spike his remaining gun and retreat, he, doubting that such an order came from his superior, or perhaps affecting to doubt it, refused compliance. Instead of retiring, he broke down part of the parapet of his battery, widened the rest for his gun, and thereby extended the range. He then loaded with grape and canister, and directed the gun upon the advancing Russians, who were swept in whole ranks away by the near and powerful charge of this enormous gun. This heroic and skilful act was the means of retrieving the fortunes of the moment; the British infantry were reinforced and rallied, and the Russians were repulsed: as they retreated, Hewett, with his Lancaster, carried destruction among them. These heroes are particularly named, not because their deserts were greater than those of their gallant comrades in honour, but because they were more noticed by the general public, and one of them at least by her majesty. Our space does not permit us to recount the deeds of all.

Her majesty quitted Buckingham Palace about a quarter to 10 o'clock. The royal procession left the garden entrance in the following order:—

His Royal Highness the Prince Consort.	Her Majesty the Queen.	Prince Frederick William of Prussia.
Lady Churchill.	The Prince of Wales.	
Lady Codrington.	Prince Alfred.	
Colonel F. H. Seymour.	Baron de Moltke.	
	Lieutenant Cowell.	

Her majesty, the Prince Consort, and the remainder of the above, were on horseback,

and on reaching Constitution Hill were joined by the carriage procession, which had been formed in the quadrangle of the palace and which consisted of—

An open carriage and four, conveying the Duchess of Kent, the Duchess of Cambridge, the Princess Royal, and the Princess Alice.

An open carriage and four, conveying the Princesses Helena and Louisa, and the Princess Mary of Cambridge, and the Marchioness of Ely, lady in waiting.

An open carriage and four, conveying Prince Arthur and Prince Leopold, Lady Caroline Barrington, Lady Superintendent, and Lady Augusta Bruce, Lady in Waiting to the Duchess of Kent.

An open carriage and four, conveying the Prince of Leinengen, Lady Geraldine Somerset, Lady in Waiting to the Duchess of Cambridge, and the Honourable Eleanor Stanley and the Honourable Louisa Gordon, Maids of Honour in Waiting.

An open carriage and four, conveying Lord de Tabley, Lord in Waiting, Lieutenant-colonel F. Cavendish, Groom in Waiting, Colonel Sir George Couper, Equerry in Waiting to the Duchess of Kent, and Major Baron Knesebeck, Equerry in Waiting to the Duchess of Cambridge.

Lord Alfred Paget, Clerk Marshal, Major-general the Hon. C. Grey, and Lord Charles Fitzroy, Equerries to the Queen, and Captain du Plat, Equerry to the Prince Consort, were in attendance on horseback. A detachment of the Royal Horse Guards formed the escort of the Queen.

At eight minutes to ten, the firing of a royal salute by the artillery announced that her majesty was entering Hyde Park. This was the signal that the grand incident of the day had commenced, and the excitement ran through the line of troops, and along the dense dark circle of the populace, who were well described as "the frame of the picture." The order in which the Royal *cortège* entered the park was as follows:—

Deputy-Assistant Quartermaster-General.	Captain Sayer,
Detachment of Royal Horse Guards.	
The Sovereign's led horses.	
Aides-de-camp to the General Commanding-in-Chief,	
Lieutenant-Colonel Maude (extra).	
Lieutenant-Colonel Lord	Lieutenant-Colonel
Burghersh,	Clifton,
Colonel Tyrwhitt,	Hon. Colonel Macdonald.
Aides-de-camp to the Queen,	
Col. Marquis of Ailesbury,	Colonel Patten,
Colonel Duke of Buccleuch,	Colonel Lord Dynevor,
Col. Marquis of Donegal,	Colonel Holloway,
	Colonel His Serene High-
Colonel Lake,	ness Prince W. A. of
	Saxe Weimar,
Colonel J. W. Gordon,	Colonel Sir T. Troubridge.
Deputy Quartermaster-General to the Forces,	Deputy Adjutant-General
Hon. Colonel A. Gordon.	to the Forces,
	Colonel Forster.

Equerries to the Queen, and to his Royal Highness Prince Albert, in Waiting.

Military Secretary,	Quartermaster-General,
Major-General Sir C. Yorke.	Major-Gen. Sir R. Airey.
Adjutant-General Royal Artillery,	Adjutant-General of the Forces,
General Sir H. D. Ross,	Maj.-Gen. Sir G. Wetherall.
His Royal Highness the General Commanding-in-Chief.	
H.R.H. Her Majesty	Prince Frederick
Prince Albert.	the QUEEN. William of Prussia.
Gold Stick.	Master of the Horse.
Lady Churchill.	Prince of Wales.
Lady Codrington.	Prince Alfred.

Royal Carriages,  
Conveying Members of the Royal Family, each attended by an Equerry.

General Officers.  
Foreign General Officers,

and  
Equerries and Attendants upon Foreign Princes,

Two and Two.

Assistant Adjutant-General to the Forces.	Assistant Adjutant-Generals,	Assistant Quartermaster-General to the Forces.
Lieut.-Colonel Phipps.	Royal Artillery.	Colonel O'Brien.

Colonel Palliser. Lieut.-Colonel Bingham.

Lords-Lieutenant of Counties in Uniform,

Two and Two.

Royal Carriages if empty.

Detachment of Royal Horse Guards.

The cavalcade passed up in front of the "stands" occupied by the holders of tickets; and certainly seldom if ever had so brilliant a display been made by a royal procession. Her majesty sat with dignity a beautiful roan horse. On her right hand rode Prince William of Prussia, and on her left "the Royal Consort," as Prince Albert was, that day for the first time, legally designated\* in public. He rode

\* In the *Gazette* of Friday evening, the 26th of June, the following appeared:—

"At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 25th day of June, 1857. Present, the Queen's most excellent Majesty in Council:

"Whereas there was this day read at the board the draft of letters patent, conferring upon his Royal Highness Prince Albert the title and dignity of Prince Consort, her Majesty, having taken the same into consideration, was pleased, by and with the advice of her Privy Council, to approve thereof, and to order, as it is hereby ordered, that the Right Honourable Sir George Grey, Bart., one of her Majesty's principal secretaries of state, do cause a warrant to be prepared for her Majesty's signature, for passing letters patent conformable to the said draft under the great seal of Great Britain.

"WM. L. BATHURST."

At the Court at Buckingham Palace, the 25th day of June, 1857. Present the Queen's most excellent Majesty in Council:

"Whereas, by the Act of Uniformity, which establisheth the Liturgy, and enacts that no form or order of common prayer be openly used other than what is prescribed or appointed to be used in and by the said book, it is notwithstanding provided that, in all those prayers, litanies, and collects, which do anywise relate to the King, Queen, or royal progeny, the names be altered and changed from time to time, and fitted to the present occasion, according direction of lawful authority: her Majesty was pleased this day in council to declare her royal will and pleasure, that in all the prayers, litanies, and collects for the royal family, the words 'the Prince Consort' be inserted instead of the words 'the Prince Albert.'

"And her Majesty doth strictly charge and command that no edition of the Common Prayer be from henceforth printed but with this amendment; and that in the meantime, till copies of such editions may be had, all parsons, vicars, and curates within this realm do (for the preventing of mistakes), with the pen, correct and

a splendid bay horse, and wore the uniform of a field-marshal. Her majesty was attended by a long line of general officers among the most distinguished in her empire or in the world. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge was very conspicuous by his burly figure and his flowing beard. As commander-in-chief of her majesty's land forces, he occupied a prominent place in the arrangements of the day, and was greeted by the most enthusiastic cheers, dividing the applause of the multitude even with her majesty, warmly and loyally as she was received. It was a subject of general remark that no man deserved the Victoria Cross more than his royal highness, for his intrepid conduct at Inkerman (which has been recorded fully in the appropriate page of this History). The veteran Field-marshal Viscount Combermere, and the amiable and intrepid General Viscount Gough were much noticed by the people among the heroes in her majesty's suite. Sir Colin Campbell looked old and service-stricken. Sir W. F. Williams became his artillery uniform, and was an object of general interest. The Earl of Cardigan, in a brilliant hussar dress, attracted much attention; he rode the celebrated horse which bore him, in his gallant and desperate charge, at the battle of Balaklava.

The observed of all observers was her majesty. She looked particularly well, and wore a low hat, adorned with a beautiful plume, a scarlet tunic, and a dark blue skirt. It did not strike us that the tunic became her; it was too much like the awkward garment which her foot guards have received as a substitute for the coat. The cavalcade passed round the whole field, and it will be readily believed that never probably before was a military review in England so dazzling and exciting when all the accessories of the occasion are considered. After the first cheers which welcomed the arrival on the ground of the heroic members of the new order, her majesty, the royal children, and the Duke of Cambridge, silence was maintained, nor were there any noisy demonstrations when her majesty rode away from the field. After her majesty and suite had completed the circuit of the field, she placed herself before the table upon which the crosses were arranged. It was expected that she would dismount, and occupy the raised position prepared for her, so as to be full in view of her army and people. In this respect, as in almost every other, the arrangements were unhappy and unpopular. Her majesty remained on horseback during

amend all such prayers in their church books, according to the foregoing directions. And, for the better notice hereof, that this order be forthwith printed and published, and sent to the several parishes; and that the Right Reverend the Bishops do take care that obedience be paid to the same accordingly.

"WM. L. BATHURST."

the distribution; and being mounted on a small horse, while her consort, a tall man, was mounted on an immense charger, the young Prince William of Prussia also riding high, and the Duke of Cambridge, with many other officers, very large men, mounted on huge horses, were clustered near her, it was impossible for the people to see anything of the distribution. Those who occupied the galleries, which Sir Benjamin Hall had so badly arranged, were not much better situated in this respect than the people who extemporised stands around the field. The rear of a mass of large officers on large horses was all that could be discerned. Occasionally, as the Duke of Cambridge or some other general officer broke away from the group, a slight space was left through which her majesty's back could be perceived as she bent down to append the cross upon the breasts of the brave men, who marched up in single file to where she was stationed. The disappointment of the people of all ranks was great, and loud murmurs ran along the line, which must have been audible to her majesty's suite. It was only by desperate efforts that the members of the order could be seen to approach her majesty, or rather near to where she was, and emerge again with their badge of merit, their exultation, and their glory. Had the whole spectacle been got up for the pleasure of the Prince Consort and Prince William of Prussia, then the arrangements of Quartermaster-general Airey, the Hon. Colonel Gordon, and Sir Benjamin Hall would have been intelligible. Certainly those two royal persons alone fully beheld it, for even the ladies, gentlemen, and officers in the queen's suite could scarcely do more than catch a glimpse as her majesty with her own hands suspended the cross upon the breast of each, and the prince saluted him as he passed close to his horse.

When the bestowment of the crosses terminated, the recipients again drew up in line in front of her majesty. The queen and her attendants also formed into line, and the troops were marched past in slow time, the colours being lowered as they were borne past her majesty, who raised her hand to her hat, and saluted *à la militaire*. As the sailors marched by they took off their hats, and Jack seemed more at home in that ceremony than in keeping either the line of march or the step. Her majesty bowed her head in a marked and gracious manner as the tars uncovered. The infantry again marched by in quick time, and the cavalry wheeled and charged past her majesty, performing this evolution in a style which elicited universal praise. The marines were the favourites of the day; their appearance, order, and movements were such as could scarcely be surpassed. The bands played some

appropriate airs—the band of each regiment taking up a position opposite to her majesty while the corps to which it belonged marched past. The Guards played “See the conquering Hero comes!” the Highlanders, “Auld Lang Syne;” the Rifles played the fine “March of the Rifle Brigade;” and the Marines, “Rule, Britannia!” The quick marches were not national tunes, but pieces selected from various operas. The desirableness on such occasions of performing only popular and national pieces, although obvious, was not kept in view by those who had the direction of these matters.

When the troops had completed their last evolutions, her majesty and her splendid *cortège* left the ground. The troops then marched out of Hyde Park in different directions, each corps to its quarters. It was calculated that 100,000 persons were assembled within the park. In Park Lane the windows, balconies, and even house-tops, were filled with spectators. Not an accident was reported in connection with the assemblage and dispersion of these vast multitudes. A few of the infantry soldiers fell out of line, in consequence of the great heat, but all of them were enabled to rejoin their ranks. As the regiments left the ground they were accompanied by vast bodies of the people, who “fraternised” with the soldiery. The bands of the regiments favoured troops and people with a great deal of German music, to which no attention was paid; national airs would have gratified both, and stirred up the patriotism of the people. The Enniskillen Dragoons, and the Rifles were chiefly composed of Irishmen, but the bands did not adventure upon a single air peculiar to Ireland, although so many of the national melodies of that country are so finely adapted to the quick march.

As the men just inducted to the new order of valour dispersed, the desire of the people to see them individually, and to touch the Victoria Cross, was as amusing as it was intense; the disappointment felt at the appearance of the decoration was compensated by the manly bearing of the decorated, and no words could convey any adequate representation of the popular interest in these brave men.

Her majesty, on her way from the park to Buckingham Palace, was greeted by the multitude with the usual loyal demonstrations. Crowds remained in the park and in the avenues to the palace during the remainder of the day, as her majesty was expected to drive out among her people. This expectation was fulfilled. The Queen, Prince Arthur, and the Princess Louisa, attended by the Hon. Louisa Gordon, drove round Hyde Park in an open carriage and four, Lord Alfred Paget and Major-general the Hon. C. Grey attending on horseback. The Prince Consort, the Prince of Wales, the Princess Royal, Prince Alfred, the

Princess Alice, and Prince Frederick William of Prussia, attended by Lady Caroline Barrington, the Hon. Eleanor Stanley, Colonel F. B. Seymour, and Baron Moltke, also drove out in carriages.

The whole day was given to festivity; the troops were regaled in their barracks, the clubs were scenes of gaiety, invitations were given by the nobility and by general officers, and the queen had a grand dinner-party in the evening. The company included the Duchess of Kent, the Princess Royal, Prince Frederick William of Prussia, the Maharajah Dhuleep Singh, the Duke of Newcastle and Lady Susan Pelham Clinton, Marquis and Marchioness of Abercorn, Lady Augusta Bruce, the Countess Cowley, Lord and Lady Lyndhurst, the Dean of Windsor and the Hon. Mrs. Wellesley, Major-general Sir George Wetherall, Sir John Login, Baron Moltke, and many other fashionable and eminent persons. During dinner the band of the 1st Life Guards played the following pieces:—

Grand March of the 1st Life Guards . . .	Duchess of Kent.
Overture, "Jubel" . . . . .	Conradi.
Selection, "Il Barbiere di Siviglia" . . .	Rossini.
Quadrille, "Le Prophète" . . . . .	Coote.
Fantaisie, "Une Soirée d'Ete" . . . . .	Dunkler.
Galop . . . . .	Lieder.

The more public incidents of that day were thus eloquently noticed by a writer in the *Daily News*, and published the day following:—"Yesterday Hyde Park witnessed probably the last ceremony designed to do honour to the soldiers of the Crimea. This closing scene of the great war was worthy of the exploits it commemorated and the valour it rewarded. As a mere spectacle, the ceremonial seemed to us hardly so interesting as the distribution which took place in St. James's Park about a year ago. Now almost every trace of the war has ceased. The wounded have had their wounds healed, have retired from the service, or have succumbed to the effects of their injuries. Some are park-keepers; some are policemen; others are embarked in various professions. But a year ago it was not so: the scars of war were still visible; the wounds were yet bleeding. There were men, some with haggard looks, some painfully borne on crutches, and some, like Sir Thomas Troubridge, wheeled to the very feet of the queen in Bath chairs, having lost both limbs, but yesterday all was new and gorgeous, happy and peaceful. There was no sense of perils escaped and difficulties surmounted. The whole scene was little more than a military Ascot. As the regiments marched by her majesty on horseback there were no scorched and battered shakos, no tattered coats, no grimed and toil-worn visages, to recall the moving accidents of a winter campaign. It was quite another scene from that which

London witnessed when the queen, from the balcony of Buckingham Palace, welcomed home her Guards, with shouts and waving handkerchiefs, from the glory and the havoc of the East. Still, if the interest felt in the ceremony yesterday was not so overwhelming, it was by no means inconsiderable. Let any man read the *Gazette* which relates the gallant exploits of those men who have been decorated with the Victoria Cross for personal valour, and he will at once acknowledge that any army which can boast of such soldiers contains materials out of which the finest army in the world may be formed. If anything is wanting, it is not personal bravery or physical power. Who has not heard of Sergeant-major Berryman? With his horse shot under him, he stopped in the field with Captain Webb amidst a storm of shot and shell, and, although told again and again by that officer to consult his own safety, and leave him, he preferred to remain until, Sergeant Farrel coming to his aid, he carried Captain Webb out of the range of the guns. Or who has not heard of Sergeant M'Wheeny, who, returning after a repulse to seek for his wounded comrade, took him on his back, and brought him to a place of safety under a heavy fire? This, too, was the man who brought another wounded comrade from under fire, and dug up a slight cover with his bayonet, where the two remained until dark, when they both retired in safety. It was for such men as these that the new order of valour was created, and such men as these are surely fit recipients of the new reward. In this respect the British army needs no improvement; what the public have to insist upon is that professional education be henceforth deemed an essential to the officers, and made as sure a passport to promotion as conspicuous gallantry now is both to officers and men."

Thus terminated the last event strictly connected with the war, in which England suffered much, achieved much, incurred well-merited reproach, and obtained a renown equally well deserved. Her disasters she was able to repair, and rapidly repaired them; the glory she gained was lasting and world-wide. The moral and material effects upon the British empire and upon the empire of the vanquished czar were peculiar, and in their nature such as to enhance the power and vindicate the policy of Great Britain, while they humbled the autocrat, repressed the ambitious impulse of his people, crippled their aggressive energy, and exposed and defeated the Muscovite policy, so long predominant in Europe. How all this was wrought out we have step by step endeavoured to show with impartiality and truth, and if jealous for our armies or our allies, we have never in these pages been unjust to our enemies. No fear of man and no

partiality prevented the exposure of ignorance, indolence, incompetence, or indifference on the part of generals or statesmen, and no grudging praise has been bestowed on the officers and soldiers whose valour saved the empire, or the statesmen whose skill afforded to valour scope for that salvation.

The Author may now bid his readers a grateful farewell. For the wide-spread favour which his work has received during the two years occupied in writing it, he offers his heartfelt thanks, and among the very numerous letters of approval from men of all ranks and classes, civil and military, which he has received, many will be treasured by him. It is a satisfaction to him to know that, while royal and military chiefs have been among his patrons, the private soldier has honoured him, in every arm and every regiment of the service, by subscribing to this work. It will always be a source to him of pride and pleasure to remember the circumstance of his being introduced by one well-known general officer to another as "the

Soldier's Friend." But who that knows the noble qualities of the British soldier is not his friend?

Of his readers in the Army the author takes his leave, perhaps to renew their acquaintance in again recounting the true stories of the campaign and combat:—not, it is to be hoped, in connection with wars yet to be waged, but with the achievements of English chivalry in other fields of past conflict, where there was also much glory.

For this Work the Author pleads the indulgence of the Army, and the sympathy of all who can form a conception of the difficulty for a civilian, or even a military man, to write well a history of war, with all its chances and changes, its political influences and civil complications. Truth and impartiality have cost the author sacrifices which he does not regret, but which make it the more incumbent upon him to offer his thanks to all his Subscribers and Friends, now that his task is done, and—"Othello's occupation's gone."

THE END.











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